Final Report

The Socio-Economic and Environmental Impacts of Tourism Development in the Okavango Delta, Botswana

A Baseline Study

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Executive Summary

Botswana’s tourism industry has undergone a tremendous growth in the last two decades. Almost nonexistent in the 1970s, it has become the second (after diamonds) largest revenue earner for Botswana contributing 4.5% to Gross Domestic Product in 2000. The industry is largely wildlife-based and concentrated in the northern parts of the country especially in the Okavango Delta and the Chobe regions. This study is aimed primarily at assessing the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism development in the Okavango Delta, northwestern Botswana. This broad approach was deliberately adopted to provide baseline information upon which future studies at the Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre (HOORC), University of Botswana on tourism development in the Okavango Delta can be carried out. This is first study that HOORC has ever carried out on tourism development in the Okavango Delta.

Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to survey the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta, northwestern Botswana. Specific objectives addressed were the following:

- To identify the various tourist activities, type of tourists, their countries of origin and the annual tourist numbers that visit the Okavango Delta.
- To assess the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism development in the Okavango Delta.
- To examine the effectiveness of Botswana’s institutional and policy framework responsible for the management of tourism with specific reference to the Okavango Delta.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Theoretically, this study uses the concept of sustainability which is hinged on three main concerns of social equity, economic efficiency, and ecological sustainability. Both primary and secondary data sources have been used. Secondary data sources include government reports, policy documents, and other related documented information on tourism in Botswana with particular reference to the Okavango Delta. Primary data collection involved the administration of structured, and unstructured questionnaires to respondents as well as informal interviews and group discussions. Respondents included safari managers in the Okavango Delta and their workers, tourism-related business managers in Maun and their workers, local and central government officials, and sampled households in four villages of Maun, Ditsipiing, Khwai and Seronga.

Key Findings

For the first objective, key findings are the following:

- Tourism in the Okavango Delta is characterized by consumptive (e.g. hunting) and non-consumptive (photographic) wildlife utilisation.
- About 50,000 tourists visit the Okavango Delta every year mainly from North America, Western Europe, Australia/New Zealand and South Africa. However, there was a decline in tourist numbers visiting the Okavango Delta between 1999 and 2001.
- Photographic tourists visiting the Okavango Delta are of three main groups: high-cost, mobile and self-drive or independent tourists.
- Safari Hunters from Europe and North America are also an important tourist group in the Okavango Delta.
Key findings for the second and third objective are:

- Expansion of tourism in the Okavango Delta has brought a variety of socio-economic benefits to Ngamiland District. These include employment to the local people, revenue generation, provision of social services, and infrastructure improvements. The development of infrastructure such as tarred roads and airports has improved accessibility of the region with other parts of the country as well as with the southern African region. Tourism in the Okavango Delta is also associated with the growth of wholesale and retail trade in Maun which serves as the gateway to the delta. Findings indicate that safari camps, lodges and hotels in the Okavango have increased from 32 in 1989 to 63 in 2001. This represents an increase of 49.2% in the thirteen-year period.

- Tourism development in the Okavango Delta has been unable to promote agricultural production, the craft and manufacturing industries. As a result, most of the goods used in the industry are either imported from South Africa or Zimbabwe or are obtained from other parts of Botswana. If tourism fails to promote local or rural economic development especially in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors, then it cannot be described as sustainable.

- The tourism industry in the Okavango Delta is predominately foreign owned and controlled, this in recent tourism literature is described as enclave tourism or internal colonialism. About 53.3% of the safari companies were found to be 100% owned by expatriates, 27.7% jointly owned (between Batswana and expatriates) hence 81.0% of the companies in the Okavango have foreign ownership. Out of 15 concession areas leased by the Tawana Land Board, four (4) are leased to citizen companies, six (6) to joint ventures companies while five (5) are leased to non-citizen companies, as a result, non-citizen companies are directly involved in 11 of the 15 concession areas under the control of Tawana land Board. This means that foreign companies are involved in over 73.3% of the land leased as concession areas by the Tawana Land Board.

- Findings indicate that the growth of tourism in the Okavango Delta is associated with the development of racism where white managers and employers are discriminating against their black workers. Findings indicate that 73.0% of the safari workers and 53.3% of their managers in the Okavango Delta confirmed the existence of racism in the tourism industry. About 47.6% of the safari workers and 60.9% of their managers in Maun also confirmed the existence of racism in tourism sector. On average, racism was noted by 57.1% of the respondents.

- The working and living conditions of local workers in the Okavango Delta seem to be low and poor. Their salaries are also generally low when compared to their expatriate counterparts. Expatriates occupy management positions which attract higher salaries while the local people hold low and poor quality positions which do not attract higher salaries. Junior local workers are paid salaries that range from less than P300.00-P900.00 per month, senior workers are paid between P1, 200.00-P2, 400.00 (for local workers) per month and P4, 500.00-P8, 000.00 (for expatriate staff) per month (this excludes expatriates benefits that most of them are entitled to).

- Much of the revenue generated from tourism accrues to the private tour operators and to a limited extent to government in the form of tax revenues. However, most of the revenue generated from tourism in Botswana is either expatriated or never reach the country, for example, in 1997, Botswana retained only 29% of the total tourism expenditure. While there are attempts to make local communities derive benefits through community-based tourism, the approach is problematic and is currently performing poorly. This is because local people lack the necessary entrepreneurship and management skills to participate in the tourism business.

- Local communities have limited access and control over tourism resources in the Okavango Delta. Much of the natural resources such as land and wildlife are either centralised or controlled by or private tour operators in the form of concession areas. Although local communities are allocated Controlled Hunting Areas to participate in community-based tourism, lack of empowerment especially in entrepreneurship skills in tourism business and full control of resources has resulted in such areas also being leased out to safari operators. Therefore, it can be argued that local
communities are not directly involved in tourism development. The decision-making process does not necessarily include local communities who are supposed to be the major stakeholders in tourism development. They are informed at kgotla meetings when a decision has already been taken either in parliament or in government ministries (e.g. mention should be made on a moratorium in January 2001 from the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government stopping funds from operators to be sent directly to Community-Based Organisations as is the current procedure but to be handed over to district councils). This problem affects the sustainability of community-based tourism in the Okavango Delta.

- Although tourism in the Okavango Delta is still at the early stages of development, it is beginning to have negative environmental impacts on the wetland. These include, noise pollution, creation of illegal roads in environmentally sensitive areas, the introduction of alien species, and problems caused by poor waste management. Despite the “high cost -low volume” philosophy of tourism in Botswana, meant to set carrying capacity in environmentally sensitive areas, the expansion of tourism in the Okavango Delta seems to be pushing past carrying capacity and therefore is a threat to ecological sustainability in the long run. Findings indicate that government is also failing to implement existing management plans or monitor tourism activities to prevent negative ecological impacts in the Okavango Delta.

Recommendations

Based on the above key findings, this study recommended the following:

- The main government bodies responsible for tourism development in the Okavango Delta should be empowered and provided with the necessary equipment and political support to carry out their mandate of tourism management in the Delta. Particular attention is paid to the Departments of Tourism, Wildlife and National Parks, Tawana Land Board (and to some extent those of Labour, and Waste Management). Findings indicate that poor monitoring of tourism activities and implementation of government policies by these departments make the industry to expand in a rather uncontrolled manner hence the negative socio-economic and environmental impacts in the Okavango Delta.

- An assessment of tourist facilities such as camps and lodges in overcrowded areas such as the Xakanana should be carried with the possible re-location of some of the facilities. This should reduce the congestions of tourism activities that currently have a negative impact on the environment in the Okavango. The problem caused by crowded tourism facilities also suggest that existing management plans are either faulty or are not being implemented. As a result, there is need for these plans to be revisited (note should however, be taken on the proposed study of the Integrated Management Plan of the Okavango Delta).

- Since there has been an increase in tourist numbers and tourism facilities in the Okavango Delta in the last two decades, efforts should be made to determine carrying capacities to prevent environmental degradation of the wetland. The use of room and bed numbers to control tourist numbers is ineffective, so is the high-cost low volume tourism approach. As a result, these approaches need to be revisited to promote a sustainable tourism industry in the delta.

- The problem of poor working and living conditions of local workers in Okavango Delta tourism should be addressed. Safari workers work long hours without overtime payment and their salaries are generally low. They are also subjected to poor accommodation, low salaries, lack of a progression structure, and the lack of a job security. Their benefits (e.g. gratuities, training etc) are also not clearly stated or provided in contracts of employment. Respective departments, especially the Departments of Labour and Tourism, should assess the living and working conditions of safari workers. These departments should ensure that existing labour laws and regulations (e.g. Botswana Employment Act) are observed and implemented within the tourism sector.
The seeds of racism have been sown within the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta. Such incidents should be investigated by the respective government bodies (e.g. Departments of Tourism, Labour and Tawana Land Board) and measures should be taken to stop it from spreading. Racism has the potential of negatively impacting on Botswana’s growing tourism industry. That is, international organisations have the capacity to lobby for the boycott of any visits to the Okavango Delta by foreign tourists once they confirm racism in the area.

In order to address the issue of the tourism industry being predominantly foreign owned and controlled, as well as the repatriation of tourism revenue, government will need to adopt several programmes (government efforts through CEDA are appreciated). However, a pro-active government policy or programme specifically on tourism and citizen participation is needed. Moreover, economic benefits and accessibility of the tourism industry to local people should become the number one of the main priorities of planners in the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta. This means that issues of local empowerment and mobilization should be addresses in order to afford the local groups benefits from the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta.

Findings have shown that Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) in the Okavango Delta is performing poorly. This is because of the lack of local community empowerment especially entrepreneurship and management skills in the tourism business. This means that strategies should be developed to provide training for the local people to manage tourism enterprises in their community areas. This should enable local people derive better benefits from tourism as is the case at present.

Problems of waste management, noise pollution, oil spillages, illegal creation of roads in environmental sensitive areas and expansion of illegal settlements should be addressed by the respective government bodies (e.g. the Departments of Tourism, Wildlife and National Parks, Tawana Land Board etc). The recently drafted Eco-tourism Strategy by the Department of Tourism and the suggested Tourism Board are some of the positive developments in tourism development in Botswana. If implemented, the strategy should be able to minimise the negative socio-economic and environmental impacts alluded to in this study.
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Finally, I would like to pass my sincere thanks to my wife (Oualetshepho) who is currently working in Selebi-Phikwe, Eastern Botswana. At the time of data collection for this study, she was on maternity leave and staying with me in Maun. Unfortunately, I did not spend much time with her, as I had to move in and out of the Okavango Delta to collect data. Despite this situation, our beloved son, Michael, who is also called Bakang, was born safely and healthy. Many thanks to my mother-in-law who agreed to stay with us and remained with my wife during my long days of absence from home.
Table of Contents

Executive Summary ........................................................................................................... i
Acknowledgements .......................................................................................................... ii
Table of Contents ........................................................................................................... iii
List of Tables .................................................................................................................... iv
List of Figures ................................................................................................................... v
Acronyms ............................................................................................................................ vi

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION
1.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 1
1.2 Background of the Study ............................................................................................. 1
1.3 Statement of the Problem ............................................................................................ 2
1.4 Research Questions ...................................................................................................... 2
1.5 Objectives of the Study ............................................................................................... 3
1.6 Significance of the Study ............................................................................................ 3
1.7 Limitations of the Study .............................................................................................. 3
1.8 The Study Area ........................................................................................................... 3
1.9 Natural Resources in the Study Area ........................................................................... 5
   1.9.1 Wildlife Resources ............................................................................................... 5
   1.9.2 Soils .................................................................................................................... 5
   1.9.3 Vegetation .......................................................................................................... 6
1.10 Climate ....................................................................................................................... 6
1.11 Hydrology .................................................................................................................. 6
1.12 Ethnic Diversity ........................................................................................................ 7
1.13 Land Use Activities .................................................................................................. 7

CHAPTER 2: BASIC CONCEPTS, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE
2.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 9
2.2 Definition of terms and concepts ................................................................................ 9
2.3 Conceptual Framework: Sustainable Development and Tourism ............................ 11
   2.3.1 Economic Sustainability ..................................................................................... 12
   2.3.2 Social Sustainability ......................................................................................... 12
   2.3.3 Environmental/Ecological Sustainability ........................................................... 13
2.4 Review of the Literature ............................................................................................ 14
   2.4.1 Tourism and Development: A Global Outlook .................................................. 14
   2.4.2 The Product Cycle .............................................................................................. 14
   2.4.3 Impacts of Tourism ............................................................................................ 16
      2.4.3.1 Economic Impacts ....................................................................................... 16
      2.4.3.2 Socio-Cultural Impacts ............................................................................. 17
      2.4.3.3 Physical and Environmental Impacts ............................................................ 18
   2.4.5 Tourism Management and Policy Issues ............................................................ 19
   2.4.6 International Tourist Trends ........................................................................... 19
   2.4.7 Southern African Regional Tourist Trends ......................................................... 20
   2.4.8 Tourism in Botswana: A Historical Perspective ............................................... 20
   2.4.9 Tourism in the Okavango Delta ........................................................................ 22

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY
3.1 Introduction ................................................................................................................ 24
3.2 Data Types and Methods of Data Acquisition ......................................................... 24
3.3 The Sampling Procedure ......................................................................................... 24
3.4 Data Management and Analysis .............................................................................. 25

CHAPTER 4: TOURIST ACTIVITIES, TYPE OF TOURISTS, ORIGIN AND NUMBERS
4.1 Introduction ................................................................................................................. 26
4.2 Tourist Activities
  4.2.1 Consumptive Wildlife Resource Use
  4.2.2 Non-Consumptive Wildlife Use

4.3 Type of Tourists
  4.3.1 High Cost Tourists
  4.3.2 Mobile Safari Tourists
  4.3.3 Independent Tourist or Low Cost Tourists
  4.3.4 Day Visitors
  4.3.5 Safari Hunters

4.4 Annual Tourist Numbers

4.5 Origin of Tourists

4.6 The Number of Days Spent by Tourism in the Okavango Delta

4.7 Tourist or Visitor Expenditure

4.8 Tourist Satisfactions and Experience

4.9 Impressions of Tourists Services in Maun

CHAPTER 5: ECONOMIC IMPACTS

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Date of Establishment and Ownership of Tourist Facilities

5.3 Economic Impacts
  5.3.1 Contribution to Gross Domestic Product
  5.3.2 Contribution to Foreign Exchange Earnings
  5.3.3 Contribution to Government Revenue
  5.3.4 Creation of Employment
    5.3.4.1 Educational Background and Training of Safari Workers
    5.3.4.2 Salary Structure of Safari Workers
  5.3.5 Contribution to Rural Development
    5.3.5.1 Contribution to Infrastructure Development and Social Services
    5.3.5.2 Transport and Communication Systems
    5.3.5.3 Airports and Airstrips
    5.3.5.4 Hotels, Lodges and Camps

CHAPTER 6: COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM: AN ASPECT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) in Botswana

6.3 Community Perceptions Towards Community-Based Natural Resource Management

6.4 Decision-Making and Institutional Framework in Community-Based Tourism

6.5 Community-Based Organisations and Economic Benefits in the Okavango Delta
  6.5.5 The Sanxuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust
  6.5.1 The Okavango Community Trust
  6.5.2 The Okavango Poles’ Trust
  6.5.4 The Khwai Development Trust

6.6 Problems Affecting the Success of Community-Based Tourist Projects
  6.6.1 Lack of Understanding of the Concept of CBNRM by Local Communities
  6.6.2 Lack of Re-investment in Tourism by Local Communities

6.7 The Challenges of CBNRM and Community-Based Organisations (CBO)
  6.7.1 Empowerment and Mobilisation of Local Communities in Tourism
  6.7.2 The Problem of “who benefits” or “who should benefit from CBNRM”
  6.7.3 Enclave Tourism in the Okavango Delta

6.8 Has CBNRM in the Okavango Delta succeeded or failed

CHAPTER 7: SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS

7.1 Introduction

7.2 Cultural Tourism in Botswana and the Okavango Delta

7.3 Impacts of Tourism on Local Culture and Traditions

7.4 Canoe (Mekoro) Safaris
CHAPTER 8: ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

8.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................... 83
8.2 Positive Environmental Impacts .............................................................................. 83
  8.2.1 The Adoption of Wildlife Conservation and Tourism Development Policies .... 83
  8.2.2 The Strengthening of Wildlife Conservation and Tourism Development Institutions ... 84
  8.2.3 Community Attitudes to Natural Resource Conservation and Tourism Development ... 85
    8.2.3.1 Attitudes and Perceptions Towards Natural Resource Management ......... 85
    8.2.3.2 Attitudes and Perceptions Towards Tourism ........................................ 86
8.3 Negative Environmental Impacts ............................................................................. 87
  8.3.1 The Creation of Illegal Roads in Environmental Sensitive Areas ..................... 87
  8.3.2 Noise Pollution .................................................................................................... 88
  8.3.3 Impacts on the Sanitation System and Water Resources ............................... 90
  8.3.4 The Feeding of Wildlife and Night Game Drives .......................................... 92
  8.3.5 Impacts caused by Bush Fires in the Okavango Delta .................................... 92
  8.3.6 The Expansion of Illegal Settlements ............................................................. 94
  8.3.7 The Introduction of Exotic Species ................................................................. 96
  8.3.8 Littering in Maun .............................................................................................. 97

CHAPTER 9: INSTITUTIONAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORK IN TOURISM MANAGEMENT

9.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................... 101
9.2 Institutional Framework ........................................................................................... 101
  9.2.1 The Department of Wildlife and National Parks ........................................... 101
  9.2.2 The Department of Tourism ............................................................................ 104
  9.2.3 The Tawana Land Board ................................................................................. 105
9.3 The Policy Framework ............................................................................................. 107
  9.3.1 The Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 ....................................................... 107
  9.3.2 The Tourism Policy of 1990 ........................................................................... 108

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 Introduction .............................................................................................................. 111
10.2 Conclusion ............................................................................................................... 111
10.3 Recommendations .................................................................................................. 114

References ...................................................................................................................... 119

APPENDICES .................................................................................................................. 129
  Appendix A: Research Gaps ...................................................................................... 129
  Appendix B: Safari Camps, Lodges and Hotels in Maun and the Okavango Delta .... 131
  Appendix C: Questionnaires ....................................................................................... 133
    (a) Questionnaire for Households .......................................................................... 133
    (b) Questionnaire for Safari Companies in the Okavango Delta .......................... 135
    (c) Questionnaire for Tourism Related Businesses in Maun ............................... 138
    (d) Questionnaire for Safari Workers (in the Delta and in Maun) ....................... 141
    (e) Questionnaire for Tourists .............................................................................. 143
# List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Area Covered by Different Land Uses in Ngamiland District</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>International Tourist Arrivals and Receipts Worldwide, 1999-1998</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Africa’s Shares of International Tourist Arrivals and Gross Receipts, 1970-1998</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Regional Trends in Tourist Arrivals and Receipts</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>The Village and Household Sample Sizes</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>The Total Number of Tourist who Visited Moremi Game Reserve, 1995-2001</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Number and Types of Tourists who Visited the Okavango Delta, 1995-2001</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Tourist Numbers According to Country of Residence, 1999-2001</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>The Number of Days/Nights sold to Tourists in Moremi Game Reserve, 1997-2001</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Value of Visiting the Okavango Delta by High-cost and Mobile Tourists</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Perceptions of High-Cost Tourist on Quality Tourism Services, 2001</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>Operator’s Level of Satisfaction with Tourism Services in Maun, 2001</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Dates of Establishment in Maun and the Okavango Delta, 2001</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Ownership of Tourist Facilities in Maun and in the Okavango Delta, 2001</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Concession Areas Leased by Tawana Land Board in Ngamiland District</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Share of Tourism Related Output by Economic Sector</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Estimates of Tourism’s Contribution to Government Revenue, 1997/98</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Estimated Tourism-Related Revenues from Licences and Fees, 1996/97-98/99</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>Types of Fees paid by Tourists at Moremi Game Reserve, 1998-2001</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>Revenue Collected at Maun International Airport, 2000</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>Number of Workers in Tourism Businesses, 2001</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>Citizenship of Safari Workers, 2001</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.11</td>
<td>Country of Origin for Non-Citizens Workers in Tourism Businesses, 2001</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>Estimated Direct Employment Generation in Tourism, 1999</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.13</td>
<td>Educational Background of Workers in the Tourism Industry, 2001</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>Responses on Training Provided to safari Workers, 2001</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>Salaries for Safari Workers in the Tourism Industry, 2001</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>Salaries of Workers in the Tourism Industry According to Type of Work, 2001</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.17</td>
<td>Distribution of Basic Salaries in the Hotel, Catering and Tourism Sector</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.18</td>
<td>The Road Network in Northern Botswana</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>Road Maintained by the Central Government, 1994-1999 (in kilometres)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>Aircraft Movement at Maun International Aircraft, 2000</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.21</td>
<td>Private Air Companies and Aircraft Numbers in the Okavango Delta, 2000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>Number of Accommodation Facilities in Maun and Okavango Delta, 1989-2001</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>The Number Rooms Available in Accommodation Facilities in Botswana, 1986-98</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>Room Occupancy Rates in the Okavango Delta, 1990</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>Bed Occupancy Rates in the Okavango Delta, 1997</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Community-Based Tourism Organisation in the Okavango Delta</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Revenue Accruing to STMT from Land Rentals and Wildlife Quota, 1997-2001</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Brief Review on Progress made by Community-Based Projects, 2000</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>The Buying and Selling of Elephants by Safari Operators, 1998 and 2000</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Cultural Disturbance of Local Culture and Traditions due to Influence of Tourism</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Crime Statistics in Maun, 1999 - 2001</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Existence of Racism in the Tourism Industry in the Okavango Delta, 2001</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>Ages of Safari Workers in the Okavango Delta, 2001</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>Are Safari Workers Happy with the Living and Working Conditions in the Delta?</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>Reported and Settled Labour Disputes in Maun, 1999 - 2001</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Responses on Negative Environmental Impacts of Tourism in the Okavango Delta</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Views of Operators on High-Cost Low Volume Tourism Policy, 2001</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures

Figure 1.1 The Okavango Delta, North-western Botswana .............................................................. 4
Figure 2.1 Approaches to Sustainable Development .................................................................... 12
Figure 2.2 The Product Cycle ........................................................................................................ 15
Figure 4.1 Perceptions of High-Cost Tourists on Possible Conservation Fees, 2001 ................. 33
Figure 5.1 Academic Qualifications of Safari Managers in the Okavango Delta, 2001 ........... 45
Figure 5.2 Infrastructure Development and Provision of Social Services, 2001 ......................... 47
Figure 5.3 Expansion of Business due to Influence of Tourism, 2001 ........................................ 48
Figure 6.1 Is Community-Based Tourism a Good Idea for the Okavango Area ....................... 55
Figure 7.1 Marital Status of Safari Workers in the Okavango Delta, 2001 .............................. 77
Figure 7.3 Views of the People of Khwai on Possible Re-location of their Settlement ............... 79
Figure 8.1 Existence of Wildlife in Grasslands and Forests of the Okavango Delta ................... 85
Figure 8.2 Is it Necessary to Encourage Tourism Development in the Okavango ....................... 86
Figure 9.1 Wildlife Areas in Botswana ...................................................................................... 102
Figure 9.2 Land Systems Under the Tswana Land Board, 1997 .................................................. 105

Plates

Plate 4.1 Tourists in a Boat Safari in the Okavango Delta .......................................................... 27
Plate 4.2 Tourists in a Walking Safari in the Okavango Delta ................................................... 27
Plate 4.3 Giraffes in the Okavango Delta ...................................................................................... 35
Plate 4.4 Elephants in the Okavango Delta .................................................................................. 35
Plate 4.5 Tourists Boarding an Aircraft in the Okavango Delta ............................................... 36
Plate 4.6 A Hippo in the Okavango Delta ..................................................................................... 36
Plate 5.1 A Luxurious Accommodation Facility in the Okavango Delta, 2001 ......................... 52
Plate 5.2 A Swimming Pool in the Okavango Delta, 2001 .......................................................... 52
Plate 5.3 A Terminal Building Maun Airport .............................................................................. 53
Plate 5.4 International Arrivals at Maun Airport ....................................................................... 53
Plate 7.1 Craft work sold Along the Road in Maun ...................................................................... 70
Plate 7.2 A Mehoro Used for Boating Safari in Okavango Delta ... 72
Plate 7.3 Craft Work from Zimbabwe sold Along Maun-Shorobe Road ................................ 74
Plate 8.1 Sign Showing a Closed Illegal Roads at Xakanaxa, 2001 ........................................... 88
Plate 8.2 Tourists Aircrafts Parked at Maun International Airport, 2002 ................................. 89
Plate 8.3 A Hole used for Waste Disposal from Toilets and Showers, 2001 .............................. 90
Plate 8.4 A Trench Used for Waste Disposal from Toilets and Showers at Xakanaxa, 2001 .... 91
Plate 8.5 A Hole used for Waste Disposal from the Kitchen, 2001 ........................................... 91
Plate 8.6 Burnt Environment in the Okavango Delta, 2001 .......................................................... 93
Plate 8.7 Some of the Wildlife (Ostrich) in a Burnt Environment, 2001 .................................... 94
Plate 8.8 Huts at Thabazimbi Squatter Settlement in the Okavango Delta, 2002 .................... 95
Plate 8.9 Poor Solid Waste Disposal at Thabazimbi Squatter Settlement ................................. 95
Plate 8.10 The Kariba Weed Covering a Lagoon in the Okavango Delta, 2001 ....................... 96
Plate 8.11 Donkeys Feeding on Domestic Garbage near Nandos Restaurant, 2001 .................... 98
Plate 8.12 Litter on Drive Ways and Public Areas in Maun, 2001 ........................................... 98
Plate 8.13 Damming of a River Channel in the Okavango Delta, 2002 ....................................... 99
Plate 8.14 A Hut at Thabazimbi Squatter Settlement, 2002 ...................................................... 99
Plate 8.15 Salvinia molesta Packed in Bags at North Gate, Moremi Game Reserve, 2001 ..... 100
Plate 8.15 The Southern Buffalo Fence, 2001 .......................................................................... 100
Plate 9.1 Iron Corrugated Roofing in the Okavango Delta, 2001 ................................................. 106
# Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOB</td>
<td>Bank of Botswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOCCIM</td>
<td>Botswana Confederation Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Manpower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BTPD</td>
<td>Botswana Tourism Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBNRMP</td>
<td>Community Based Natural Resource Management Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community-Based Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAs</td>
<td>Controlled Hunting Areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDA</td>
<td>Citizen Entrepreneurship Development Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTO</td>
<td>Central Transport Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CI</td>
<td>Conservation International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSO</td>
<td>Central Statistic Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCA</td>
<td>Department of Civil Aviation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KDT</td>
<td>Khwai Development Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOT</td>
<td>Department of Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DWNP</td>
<td>Department of Wildlife and National Parks (Botswana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EIA</td>
<td>Environmental Impact Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HATAB</td>
<td>Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITK</td>
<td>Indigenous Technical Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCS</td>
<td>Kalahari Conservation Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCS</td>
<td>National Conservation Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCC</td>
<td>Okavango Community Consultants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCT</td>
<td>Okavango Community Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIA</td>
<td>Social Impact Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMEC</td>
<td>Snowy Mountains Engineering Corporation Consultants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STMT</td>
<td>Sankoyo Tshwaragano Management Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLB</td>
<td>Tawana Land Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VDC</td>
<td>Village Development Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTC</td>
<td>Village Technical Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCED</td>
<td>World Commission on Environment and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMAs</td>
<td>Wildlife Management Areas</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organisation</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the background and rationale for the study. It also gives the statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, the significance and limitations of the study. Finally, the chapter describes the study area.

1.2 Background of the Study

This rationale behind this study was to assess the sustainability of the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta. This involved an assessment of the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta, northwestern Botswana. The Okavango Delta is one of the most pristine and undisturbed natural environments in the world. It is one of the few wetlands in the world still endowed with its native biodiversity, birds, wild animals, forests, and rangelands, as well as ample surface and groundwater resources. The Okavango River and the Delta's mosaic of open water, wetlands, and grasslands are home to innumerable species: some 5,000 insects, 3,000 plants, 540 birds, 164 mammals, 157 reptiles, 80 fish, and countless macro-organisms (Rothert, 1997). The rich wildlife diversity and scenic beauty of the Okavango Delta has in the last two decades made it the most important tourism destination in the country for both consumptive and non-consumptive wildlife utilisation. From the 1980s, there has been an escalation of tourist facilities such as hotels, lodges, and camps the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta. The numbers of tourists and variety of tourist activities have also increased. Tourism can promote economic development in destination areas, but it also has both socio-economic and environmental impacts. In the Okavango Delta, such impacts are not fully researched and are generally imperfectly understood.

While it is difficult to accurately quantify tourism, it is arguably, the world's largest industry, accounting for about 5.5% of the world's Gross National Product and 6% of the employment, and it is growing fast (Glasson et al, 1995). To support economic development, most governments encourage the growth of tourism in their respective countries. For poor countries, regions, towns and cities, tourism is seen as the fast track to development. Hall (1995) states that the main reason why governments, particularly in developing countries, encourage tourism investment is because of the expectation that it will contribute to economic development. It is also argued that tourism should be seen as a means of development in a broader sense (see, for example, Krapf, 1961; Kaiser and Heber, 1978; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Murphy, 1985; McIntosh et al, 1995; Wahab, 1997; Cooper et al, 1998). These analysts describe the broader sense of tourism to mean the potential of the industry to have direct socio-economic impacts on destination regions. This issue is made more clear by Simons (1995) who states that development should refer not only to economic matters but should also encompass social, economic, environmental, and ethical considerations such that its measurement may incorporate indicators of poverty, unemployment, inequality, and self-reliance. Carter (1991) notes that there is a cumulative relationship between tourism development, the environment and socio-economic development. This means that, if tourism is to contribute to sustainable development, then it must be economically viable, ecologically sensitive, and culturally appropriate (Wall, 1997).

Although the development of tourism should take account of socio-economic, cultural and environmental impacts, in the Botswana, more emphasis is put on revenue generation and total employment in the wildlife and tourism industries. Research is needed as well on the socio-cultural and economic impacts of tourism to the local community. Ecotourism has been noted to be appropriate for tourism development in remote areas such as Okavango Delta. Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) defines ecotourism as environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas. It is a type of tourism that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact, and provides beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations. According to Carter (1991), green or eco-tourism focuses on the need to promote a symbiotic, or at worst, co-existent relationship between tourism and environmental conservation. This then suggests that the two concepts of sustainable development and eco-tourism are interrelated. Both advocate secure livelihoods for the poor and argue that economic activities like tourism should not degrade the environmental base. As the
Okavango Delta attracts a variety of tourism activities, studies should focus on the sustainability of these activities in the delta.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The general aim of this study is to assess the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta in Ngamiland District, northwestern Botswana. Tourism in the Okavango Delta is noted for having grown rapidly in the last two decades. However, there is a lack of data that explains whether its development has been carried out observing the principles of sustainability. Much is not known about the tourist numbers that visit the Okavango Delta each year, the type of activities that they participate in, and whether such activities negatively impact on environmentally sensitive areas. It is also not known which countries most of the tourists originate from and their expenditure while in the delta. Research is needed to document the type of tourist activities and their activities in the delta, number of tourists as well as their countries of origin and whether carrying capacities are observed by the industry.

Tourism usually has an influence in the economic development of destination areas. Tourism as a business or industry, requires the investment of considerable amounts of capital, employs an army of workers from higher management down to bed makers and barmen, and uses space, often very extensive space. Entrepreneurs see tourism as a means of making money, and step in to organise the business, which may include tour companies, from the more exclusive to the cheap package, travel agencies, hotel and lodge companies, and travel companies, from airlines to bus and taxi owners. The socio-economic contribution of tourism to the development of Ngamiland District is vital. But little is known about the relative proportions of the socio-economic benefits that accrue to tourism operators and to the local people in the Okavango Basin. That there has been little or no research to determine the extent to which the wildlife-based tourism has improved livelihoods of the people of Ngamiland District and the specific benefits that accrue to stakeholders (e.g. operators, government, and local people) in the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta. Little is also known about the participation and decision-making that local communities have in the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta. Therefore, information on the socio-economic impacts of the wildlife-based tourism industry in the Okavango Delta is important and needs to be further investigated.

Butler (1980) states that if not properly managed, tourism can lead to an environmental degradation of destination areas. The decline and degradation of destination areas has the potential to degrade it hence the demand disappears or the resource is exhausted. When the tourist destination area is environmentally degraded and it is no longer attractive, tourists and investors and tour operators move out and relocate elsewhere. Butler (1980) states that capacity thresholds occur when the number of tourists approaches levels which strain the capability of the host area to provide a good visitor experience. While tourism in the Okavango Delta is likely to have negative environmental impacts, such impacts remain largely unknown. This study, therefore, intends to provide information on the environmental impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta.

The success or failure of tourism is often linked to the institutional and policy framework of a country. Problems of poor monitoring of tourism activities and failure to implement management strategies characterises tourism in the delta. As a result, it is important to assess the effectiveness of the institutional and policy framework under which tourism in the Okavango Delta operates. All these measures should be carried out to identify ways upon which the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta can be made more sustainable. Sustainable development has since the 1990s become a model upon which economic development in various countries is expected to be designed (WECD, 1987).

1.4 Research Questions

The aim of this study is to assess the sustainability of the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta. The research questions addressed are:

(a) What are the various types or categories of tourists who visit the Okavango Delta? What are the main tourist activities carried out in the delta? From which countries do most tourist come?
(b) What are the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta?

(c) How effective are the institutions and policies related to tourism management in the Okavango Delta?

1.5 Objectives of the Study

From the above research questions, the general objective of the study is, to investigate the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta. However, the specific objectives are:

(a) to identify the various tourist activities, type of tourists, their countries of origin and the annual numbers of tourists that visit the Okavango Delta.

(b) to assess the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta.

(c) to examine the effectiveness of Botswana's institutional and policy framework responsible for the management of tourism with specific reference to the Okavango Delta.

1.6 Significance of the Study

There is little research that has been done in Botswana to investigate the sustainability of tourism development in the Okavango Delta. This investigation, therefore, is significant, in that, it will provide the necessary baseline information on the sustainability of tourism development in the area.

There is at present little coherent information on the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism development in the Okavango Delta. It is, therefore, hoped that this study will contribute toward filling this void. In the past, isolated consultancy studies on economic benefits of tourism were carried out in the Okavango Delta, but such studies in most cases do not follow an academic approach. This study should thus provide the baseline or framework and should identify research gaps upon which the Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre, University of Botswana can conduct future academic studies.

Finally, the findings of this study should provide information to policy makers on the sustainability of tourism development in the Okavango Delta. It should identify areas where government must develop effective management strategies to enhance sustainable tourism development.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The first major constraint of this study was the limited financial resources allocated to it. For example, due to financial limitations, a preliminary reconnaissance survey, which is normally important for a study of this nature, was not done (except in the Mbaun).

Secondly, the broad nature of the study was one of the major constraints. The study covered both the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta. This broad approach (which was deliberate) meant that it was impossible to dwell into any particular issue in great detail.

A third limitation of this study was created by some respondents who were unwilling to co-operate and answer or complete the questionnaires that were sent to them. Some operators in Mbaun and the Okavango Delta do not appreciate interviews or any form of studies by independent researchers. This problem resulted in the small sample size and failure to obtain some important information.

1.8 The Study Area

This study was carried out in the Okavango Delta, located within Ngamiland District in northwestern Botswana. The Okavango Delta is found between co-ordinates 18°21' - 20°12'S and 22°12'- 23°45'E (Figure 1.1). The Okavango Delta is formed by the inflow of the Okavango River which owes its origin from the Cuito and Cubango River Systems in Angola. The two rivers unite to become the Okavango River along the boundary of Angola and Namibia. It is called the kavango in Namibia and Okavango in
Botswana. The Okavango River flows through Namibia’s Caprivi Strip and enters Botswana in the northwestern corner at Mohembo Village.

Figure 1.2: The Okavango Basin

The Okavango River flows through a well-defined relatively narrow channel of some 95 km. The river splits into three major tributaries, namely: the Thaoge in the west, the Boro in the middle, and the Nqotha (Nggokga) in the east. These channels divide further into a series of small channels which continually battle for ascendancy. Some of these channels include the Gomoti, Khwai and Santadibie. The channels make the Okavango River to spread out into an alluvial fan forming an inland drainage area of considerable size. Ellery and Ellery (1997) state that the Okavango Delta covers an area of about 22,000 square kilometres while Tlou (1985) put the figure at 16,000 square kilometres. Tlou describes the Okavango Delta as a vast swamp and floodplain which covers about three percent of the total surface land area of Botswana of which half is permanently flooded. Bates and Jackson (1987) state that technically, the Okavango Delta is not a delta, but a class of alluvial fan (McCarthy, 1992), slightly conical and approximately triangular in shape.

According to Ellery and Ellery (1997) the Okavango Delta Basin can be divided into four main regions: the panhandle, the permanent swamps in the upper regions, the seasonal swamps in the lower regions, and a number of large land masses which occur as large islands, or which extend into the delta from the surrounding mainland, these are referred to as sandveld tongues. Therefore, some of the conspicuous features of the delta include the numerous small islands formed from large termite mounds, which reach elevations above maximum high water mark and have characteristic vegetation. The mounds often occur close together in groups and provide refuge for wild animals during the floods. A number of long sandy ridges form islands which tend to favour the spread of the flood down the long axis of the delta. This is formed in opposition to the influence exerted by the fault lines. The largest and highest of these long sand islands is Chief’s Island in the east of the delta (Ellery and Ellery, 1997).

The Okavango Delta overlies a sedimentary basin that has been in existence with progressive downwarping and faulting since the late Mesozoic period (OCC, 1995). This tectonic activity is reflected in a series of faults, the principal ones being the northeast to southwest trending faults known as the Kanyere and the Thamalakane faults and the Gumare faults lying to the north. These faults play a major role in controlling the flow and sedimentation in the delta (SMEC, 1989).
1.9 Natural Resources in the Study Area

Although the Okavango Delta is described as a natural resource (Mbaiwa, 1999) as such it embraces a variety of other natural resources. These include the following:

1.9.1 Wildlife Resources

The Okavango Delta is important as a tourism resource, because of the wildlife it sustains and its scenic beauty. Like other wetlands in the world, it provides good breeding areas for wildlife, birds, amphibians, aquatic mammals and fish. The Okavango River and its delta's mosaic of open water, wetlands and grasslands are home to innumerable species, including 5 000 insects, 3 000 plants, 540 birds, 164 mammals, 157 reptiles, 80 fish and countless micro-organisms (Rothert, 1997). Wild animals, birds, and plant life are considered the most important natural resources in the Okavango Basin. Large herbivores such as elephants, buffaloes, zebra and a variety of small game such as impalas, kudus, red lechwe, and ostrich are found in the region. Wildlife resources and other natural resources like veld products have direct and indirect influences on the lives of people living in the region. Thirty-two large mammals, which together with the crocodile and the ostrich make up thirty-four game animals of the Okavango Delta which are classified as under the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act of 1992 (OCC, 1995). The rich wildlife diversity of the Okavango Delta led to some parts of it being declared a protected area called the Moremi Game Reserve which covers approximately 3,900 square kilometers. The remaining areas are divided into Controlled Hunting Areas where wildlife is allowed to roam freely in large numbers.

1.9.2 Soils

The Okavango Delta is situated entirely in the Kalahari physiographic basin, one of many large sedimentary basins, separated by broad upwarps or swells, which cover the continent of Africa (OCC, 1995). As already noted, these basins developed through subsidence (downwarping) or rifting within a shield area of very ancient Pre-Cambrian rocks. Most of them have been sites of sedimentation throughout the phanerzoic period (OCC, 1995). The thickness of the underlying mainly unconsolidated Kalahari sands vary and may be up to 300 m deep in some areas and may even outcrop older consolidated sedimentary rocks of the Karoo Age (OCC, 1995).

Since the soils are developed primarily from the underlying geological materials, the Kalahari group sediments are of major importance in the soils that are found in the Okavango Delta, which are, therefore, mostly sandy. Beneath the Kalahari group sediments, are the Pre-Cambrian basement and the carboniferous to Triassic Karoo Supergroup. Pre-Cambrian rocks outcrop as dispersed inlets. Karoo sequences lie between the Pre-Cambrian basement and Kalahari surface, as well as minor elements in the post karoo sills and dykes. The importance of the Pre-Cambrian and karoo geologies lies in the fact that they are composed of rocks which are frequently mineral rich (OCC, 1995). There are three major divisions of soils in the Okavango Delta, that is, those developed from lacustrine deposits, in deflated pans or in interdune depressions, those developed from alluvial deposits or alluvially reworked materials, and those developed from unconsolidated sand deposits or coarse-gained sedimentary rocks (OCC, 1995).

The Okavango Delta floodplains (seasonal flooded areas) are mainly covered by Haplic Arenosols and Areni-Eutric Fluvisols. On the Nokaneng Flats, Arenosols with a clayey phase (a silt top layer) and phaeozems are found regularly. Towards the distal end of the delta (Shorobe-Mann), clay rich Luvisols and Gleysoils occur. These are the most important soil groups in terms of arable agricultural potential. Islands in the delta mainly consist of Haplic Arenosols, Areni-Haplic Calcisols and Calcic Luvisols. The fossil alluvial deposits around the delta are characterised by Haplic and Luvic Arenosols, Areni-Haplic Calcisols, Areni-Haplic, Calcic and Albic Luvisols. Areni-Eutric Planosols and Areni-Eutric Fluvisols cover the floodplains and terraces along the Okavango River (OCC, 1995).

Ngamiland District, in which the Okavango Delta is located, has a relatively low proportion of soils with a good potential for arable agriculture. The best soils for large-scale irrigated agriculture are found along the
Okavango River Panhandle. However, in these places where there are good soils for arable agriculture, the soils are used for non-agricultural purposes. These are areas that are zoned for non-agricultural purposes.

1.9.3 Vegetation

The diverse flora of the Okavango Delta is primarily due to variability of the water regime (seasonal, cyclic and episodic) and the evolution of the soils in the area (DWNF, 1991). The delta has a high plant species content when compared with other parts of the country (OCC, 1995). There are three different but closely interrelated vegetation zones in the Okavango Delta, these are: the aquatic grassland, the rich savannah woodland and the poorer scrub savannah that merges into the semi-desert to the remote west (Tlou, 1985). The aquatic grassland is dominated by an occurrence of *Mopane* (*Colophospermum mopane*) and *Terminalia sericea/Loechocarpus nelsii* association. In these areas there are perennial swamps with aquatic species such as papyrus as well as seasonal swamps without the papyrus. The rich savannah woodland is also dominated by *Mopane* trees, *Terminalia sericea* and acacia plants. Acacia plants and grass species dominate the last zone, the poor scrub savannah. The unique vegetation of the Okavango Delta is one of the important tourist attractions in the area.

1.10 Climate

The Okavango Basin falls within the northern band which is generally described as wet, even though it is also very prone and vulnerable to drought, especially the southern/south-eastern parts of the region. The mean minimum temperatures range from 15 to 20 degrees Celsius (winter/summer) with the lowest temperature occurring in June/July. Mean maximum temperatures range from 25 to 33 degrees Celsius (winter/summer) with peaks in October/November, sometimes reaching extremes of 42 degrees Celsius. This means the climate of the Okavango Delta is characterised by high summer temperatures. The high temperature naturally results in high rates of evaporation. It is estimated that 90% of the Okavango Delta waters are lost through evaporation.

No days with air frost have been registered in the Okavango Delta. Ground frost occurs mainly in June/July. The sky is overcast with the duration of bright sunshine averaging nine hours per day and ranging from 8.3 hours in December to 10.6 hours in September. Humidity varies from about 70% in February to about 31% in September, generally reflecting the rainy season that lasts from November to March. The Okavango Delta receives isolated showers of conventional rainfall. This rainfall is low and erratic both in time and space. Annual rainfall ranges from 450 mm to 660 mm, with 90% of this rainfall occurring during the months of November-March. Winter months (June-August) are virtually dry.

1.11 Hydrology

As pointed out earlier, the Okavango River has its headwaters at the highlands in southeast Angola, then flows through Namibia before entering Botswana. The only internal contribution is by direct rainfall on the river and delta. As a result, the outflow from the delta consists of two components: flow generated in the rainy season and flow generated by rains in Angola one year earlier. Normally, flow generated in Angola dominates the hydrology of the delta (Ellery and Ellery, 1997). The Okavango river enters Botswana at Mohembo, then flows within the confines of a 12 km broad and 95 km long swampy floodplain, often referred to as the panhandle (Ellery and Ellery, 1997).

The hydrological processes in the delta lead to the creation of different types of wetlands that vary in size according to the magnitude of the inflow. The total flooded area varies between 6 000 and 16 000 km² (Tlou, 1985). The area of permanent swamps is estimated at 600 km². Waters from the Okavango feed the Selinda, Ngokha, Boro, Kunyere, Thaoge, Khwai, Gomotl and Santantadibe distributary systems. There are also cross-flows between these systems at the downstream end, especially from the Boro to the Kunyere system. Flows into these rivers depend to a large extent on the volume of water that enters the country at Mohembo. As a result, plans by Namibia to extract water from the Okavango River could adversely affect the Okavango system.
Surface water from the delta is an important natural resource in the area. It is used for domestic purposes and limited small-scale agriculture along both sides of the panhandle. Seasonal outflow from the delta has been used traditionally for *molapo* (flood recession) farming, as the water recedes just prior to the rainy season. The Okavango Delta is, therefore, of high biological, hydrological, and economic value to the district and the country as a whole.

1.12 Ethnic Diversity

According to the 1991 Botswana Population Census, the Ngamiland District in which the Okavango Delta is located had an ethnically mixed human population of about 94,534 people. Population projections for year 2000 indicate that the area now has a total population of 110,073 people (CSO, 1997). It is estimated that about 90% (99,000) of these people are directly or indirectly associated with the Okavango River and the delta wetlands. Ethnic groups in Ngamiland District include the Bayei, Batawana, Basubiya, Bambukushu, BaHerero, Basarwa and Bakgalagadi living in villages surrounding the delta.

Ngamiland District is under the Batawana authority. The Batawana, who are an offshoot of the Bangwato of the present day central district, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, seceded from the Bangwato and established an independent state in Ngamiland (Tlou, 1985). The Batawana conquered and defeated all the tribal groups they found in the area and then exercised their power and authority over them. Such defeated groups were forced to pay an annual tribute to Batawana kings, who established their capital in Maun, found at the base of the triangular Okavango Delta. Under the Botswana constitution, all the people in the district are referred to as the Batawana. A factor that is disputed by other groups in the region such as the Bayei who prefer autonomy.

1.13 Land Use Activities

There are two major types of land ownership in Ngamiland District. These are state lands and communal lands. Within both types, there are designated land use areas like Wildlife Management Areas, Game Reserves and National Parks, and other general land use areas such as settlements, communal grazing, commercial grazing and arable areas. Since the district is endowed with natural resources such as the Okavango Delta and its rich wildlife diversity, wildlife and tourism are some of the important land use activities found in the area. The amount of land covered by each land use activity is shown in Table 3 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Land Use</th>
<th>Area Covered (Km²)</th>
<th>% of the total District Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communal</td>
<td>86,430</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Communal Areas</td>
<td>53,975</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- TGLP Ranches</td>
<td>6,950</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Game Reserves</td>
<td>4,610</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Wildlife Management Areas</td>
<td>20,895</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statoeld</td>
<td>22,700</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Wildlife Management Areas</td>
<td>16,606</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Leasehold</td>
<td>2,444</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- National Parks and Game Reserves</td>
<td>3,650</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>109,130</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: North West District Council (1997)*

The cultural variety of the district has also created a degree of specialisation among the economic activities of the local communities. The Bantu-speaking groups in the area (e.g. Basubiya, Bambukushu, Batawana and BaHerero) specialise in both arable and livestock farming. Hunting and gathering were carried out in the past to supplement livestock and crop production. Specifically, the BaHerero are best known as pastoralists who seldom engage in arable agriculture. The Bayei excel in fishing and are well versed in *molapo* cultivation and hunting. The Bambukushu have established extensive crop cultivation areas, and
like the Bayei, are well adapted to life in the delta. The Batawana combine livestock farming and crop cultivation. As a result, the current economy of the people of Ngamiland District has its base on activities such as fishing, arable agriculture, hunting and gathering of veld products. They also keep donkeys, goats and chickens.

The Basarwa, especially those who are referred to as BuNoka, meaning, people of the river or the so-called “river bushmen”, in the past lived through hunting, fishing and gathering along the distributaries and streams of the Okavango Delta. At the moment, they earn a living through gathering veld products and grass cutting for sale to the delta lodges. There is also a limited amount of arable agriculture, and a few people have donkeys and chickens.

There is also another group of Basarwa referred to as Basarwa ba Setsiga or Matsegakwe, that is the people of the dryland or the so-called “sandveld bushmen”. They used to live a nomadic life of hunting and gathering. Their current economic base is arable agriculture, hunting and gathering of veld products. They also keep donkeys, goats and chickens.
CHAPTER 2

BASIC CONCEPTS, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the definitions of major terms and concepts used in the study. The chapter also deals with the conceptual framework on which the study was based. It was based on the concept of sustainable development hence the contribution of tourism to the ideals of sustainable development in the Okavango Delta has been closely assessed. Since the growth of tourism in the Okavango Delta is part of international and regional tourist trends, this chapter discusses such trends, and finally, some of the main tourist activities in the Okavango Delta.

2.2 Definitions of major terms and concepts

Tourists - this study adopted the definition used by Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) for the term "tourist". According to Ceballos-Lascurain (1996:1) a tourist refers to "an individual who travels for the purpose of travelling, out of curiosity". This definition is similar to that of McIntosh and Goeldner (1990:518) who state that a tourist is "a person who travels from place to place for non-work reasons". The United Nations defines a tourist as "any person who stays for more than one night and less than a year in a particular place" (McIntosh and Goeldner, 1990:158). The term "tourist" in this study was, therefore, used to refer to an individual who visits the Okavango Delta mainly for pleasure or to experience its wilderness nature and to enjoy its scenic beauty for a period of more than 24 hours but less than 12 months.

Tourism - the definition of tourism by McIntosh and Goeldner (1990) and Cooke (1990) was adopted in this study. McIntosh and Goeldner (1990:4) define the term tourism "as the sum of the phenomena and relationships arising from the interaction of tourists, business suppliers, host governments, and the host communities in the process of attracting and hosting these tourists and other visitors". They state that tourism has four different perspectives which are; tourists, businesses providing tourist goods and services, governments of host community and area which benefit from foreign exchange and taxes, and the host community which see tourism as a cultural and employment factor.

McIntosh and Goeldner state that tourism is a composite of activities, services, and industries that delivers a travel experience, namely: transportation, accommodation, eating and drinking establishments, shops, entertainment, activity facilities, and other hospitality services available for individuals or groups that are travelling away from home. The description by McIntosh and Goeldner is similar to that used by Cooke (1990:54) who describes tourism as a business or industry, and it requires the investment of considerable amount of capital, employs an array of workers from higher management down to bed makers and barmen, and uses space, often very extensive space. The entrepreneur sees tourism as a means of making money, and steps in to organise the business which may include tour companies from the more exclusive to the cheap package, travel agencies, hotel and lodge companies, and travel companies, from airlines to bus and taxi owners.

Safari tourism - safari tourism refers to an individual form of travel for the purpose of enjoying nature and wildlife while moving along through wild environments. The word safari originates from East Africa and refers to open savannah lands in which the main attraction is the diversity of easily observable large game animals (Roth and Merz 1997). Hunting of some of these animals for meat and sport formed part of the classical East African safari. However, the concept of safari tourism has in the last decade been extended to include any commercially organised individual group or wildlife tours in Africa, aimed at the discovery, study and enjoyment of wildlife.

Domestic tourism - residents of country visiting tourists destinations in their own country (Smith, 1995).

International tourism - the combination of inbound tourism and outbound tourism (Smith, 1995). Inbound tourism refers to visits to a country by non-residents while outbound tourism refers to residents of a country visiting destinations in other countries (Smith, 1995).
Tourist expenditures - receipts - money that is spent by tourists or visitors on goods and services provided by the destination. This excludes expenditures that do not enter the destination (such as airfares paid to international airlines and commissions to travel agencies in sending countries (Seward and Spinrad, 1982).

Tourism foreign exchange - foreign exchange that flows into the destination due to expenditures by tourists. Seward and Spinrad (1982) state that since tourists must change foreign exchange into local currency when entering most destinations, gross tourism foreign exchange is equivalent to tourist expenditures/receipts.

Tourism government revenues - tax and non-tax income collected by various public agencies due to the existence of a tourism industry (Seward and Spinrad, 1982). These taxes and revenues include those directly paid by the visitors or tourists such as bed occupancy tax and airport revenues. They also include revenues from other indirect sources such as income tax of tourism employees and sales tax on their local expenditure.

Tourism employment - the number of full- and part-time jobs generated by tourism (Seward and Spinrad, 1982). Seward and Spinrad further note that there is direct and indirect tourism employment. Direct employment is employment created by first round of tourism expenditure within the subsectors of the tourism industry, especially hotels, restaurants, local transport, shops and entertainment centres. Indirect employment is employment created by the second round of tourism expenditure, particularly non-tourist sectors of the economy such as government and construction, that although not directly involved with tourism partially benefit from it.

Leakages - the loss of tourism foreign exchange caused by the need to import goods and services required by the tourism industry. First-round leakages refers to the foreign-exchange earnings flowing out of the tourist destination almost immediately upon receipt. According to Seward and Spinrad (1982), a large portion of these leakages is due to the import of goods such as foods and liquor required by hotels, restaurants, and other subsectors of the tourism industry. In Botswana, payment for tourist packages are mainly paid abroad and much of the food items are imported. Seward and Spinrad note that purchases of imported goods from local intermediaries are also included. Seward and Spinrad (1982) note that second-round leakages refers to foreign exchange earnings that circulate at least once through the economy of the tourist destination before flowing out.

Linkages - the extent to which the sub-sectors of the tourism industry use goods and services available in other sectors of the economy. Seward and Spinrad (1982) state that if most goods and services used by the tourism industry are produced domestically, tourism is said to have strong linkages with other sectors of the economy and a low level of leakage.

Sustainable development is defined by the WCED as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987:43). The global concern over the degradation of the world's natural resource base prompted the United Nations to set up the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), that proposed the concept of sustainable development. The main thrust of WCED's concept of sustainable development is the utilisation and management of renewable resources for the benefit of today's generations while at the same time making the same resources available for future generations (WCED, 1987).

Tourism in the Okavango Delta relies on natural resources such as wildlife and the wilderness nature of the delta. In this respect, WCED's definition simply implies that tourist products such as the wildlife resources are harvested or utilised to meet the needs of the present generations without jeopardising the wildlife resource needs of future generations. Although the concept of sustainable development became a global notion after 1987 due to the work and report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) and was further popularised by the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, it was first pronounced in the World Conservation Strategy in 1980 (Darkoh 1993, Holmberg and Sandbrook 1997). Barrow (1991), however, says
that the concept of ecologically sustainable development seemed to have been “voiced for the first time in 1972, possibly in 1968”.

Wildlife resources can refer to flora and fauna, that is, large mammals, plants, of which birds and even reptiles are often included (Eltringham, 1984). To Giles (1974), wildlife refers to game animals and the songbirds of the veld. The term wildlife resource is used in this study to refer to terrestrial and large aquatic vertebrates and free-ranging birds.

Consumptive wildlife resource utilisation – human activities leading to wildlife off-take. This applies to sport hunting or trophy hunting, game farming, live capture and export of live animals or translocation, and taxidermy, and trophy processing. Consumptive wildlife resource utilisation has become important to the country’s tourist industry in that it encourages sport and trophy hunting which attracts rich hunters from Europe and North America. Apart from generating significant foreign exchange for the country, safari hunting has created employment opportunities for people in the Okavango Delta.

Non-consumptive wildlife resource utilisation – human activities that do not involve wildlife off-take. This includes the use of wildlife for scientific, educational, and recreational purposes. Non-consumptive wildlife utilisation is also associated with photographic tourism. Photographic tourism includes activities such as photographic safaris, photographic camps and lodges, air charter operators, the wildlife film industry, educational/recreational parks and conservation organisations. Photographic tourism allows nature to take its own course. It is environmentally friendly and suits the interests of the international animal rights groups (Motheoagae, 1995). In fact, this depends on density of facilities and numbers of people involved, if the number is high, this can disturb the animals and birds in an area.

Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) – a concept recently adopted by eastern and southern African states where the natural resource conservation paradigm has shifted from a centralised preservationist and protectionist approach to a more integrated approach. This approach recognises the need for the promotion and empowerment of the local communities by linking economic and social development to natural resources management. CBNRM concept recognises the incorporation and importance of indigenous knowledge system in natural resources management.

Indigenous Knowledge or Local Knowledge or Indigenous Technical Knowledge (ITK) denotes a cumulative body of knowledge generated and evolved over time, representing generations of creative thought and actions within individual societies in an ecosystem of continuous residence with an effort of coping with the ever-changing agro-ecological and socio-economic environment (Fernandez 1994, LaDuke 1994, Laws and Luming 1996, Serrano 1996, Warren 1996, Darkoh 1996). CBNRM regards ITK as the basis for establishing a realistic blend, if not an alternative, to the current inadequate conventional natural resource conservation attempts. Local communities possess a pool of knowledge of the ecosystem in which they live and are involved in adaptive and coping livelihood strategies that ensure that natural resources are used sustainably in their local environment (Darkoh, 1996).

2.3 Conceptual Framework: Sustainable Development and Tourism

As earlier noted, this study is based on the concept of sustainability. Sustainable development provides for tourism development to be economically viable, ecologically sensitive and culturally appropriate. The basic principle of sustainable development is intergenerational equity, which says that development is sustainable only to the extent that we can meet our needs today without prejudice to those of the future generations. Therefore, the present generation should leave for the next generation a stock of quality-of-life assets no less than those we have inherited (Pearce, Markandya and Barbiere, 1989). The main thrust of the concept of sustainable development is the utilisation and management of renewable resources for the benefit of today’s generations at the same time making the same resources available for future generations (WCED, 1987).

As shown in Figure 2.1, the concept of sustainable development is hinged on three broad approaches and concerns, social, economic and environmental/ecological sustainability (Angelson et al 1994; Munasinghe and McNeely 1995). Munasinghe and McNeely (1995) state that economists relate sustainability to the preservation of the productive capital stock. Physical scientists relate sustainability to the resilience or
integrity of biological and physical systems (Perrings 1991). A third concern of sustainability relates to the adaptability and preservation of diverse social and cultural systems.

Figure 2.1: Approaches to Sustainable Development

Economic Sustainability
- Growth
- Stability
- Efficiency

Sustainable Development

Social Sustainability
- Consultation/Empowerment
- Poverty Alleviation
- Culture/Heritage

Ecological Sustainability
- Natural Resource
- Biodiversity/Resilience
- Pollution

a - Intra-generational equity
b - Valuation
- Targeted relief/employment
- Internalisation
c - Inter-generational equity
- Popular participation

Source: Munasinghe and McNeely (1995)

2.3.1 Economic Sustainability

Economic sustainability/efficiency aims at the optimal use of natural resources (Seragoldin 1993; Munasinghe and McNeely 1995). The aim is to produce the maximum output in order to achieve a high standard of living of the people within the constraints of the existing capital (Markandya 1993; Pachlka 1999). Although economic sustainability implies meeting the economic needs of everyone through the use of natural resources, Ndubano (2000) states that the experience of Kenya has shown that it is possible to have a booming tourist industry while the majority of the local people live in poverty. This, therefore, represents an inefficient and unsustainable way in the use of natural resources. In assessing tourism in the Okavango Delta, it should be established whether its development is carried out such that it meets needs of stakeholders especially the local people.

2.3.2 Social Sustainability

Social and cultural aspects are crucial for sustainable development, however, they are often overlooked. Ethical values, beliefs, and institutions development within socio-cultural systems to meet human needs (Munasinghe and McNeely 1995). As a result, social sustainability/equity is concerned with the conservation and promotion of socio-cultural diversity (Sachs, 1999). It advocates for the fairness and equal access to resources by all the user groups. This is aimed at ensuring equity in the distribution of costs, benefits, decision-making and
management, which in theory will eradicate poverty (UNCED, 1992). Tourism development should show that tourism is a socio-cultural event for both the host and the traveler, and as such cultural tourism should be promoted for the sustainability of the industry (Murphy, 1985). Cultural tourism broadens the scope of the industry and ensures a greater community involvement, and thus promotes appreciation of the industry among locals as there will be increased and more equitable contribution to their prosperity (Murphy, 1985). Developing sustainable social and cultural practices to help manage renewable tourism resources is, therefore, one of the major challenges of tourism development in the Okavango Delta.

2.3.2 Environmental/Ecological Sustainability

Environmental/Ecological sustainability emphasises that the use of renewable natural resources should not be faster than the rate at which the natural process renews itself (Serageldine, 1992). This is based on the assumption that the dynamic processes of the natural environment can become unsustainable as a result of stresses imposed by human activity (Munasinghe and McNeely 1995). Environmental sustainability, therefore, refers to maintaining a system’s stability, which implies limiting the stress to sustainable levels on ecosystems that are central to the sustainability of the global system (Perrings, 1991). Paehlke (1999) defines environmental sustainability to include the conservation of ecology, air, water, and biological diversity in terms of both quality and quantity. The assessment of tourism in the Okavango Delta, should, therefore, establish whether its development is carried out such that it does not stress the ecosystem, but preserving it.

The three concepts of economic, social and environmental sustainability are inter-related. Impacts on one of them are likely to affect other aspects. For example, the deterioration of environmental quality in the Okavango Delta is likely to negatively impact on the economic and social development of tourism in the area. Therefore, the power of the sustainable development concept lies in its dual benefits—it both opens up new opportunities and avoids the trap of trading off environmental goals against economic growth (Darkoh, 1996). If sustainable development is to achieve its potential, it must be integrated into the planning and management systems of individual and corporate business enterprises (Darkoh 1994, 1999). This suggests that development of tourism in Ngamiland District should be designed such that it does not lead to an environmental trade-off but instead to improved environmental and human welfare.

For sustainable development to succeed, it must, therefore, give priority to the livelihoods of the poor, a view shared by WCED (1987) and Redclift (1987). However, Chambers (1986) state that sustainable development appears to be the terminology of managers, and is not as yet, the terminology of the managed. As a result, in many parts of the world, the growing numbers of poor people have inevitably led to the degradation of the environment each day just to make ends meet. The participation of rural poor communities in tourism development in the Okavango Delta, therefore, become important in that it is inline with the concept of sustainable development. This is because it has the potential to make these poor rural communities benefit from tourism development in their area thus having their livelihoods improved.

Despite the positive assumptions of the concept of sustainable development, there are those who feel that sustainable development involves contradictory goals (e.g., Redclift 1987, Arnold 1989, Lele 1991, Warren 1996). In spite of this, it has come to be generally accepted that “real” development cannot be achieved unless the strategies are sustainable and consistent with social values and institutions. The concepts of sustainable development and eco-tourism are interrelated. In fact, eco-tourism has been derived from sustainable development. Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) notes that eco-tourism is environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy, study, and appreciate nature. Eco-tourism promotes conservation, has low visitor impact and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations.

The two concepts of sustainable development and eco-tourism advocate secure livelihoods of the poor in which economic activities like tourism do not degrade their environmental base. The community-based natural resource management projects in southern Africa, of which Botswana is a part, are based on this broader application of sustainable development, which assumes that economic benefits in the form of community projects and/or household’s dividends will tend to foster individual and communities living in natural resource areas to maintain a sustainable ecological base. In theory, communities embracing
CBNRM should be involved in conserving, protecting and exploiting natural resources in a rationale manner, a goal which sustainable development aims at achieving.

2.4 Review of Literature

This sub-section starts with the review of literature on tourism and development at a global scale. However, much emphasis is put on tourism and development in developing countries. Literature also includes international and regional tourists trends, the development of tourism in Botswana, and tourism in the Okavango Delta. Environmental and geographical problems straddle various spatial scales. While it is impossible to give a comprehensive review of the available literature at each of the different spatial scales, an attempt has been made to survey the broad views and trends of work previously done on the subject. An indication of the strong and weak areas of the existing literature is given as well as pointing out the gaps and trends pertinent to the research problem as revealed in the survey of the literature.

2.4.1 Tourism and Development: A Global Outlook

Tourism has been one of the global economic success stories in the last forty years (Coccossis and Parpaires 1995). However, difficult as it is to accurately quantify tourism, it is arguably, the world's largest industry, accounting for about 5.5% of the world's GNP and 6% of the employment, and it is growing fast (Glasson et al 1995). Most governments encourage the growth of tourism in their respective countries to support economic development. For poor countries, regions, towns and cities, tourism is seen as the fast track to development. Hall (1995) states that the governments, particularly in the Third World encourage tourism investment because of the assumption that it will contribute to economic development of their countries. However, tourism development should not be defined narrowly in terms of economic benefits only, but broadly or in a broader sense (see, for example, Krapf, 1961; Kaiser and Helber, 1978; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Murphy, 1985; McIntosh et al, 1995; Wahab, 1997; Cooper et al, 1998). These analysts believe tourism has the potential to direct impact on social and economy on destination regions. This issue is made more clear by Binns (1995) who states that development should not only refer to economic matters but should also encompass social, economic, environmental and ethical considerations such that its measurement may incorporate indicators of poverty, unemployment, inequality, and self-reliance.

As the major concern with tourism is the role that the industry plays in development, there is a growing demand for tourism to maintain a certain balances-between visitors and the host environment and between development and conservation (ETB 1991; Glasson et al 1995). The issue of development has triggered an emerging interest in tourism that emphasises sustainable tourism development (Glasson et al 1995). Sustainable tourism development is largely based on the concept of sustainable development. Globe (1996) states that the achievement of sustainable tourism development requires working partnerships among the network of actors and linking scientific research and public consultation in decision making.

2.4.2 The Product Cycle

The product cycle (Figure 2.2) is a model that describes how a tourist destination area such as the Okavango Delta evolves over time. This model was developed by Butler (1980) and adopted by Prossor (1994). According to Butler and Prosser, this model has the following assumptions: a tourist destination area is first discovered-its resources are perceived to be valuable/attractive thus made increasingly available; as demand for these resources grows, tourists, investors, and tour operators start moving into the area in large numbers, the destination area booms; with time, the increased number of tourists and tourist facilities cause resources to become maximally exploited, resulting in the resource/product becoming less competitive/attractive/valuable; at this point, the destination area declines and it may even die as the demand disappears or the resource is exhausted. When the tourist destination area is environmental degraded and is no longer attractive, tourists and investors and tour operators move out and relocate elsewhere and the cycle starts all over again. Butler (1980) states that capacity thresholds occur when the number of tourists approaches levels which strain the capability of the host area to provide a good visitor experience.
The product cycle or the tourist life cycle model is based on three main concepts: conspicuous consumption, successive class intervention, and the pleasure periphery (Prosser, 1994). Conspicuous consumption assumes that all tourism involves consumption, but the element of conspicuousness begins with fashion, status, and image dimensions of tourism. The seeking out of new places and experiences is part of this consumption for exhibition. That is, tourists always tell others back home about a destination they visited hence indirectly advertising it. The concept of class intervention states that, over time, a particular mode of consumption, fashion or lifestyle will spread downwards through the socio-economic class structure of a society. This suggests that, as the cycle evolves, not only do numbers arriving at a destination change, but also do the types of tourists, facilitated by travel and the tourism industry. This is accompanied by a progressive metamorphosis of the destination environment. The concept of pleasure periphery assumes that as tourism develops, with the destination area becoming overcrowded and environmentally degraded by tourists activities and tourist facilities, the desire for novelty, uniqueness and exclusivity of experience cause elite tourists to seek out fresh destinations and move on, potentially triggering the product cycle all over again. Prosser (1994) notes that it is this constant search, again enthusiastically encouraged by the tourism industry, which drives the pleasure periphery rippling outwards over time from tourist-generating regions to envelop ever new destinations.

Based on the nature of tourism as described by the product cycle, Prosser (1994:23) concluded, "... tourism becomes an exploitative process, comparable with the extraction of a primary resource such as timber or iron ore". He further asks, "Is there life after tourism?" This model explains tourism as a dynamic industry influenced by changing tastes of holiday makers. The product cycle explains the fact that there are environmental, physical, social and economic factors that limit a tourist destination area's capacity to absorb tourists and their associated facilities and institutions (Hall, 1995). If such factors are not taken into consideration, it is possible for tourism to damage the socio-economic, cultural, and environmental fabric of the destination area. This view is also held by Wall (1997) who notes that if tourism is to contribute to sustainable development, it must be economically viable, ecologically sensitive, and culturally appropriate.

The product cycle further notes that in the development phase of a tourist destination, local involvement and control of development will decline rapidly as prominent tourist investors and operators move into the
destination area. Locally provided facilities disappear as they are superseded by larger and more elaborate up-to-date tourist facilities provided by external organizations particularly for visitor accommodation. Naturally and local culturally attractions become supplemented by man made imported facilities. This leads to the physical change of the environment in the tourist destination area. These physical, socio-economic, and cultural changes are usually not necessarily welcome and accepted or approved by the local people (Butler, 1980). The product cycle, therefore, provides a useful conceptual framework within which it is possible to study various forms of land use intensification and environmental quality in a tourist destination area. The Okavango Delta is a fairly new tourist destination area in Botswana. As a result, it is interesting to assess whether the evolution of tourism in the area can be explained within the framework of the product cycle.

2.4.3 Impacts of Tourism

This sub-section discusses the economic, socio-cultural and physical environmental impacts of tourism, particular attention is paid to Botswana's situation.

2.4.3.1 Economic Impacts

As noted above, tourism is usually promoted by a country for its ability to spread economic development and reduce inequalities in income distribution by providing jobs to people in a geographical area (Pearce 1988, Coccossis and Parpaitsis 1995; Wahab and Pigmum 1997). The nature of tourism in host regions is such that much of the economic benefits focus at the national and regional levels (de Kadt 1979; Williams and Shaw 1988). Tourism can, therefore, be a catalyst for national and regional development, bringing employment, exchange earnings, balance of payments advantages, and important infrastructure developments benefiting locals and visitors alike (Glasson et al, 1995). Peters (1969) notes that tourism has several potential benefits for any developing country, including contribution to the balance of payments, dispersion of development to non-industrial regions, the effect on general economic development through multiplier effects, and social benefits arising from the widening of people's interest in world affairs and a new understanding of foreigners and foreign responsibilities.

According to Cooke (1990), tourism is a business or an economic industry. It requires the investment of considerable amounts of capital, employs an army of workers from higher management down to bed makers and barmen, and uses space, often very extensive space. Entrepreneurs see tourism as a means of making money and step in to organise the business, which may include tour companies, from the more exclusive to the cheap package, travel agencies, hotel and lodge companies, and travel companies, from airlines to bus and taxi owners. Despite the positive role that tourism plays in the socio-economic development of host regions, researchers such as Bachman (1988), Pearce (1989), and Harrison (1995) claim that economic benefits of tourism are often exaggerated to the positive aspects while the negative aspects of tourism are ignored. This is similar to Botswana's situation since positive economic impacts of tourism are often emphasised while the negative economic impacts are ignored or not recorded.

The other problem of tourism in developing countries is that the needs and participation of host communities are often excluded in the tourism business. Glasson et al (1995) and Ceballo-Lascuirain (1996) note that tourism should be sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the host population. It should provide for local participation in decision-making and the employment of local people. The type of tourism that usually develops in remote regions is referred to as “enclave tourism” (Butler 1980; Britton 1981; Proser 1994); Ceballo-Lascuirain (1996). In an enclave tourism, tourism facilities are predominately foreign owned and controlled and the structures and services are designed to meet the needs of rich foreign tourists and hence are often beyond the financial means of the local people. According to Butler (1980), Britton 1981, Proser (1994), and Ceballo-Lascuirain (1996), if efforts are not made to include local communities in the tourism business, resentment, antagonisms and alienation often emerge between the host communities and the foreign tourism investors. Dominance of the industry by foreign investors and non-local investment can reduce control over local resources. Krippendorf (1987) states that the loss of local autonomy is certainly the most negative long-term effect of tourism.

Economic impacts of tourism in Botswana have been noted by various studies in the country (e.g. Borge et al 1990; Fowkes 1985, 1990; Bank of Botswana 1999; Botswana Tourism Development Programme 1999;
DOT, 2001). However, such studies are generic and merely explain economic impacts of tourism in terms of Gross Domestic Product contribution to the national economy and government revenue. Much is not known about direct impacts tourist operators, local people, and the national economy. Besides such studies have not adequately addressed the issue of ownership and control of the tourism industry in Botswana. Future studies must, therefore address issues of direct benefits to stakeholders and the question of ownership and control of the tourism industry in Botswana.

2.4.3.2 Socio-Cultural Impacts

The socio-cultural impacts of tourism result from the interaction between “host” or local people and “guests” or tourists (Smith, 1989). As Glasson et al (1995) put it, socio-cultural impacts are the “people impacts” of tourism, with a focus on changes in the day-to-day quality of life of residents in tourist destinations, and cultural impacts concerned with changes in traditional ideas and values, norms and identities resulting from tourism. Glasson et al further note that social and cultural impacts of tourism are interrelated. However, socio-cultural impacts are not limited only to the host area population, they are significant for the visitors themselves, and for people in transit areas to visitor destinations.

Cooper et al (1998) state that much of the literature on socio-cultural impacts of tourism is biased in that it focuses attention upon the detrimental impact of tourism on the host population. Similarly, little attention has been paid to the fact that there can also be socio-cultural impacts on the tourist population, which can again be either positive or negative. In reality, socio-cultural impacts tend to contain a mixture of both positive and negative strands and these impacts affect hosts and guests. As a result, in spite of the fact that some researchers regard socio-cultural change as one of the evils of tourism development, any form of economic development will, by definition, carry with it implications for social structure and cultural aspects of the host population. This is noted to be true for both international and domestic tourism development (Cooper et al 1998).

The nature of socio-cultural impacts can range from those impacts that are obvious and measurable, such as the outbreak of particular types of disease and/or infections, to those that are hard to identify and measure such as changes in customs and codes of conduct (Cooper et al 1998). On the other hand, there are those impacts that may be identifiable, such as increased crime rates, drug abuse and prostitution, but are difficult to attribute to tourism rather than to other factors of influence such as media intrusion (Cooper et al 1998).

Brayley (1990) and Ryan (1993) state that the social costs of tourists may include a shift in local population and employment structures, with more young people, more females and more part-time employment, pressure on local services, such as public transport, an increase in crime, and antagonism between local people and visitors. Another socio-cultural impact of tourism is the extent to which non-local investment can reduce control over local resources (Krippendorf 1987; Glasson et al 1995). In this situation, a local resident may also suffer a loss of sense of place, as his/her surroundings are transformed to accommodate the requirements of tourism. However, tourism may also bring considerable social benefits to a host town. These may include a heightened sense of pride in one’s own city and broadening of mutual understanding between hosts and visitors — with a softening of language, social, religious and nationality barriers. Local people may also gain considerably from the maintenance, or improvement, of various local services, for example, improvement of entertainment and health facilities and services that would otherwise have been impossible without the tourist market (Glasson et al 1995).

Socio-cultural problems of tourism may also include the commercialisation of culture, religion and the arts, with the misuse of indigenous culture as tourist attractions, folkloreism, staged authenticity and the undermining of traditional craft industries with cheaper artificial imports (Cohen 1979; Glasson et al 1995). Glasson et al 1995 further notes that a process of acculturation may affect the host location, with the breaking down of local values, norms and traditions in the face of a dominant and often richer flow of visitors. ECTR (1988) and Prentice (1993) state that language presents a particular sensitive issue. However, it is often easy to accentuate the negative and eliminate the positive socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Cultural benefits and intercultural communication between hosts and visitors can improve understanding. Glasson et al (1995) state that, without visitors, local culture and traditions may have been lost completely as might the market for traditional products.
As already noted, most of the studies in Botswana (e.g. Borge et al 1990; Fowkes 1990; Botswana Tourism Development Programme 1999; Department of Tourism, 2000b) have focused on the economic impacts of tourism. Socio-cultural impacts have not been assessed adequately. This explains why cultural tourism in Botswana is almost non-existent (Government of Botswana 1997). Studies in tourism in Botswana should address the socio-cultural limitations and gaps in tourism literature. Such studies should indicate the socio-cultural potential of tourism in the country.

2.4.3.3 Physical and Environmental Impacts

Overcrowding, misuse of natural resources, the construction of buildings and infrastructure, and other activities associated with tourism obviously impact the environment (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996). Problems associated with these impacts arise if the number of tourists is large or the resource overused. According to Ceballos-Lascurain (1996), in protected areas, tourism impacts are either direct or indirect. Direct impacts are caused by the presence of tourists, indirect impacts by the infrastructure created in connection with tourism activities. Because of its nature, Plog (1974) notes that “tourism contains the seeds of its own destruction, tourism can kill tourism, destroying the very environmental attractions which visitors come to a location to experience”. This view of tourism as destructive is further supported by Butler (1980), Prosser (1994), Ceballos-Lascurain (1996), and Glasson et al (1995). Glasson et al state that tourism is, by its very nature, an agent of change. Some of the impacts of change may be controlled, regulated, or directed. If properly managed, tourism has the potential of being a renewable industry, where resource integrity is maintained or even enhanced. If mismanaged or allowed to expand within short-term goals and objectives, it has the capability of destroying the very resources upon which it is built.

While tourism has environmental effects on host regions, much of the discussion and literature on tourism’s impacts on the environment traditionally focuses on the natural environment (Cohen, 1978; Rumeril 1989; Farrell and Ruyan, 1991). Braiassoulis and van der Straten (1992) note that while focus is usually placed on impacts on the natural environment, impacts on the built environment can be equally important. Key dimensions of the natural environment include air and water quality, flora and fauna, and landscape; the built environment includes individual buildings, quarters and the broader urban morphology of a location (Glasson et al 1995).

Glasson et al (1995) state that problems of large numbers of visitors may include pedestrian and vehicle congestion, with accompanying noise, air and water pollution, litter, trampling of vegetation, erosion of the physical fabric of buildings, inappropriate new buildings and land uses, insensitive rehabilitation of heritage sites, and, at its extreme, the overwhelming size of the morphology of towns. Studies by OECD (1981) and Pearce (1989) identify a range of stressor activities and the environmental stress that can result from large numbers of tourists in a town. These include major construction activities, generation of waste residuals, tourist activities and the effects on population dynamics. For its part, the ETB (1991) notes that several problems arise from overcrowding, wear and tear, traffic congestion and parking, the provisions of visitor facilities and changes in character of localities. This can include a range of impacts, mainly, the increased risk from cars, atmospheric pollution, impaired ambience, and the destruction of architectural and archaeological integrity.

Despite the negative impacts of tourism on the physical environment, tourism demand may bring the renewal of formerly derelict sites and the resources to maintain historic buildings for the benefit of both the local residents and tourists. Visitor interest, concern and money can help the preservation of individual buildings for future generations (Glasson et al 1995). Visitor demand for heritage experiences can stimulate the renovation of derelict historical buildings for use as attractions, restaurants, and shops.

Although tourism usually has negative environmental impacts on destination areas, there has so far been on sustained research on such impacts in Botswana (e.g. Borge et al 1990; Fowkes 1990; Botswana Tourism Development Programme 1999; Department of Tourism, 2000b). However, if sustainable tourism is to be achieved in Botswana, research on tourism should be holistic and address all aspects of tourism development, namely socio-cultural, economic and environmental impacts.
2.4.5 Tourism Management and Policy Issues

The increasing concern over the negative impacts of tourism and economic development in host regions has often resulted in new strategies and policies by governments to make tourism sustainable. One such strategy or tool is Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). EIA has considerable relevance for tourism developments, and indeed for tourism as a policy direction even though its application in such context has been limited (Glasson et al 1995). According to Glasson et al (1995), EIA is a systematic process that examines the environmental consequences of development actions in advance; it is a good example of the precautionary principle. EIA can be an important instrument for sustainable development. It can also help to improve decision making on a project and if can improve the design of new developments, indicating areas where the project can be modified to minimise or eliminate adverse impacts on the environment. While EIAs can be an effective tool in reducing environmental effects on tourist destinations, Hansen and Erbaugh (1987) state that the failure of policies and projects in the developing countries is due to the predominant use of a top-down approach, where the majority of the local communities are not involved in decision making that directly affect their lives. Tourism research in Botswana has not been carried out to assess the strengths and weaknesses of tourism’s institutional and policy framework. This should determine the extent to which the various stakeholders in the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta exercise their power in decision-making and policy processes.

2.4.6 International Tourist Trends

According to the World Tourism Organisation (1999), global tourist arrivals and receipts have been increasing in the last decade. Table 2.1 shows that international arrivals increased from 429 million people in 1989 to 625 million people in 1998, an increase of 45.7% in the ten-year period. Receipts increased from US$ 211 billion in 1989 to US$ 445 billion in 1998, an increase of 101.4% in the same period. The growth of international tourism is attributed to higher standards of living in the west and improved modes of travel (Harrison 1995; McIntosh et al 1995 and Ceballos-Lascurain 1996).

Table 2.1: International Tourist Arrivals and Receipts Worldwide, 1989–1998

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals (millions)</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% annual change</td>
<td>8.02</td>
<td>7.45</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>8.49</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>6.05</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>5.49</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>2.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipts (US$ billion)</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% annual change</td>
<td>8.31</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>9.23</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>7.52</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>2.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: WTO, 1999)

While tourist arrivals to Africa have been on the increase, the share of tourist receipts by Africa has been on the decline in the continent from 2.7% in 1970 to 2.2% in 1998 (Table 2.2). Unlike Africa, the share of tourist receipts for North America in tourist earnings has increased over the years even though tourist arrivals in this region have gone down.

Table 2.2: Africa's Shares of International Tourist Arrivals and Gross Receipts, 1970-98 (%)

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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa Arrivals</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipts</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America Arrivals</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipts</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe Arrivals</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipts</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The divergent trends in receipts and arrivals between Africa and North America are explained by the Bank of Botswana (1999) as a result of a combination of several factors: the domestic provision of a wider range of goods and services required by tourists, particularly the major role of North American airlines because air travel is a major component of the costs of international tourism. In contrast, most visitors to Africa continue to use non-African airlines for travel. African currencies have also depreciated in real terms against the United States dollar.

2.4.7 Southern Africa Regional Tourist Trends

Southern Africa is presently the fastest growing tourist destination in Africa, with increases of 17.1% and 10.5% for arrivals and receipts, respectively, between 1994 and 1995. The share of southern Africa of total tourist arrivals in Africa increased from 13.5% in 1990 to 31% in 1995 (WTO, 1999). Table 2.3 shows the share of international tourist arrivals and receipts for the four Southern African states. Botswana, which lies between two major tourist resort areas of Cape Town in South Africa and the Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe, has greatly benefited from the expansion of tourism in the Southern African region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.3: Regional Trends in Tourist Arrivals and Receipts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals (000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share in Africa (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipts (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals (000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share in Africa (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipts (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals (000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share in Africa (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipts (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals (000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share in Africa (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipts (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


South Africa and Zimbabwe have higher tourist arrivals than the other countries in the region. South Africa and Zimbabwe attract more tourists because they have a more developed tourist infrastructure and have had international publicity (Sisililethu and McLeod, 1998).

2.4.8 Tourism in Botswana: A Historical Perspective

The development of tourism in Botswana is in its infancy (Sisililethu and McLeod, 1998). While tourism attractions, such as wildlife and wilderness, have always been in Botswana, tourism development was hindered by several factors. Tsiang (1990), Fowkes (1990) and Cooke (1990) state that tourism development in Botswana prior to the 1990s was partly retarded by the political instability in the southern African region. Even though Botswana was politically stable throughout instability in South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola reflected negatively on the entire region and projected an insecure image.

Lack of tourist and communication infrastructure also inhibited growth of tourism. Tsiang (1990) notes that at independence in 1966, Botswana's roads were poor, making travelling within the country very difficult. Other forms of communications such as air travel, telephones, fax machines and the e-mail systems were unknown in the country. Growth of tourism in Botswana was further hindered by the fact that the country's location is far from major international tourist markets in Europe and North America. Botswana was not historically known as
a tourist destination overseas but rather was perceived by most people in Europe and North America as part of the Republic of South Africa.

Early efforts to develop tourism in the 1960s in Botswana were minimal and much emphasis was limited to trophy hunting (Tsang, 1990) and White (1995). Lack of awareness on the side of government planners about the potential benefits that the tourism sector could contribute to the economy of Botswana may have stifled the growth of tourism in Botswana prior to the 1990s (Pfotenhausener, 1990, Tsang, 1990). Pfotenhausener (1990) notes that this attitude meant that the tourism industry was left to its own devices by a government pre-occupied with more pressing development priorities such as health, education and infrastructure. As a result, tourism in the country started to develop slowly in a rather uncontrolled manner. The explosive growth of the industry in the 1980s led to a proliferation of camps in the primary tourism area, the Okavango Delta (Pfotenhausener, 1990). The establishment of tourist camps brought a realisation on the part of government that the country’s main tourism assets, were becoming threatened with degradation (Pfotenhausener, 1990).

Both Pfotenhausener (1990) and Tsang (1990) state that there was a change in tourism development in Botswana in the 1980s. As international tourists and tour operators started arriving in Botswana, the government became aware that tourism had the potential to contribute to the economic development of the country. In 1984, it was estimated that 3,000 people were employed in the tourism related activities, this figure grew to about 5,000 in 1988 (Tsang, 1990). The number of bedrooms in hotels, motels, lodges and camps was about 960 in 1984 and grew to about 1,177 in 1988, an increase of 22%. This figure has since increased to 3,257 by 1998, representing a growth rate of 70.5% in the 14 year period. Growth of the tourism industry in the 1980s resulted in a number of problems gradually coming to the fore, amongst them; serious land use conflicts, a lack of trained and unskilled citizens in the sector, a Tourism Division and Department of Wildlife and National Parks which were inadequately staffed, over-use of some tourism areas and under-use of others, and littering and fouling of reserve areas, alarming in its range and rapid emergence (Pfotenhausener, 1990). Additionally, the fact that the industry was primarily run by expatriates who catered to foreign tourists led to growing suspicion, mistrust and lack of understanding between Botswana, particularly those living near tourist areas, and tour operators and their clients. Pfotenhausener states that by then domestic citizen tourism was almost non-existent, hence more Botswana came to believe that national parks and game reserves were primarily for tour operators to set up business for wealthy outsiders to visit. Although these researchers note a host of problems in the tourism sector, little is mentioned in the literature on how they were addressed except for the establishment of the Tourism Division.

The return of peace and political stability to the southern African region between the 1980s and the 1990s resulted in growth of the tourism industry in Botswana. Independent governments were established in the previously war-torn countries of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, and Mozambique. This led to more international tourists visiting Botswana especially the wildlife areas of northern Botswana. It was during this period that the Botswana Government started to have a positive attitude towards tourism development in the country (Tsang, 1990). The realisation by government of the potential of tourism to Botswana’s economic development resulted in the formulation and implementation of the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 and the Tourism Policy of 1990 (Mbawa, 1999). Amongst some of the objectives of the two policies, government was expected to actively encourage private sector investment in the development of the wildlife-based tourism industry. The government was also expected to promote and regulate the tourism industry through the Departments of Tourism and Wildlife and National Parks in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The government was also to ensure the increase of foreign exchange earnings, government revenue through taxation and the generation of employment, mainly in rural areas, through involvement of communities in wildlife tourist projects, and to project a favourable national image to the outside world.

Fowkes (1990) states that the contribution of the tourist industry to Botswana’s economy in the 1990s mainly includes foreign exchange and employment. In 1984, about 40,000 tourists visited Botswana, either as clients of tour operators on organised tours or as independent travellers. These leisure tourists generated roughly P17 million in business activity in Botswana. He further states that the total income generated within or brought to Botswana by tour operators in 1984 was P 11,12,000. In 1981, there were 28 tour companies operating in Botswana whilst in 1994, the number had risen to 64, with three more due to open in 1985. This was an increase of 129% in only four years (Fowkes, 1990). According to Fowkes (1990), the development of tourism in Botswana especially in the northern parts of the country resulted in about 53% of all the formal sector
employment in tourism-related activities being in northern Botswana. As a result of this growth, Fowkes (1990:2) remarked, "the industry is clearly at a volatile stage in its development". Although Fowkes (1990) discusses the economic benefits of tourism in Botswana, his study is generic in nature in that it points out to revenue and employment opportunities in the whole country. The study was also limited to wildlife-based tourism hence the neglect of other tourism products such as culture and deserts which are readily available in Botswana. The involvement of the local people in tourism and direct benefits to these groups is also not discussed.

Tsiong (1999), Fowkes (1990) and Cooke (1990) explain that the development of tourism in Botswana is an amalgam of a whole range of economic activities including transport and communications, the wholesale and retail trade, hotel accommodation, the provision of food and drink, the erection of areas of interest or recreation, and the purchase of souvenirs and gifts. Tourism also involves financial institutions, agriculture for food supplies, and the construction industry. The development of tourism in Botswana as discussed by these researchers centres around the positive contributions of the tourism sector to the economic development of the country without reference to environmental considerations especially in the Okavango Delta where tourism in Botswana is mainly concentrated. This suggests a gap in tourism literature. Research on tourism in Botswana needs to be conducted on the environmental impacts of the industry.

Botswana's tourist attractions heavily rely on two products: wildlife resources and the wilderness experience in the northern part of Botswana. Although other resources exist such as museums and relics and cultural activities, they have not yet been fully tapped to diversify the country's tourism range (Government of Botswana, 1997). This reflects the infant stage of the tourist sector in Botswana and lacks of a comprehensive planning framework for these areas. No study has also been carried out in Botswana to assess the potential of cultural tourism in an attempt to diversify the country's tourism industry.

The literature on tourism development in Botswana as discussed by the various researchers is also based more on speculation than on any scientific analysis. The literature is also broad in nature, hence does not adequately single out and discuss the detailed impacts of tourism in a particular place such as the Okavango Delta. As a result, detailed and scientific validated information on the contributions of each sector of the tourism industry to the economy, culture and environment of Botswana is necessary. This means a holistic study that discusses the both the positive and the negative aspects of tourism in a particular place is vital.

2.4.9 Tourism in the Okavango Delta

Apart from a few consultancy and government reports, there is so far little research that has been done on tourism in the Okavango Delta. Fowkes (1982) identified participants in the tourism industry in northern Botswana. These include safari companies and the private businesses. Fowkes (1985) discussed the economic contributions of tourism to the economy of Botswana emphasizing foreign exchange and employment. Roberts et al (1985) evaluated the gate entry records of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks for the period January 1985 to June 1985 in the northern parks. The study revealed that during that period, 25,532 people visited protected areas in Botswana. Of this figure, 62% visited Chobe National Park, 35% visited Moremi Game Reserve and 3% visited Nxai Pan National Park. These studies, though generic in nature, provide useful insights regarding the development of tourism in northern Botswana. However, the Okavango Delta which is one of the major tourist destinations in the region is not singled out and tourism impacts in the wetland are not closely assessed.

Bayne et al (1985) conducted a study on the attitudes of members of the tourist industry, notably tourists and the Government of Botswana. The conclusions in this study were that the government appeared to have a positive attitude towards tourism mainly because of its potential to generate foreign exchange and employment for the country. Public awareness towards tourism was found to be very low while tourists appreciated visiting the northern parts of Botswana. The only part dissatisfied tourists in Botswana at the time of the study was poor infrastructure developments especially the rough roads. Tourists were also unhappy with immigration and customs procedures that were described as poor and delaying. This was attributed to the Botswana Defence Force roadblocks. Roberts et al (1985) made a profile of independent tourists visiting Botswana in 1985. Independent tourists were described to be individuals who visit Botswana relying on their own resources rather
as part of an organised tour group. The attitudes of independent tourists to Botswana were described as positive since they appreciated the wilderness nature of the northern parts of the country.

Borge et al (1990) conducted a study on the economic impact of wildlife-based tourism in northern Botswana. The direct economic impact of the wildlife-related tourism was focused on the safari industry, retail businesses dependent on tourism and the government. The 64,000 tourists who visited northern Botswana in 1987 spent P 177,982,456 (US$ 94,170,612) which included P 141,078,859 (US$ 74,644,489) paid directly to safari companies. Retail businesses dependent on tourism received P 46,542,432 (US$ 24,625,625) from tourists. Fees and taxes received by the government sector from tourists summed P 8,571,744 (US$ 4,535,314) (Borge et al 1990). Borge et al’s study provides useful background on the economic impacts of tourism in northern Botswana. However, it was only limited to economic issues hence did not explore environmental impacts of the industry in the area. It also did not address the issue of direct benefits to specific stakeholders in the area especially to local communities.

Since 1990, almost all studies on the development of tourism in Botswana emphasise the potential and positive aspects of tourism in the Okavango Delta without stating any negative socio-economic and ecological impacts of tourism in the area (Thompson 1976; Fowkes 1982; Fowkes 1985; Roberts et al 1985; SMEC 1989; Tsiang 1990; Fowkes 1990; Cooke 1990; van der Haiden 1991; and Mbara 1999). However, Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) points out that, tourism is a resource-base activity, interacting with natural and cultural systems and having a capacity to initiate far-reaching changes on the environment. The erosion of the resource base and the disruption of the social fabric of host communities are common indicators of negative impacts of the mass influx of tourists.

While tourism is associated with negative environmental impacts, there is little literature to documented the extent number of tourists who visit the Okavango Delta each year, and their existing and potential negative impacts on the ecology of the Okavango Delta. Research is needed on the number of tourists who visit the Okavango Delta each year and the potential negative ecological impacts.

In summary, the following significant issues emerge from the reviewed literature:

(a) There is a rapid expansion of the tourist industry and related activities in the Okavango Delta. However, there is little documentation of the number of tourists that visit or pass through Maun to the Okavango Delta each year, the type of tourists, their activities, countries of origin, the amount of money tourist spent during visits to the delta, as well as their levels of satisfaction.

(b) Tourism development in the Okavango Delta has brought socio-economic benefits to the people of Ngamiland and to Botswana as a whole. However, it is not clear what type of socio-economic benefits each group derives and whether tourism’s benefits trickle down to local people in the Okavango Basin.

(c) While tourism has potential of negative cultural, economic and environmental impacts on destination areas such as the Okavango Delta, there has been little research done to determine or assess these impacts.

(d) Botswana has wildlife conservation and tourism policies as well as an institutional framework designed for the development of tourism in the Okavango. The effectiveness of these policies and institutions in the management of tourism in the Okavango has not been assessed in relation to the sustainable management of tourism in the Okavango region.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the methodology used in this study. Research methods and tools used for data collection and analysis in a study depend on the type and quality of data required, the socio-economic and political setting and the available time and resources for the research. Both primary and secondary data sources were used. Data collected was finally analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

3.2 Data Types and Methods of Data Acquisition

Data Types and Methods of Data Acquisition were designed based on specific objectives of the study as follows:

(a) Data on the various tourist activities, type of tourists and their countries of origin as well as tourists numbers that visit the Okavango Delta annually. This information is principally from secondary and primary data sources. Information from secondary sources is from both published and unpublished reports on tourism in the Okavango Delta. Specific materials used include government policy documents on tourism, reports, books and audio-visual information on the subject. The University of Botswana Library especially the Botswana Collection, the Departments of Wildlife and National Parks and Tourism, and other libraries or documentation offices in Maun and Gaborone were visited to obtain the needed information.

Primary data collection for this objective involved the administration of structured questionnaires and informal interviews with officials in the Departments of Wildlife and National Parks and Tourism in Maun as well as the Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana.

(b) Data on the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta. This information is from secondary and primary data sources as in (a) above. Data on the environmental impacts was also collected through the observation of tourist impacts on natural resources such as land and vegetation. Primary data collection mainly involved the administration of structured and unstructured questionnaires as well as informal interviews to various respondents. These respondents included tourists, safari managers and their workers, tourism related business managers and their workers in Maun, local and central government officials as well as households in the four sampled villages of Khwai, Ditshiping, Seronga, and Maun.

(c) Data on the effectiveness of Botswana's institutional and policy framework in the management of tourism in the Okavango Delta. This information is from both secondary and primary data sources as in (a) and (b) above. Informal interviews were also conducted with officials at Tawana Land Board and the Departments of Wildlife and National Parks and Tourism.

3.4 The Sampling Procedure

A total of 60 tourists who visited the Okavango Delta were sampled and interviewed. The interviews were carried out in safari camps in the delta or in hotels and lodges in Maun upon their return from the delta. Tourists were picked randomly. Tourist surveys provided information on countries from which most tourists who visit the Okavango Delta come their expenditures and the general level of satisfaction with their overall experiences in the Okavango Delta.

A total of 35 managers and 61 other workers in tourism-related businesses in Maun, 30 managers and 37 other workers in safari camps in the Okavango Delta were also sampled and interviewed. This was done to establish socio-economic impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta and information on issues related to employment, income, ownership and dates in which companies were established.
A sample of four villages of Maun, Khwai, Disthiping and Seronga provided household data. The selection of villages took into consideration the issue of ethnic background, the diversity of human activities prevailing in the region and the participation of each village in community-based tourism. Thus, the sample is meant to represent a cross section of the population, ethnic groups, and their involvement in socio-economic activities. In choosing these villages, it was assumed that the variables to be measured were normally distributed across all the villages. The four villages were also chosen to make the research work easier and quicker within the limited time and available funds, as well as avoiding collection of too much data that would be unnecessarily difficult to handle and manage within the time frame of this research. Table 4 below shows the household samples selected in each village.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Village</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khwai</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disthiping</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seronga</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maun</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author’s Field (2001)*

At the household level, the procedure involved the systematic sampling of households in each of the sampled villages. Systematic sampling provides an organised pattern of household selection. The direction of conducting interviews was determined by using the household whose major entry/exit point is nearest to the first household interviewed. Further interviews proceeded in that sequence with every third household until the required sample was achieved. This procedure of systematic sampling is referred to as sampling within a random start (Bailey, 1987), because it involves choosing a starting point in the sampling frame at random, and then choosing every nth household.

The head of the household or a spouse was expected to be the respondent. In cases where the head of the household or spouse were absent, a family representative over 18 years of age became the respondent. The households were interviewed because with interviews, the question of literacy does not matter. Most rural populations of Botswana are unable to read and write but understand Setswana, the language used for interviewing. In this research, a household was understood to mean a demarcated compound as defined by the Botswana Land Board or a dwelling unit where meals are prepared and served for a family from the same kitchen or pot. Group discussions were also used to probe deeper on issues that are not fully addressed in the household interviews. The kgotla (village meeting place or square) is the familiar and respected forum for group discussions in rural Botswana and venue for group interviews. No sampling was done at institutional sites. Questionnaires were administered directly to personnel in government, local council, tribal administration, private sector, and non-governmental organisations.

3.4 Data Management and Analysis

Data collected was processed and analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively, and records were stored in the computer database programme. Microsoft Word, Excel and Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) programmes were used for the easy management and analysis of the data in this study.
CHAPTER 4

TOURISM ACTIVITIES, TYPE OF TOURIST, ORIGIN AND NUMBERS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses tourism activities and the type and numbers of tourists who visit the Okavango Delta each year as well as their countries of origin. The chapter finally deals with tourist perceptions and attitudes about the Okavango Delta and their expenditures and preferences in the Okavango Delta.

4.2 Tourism Activities

In the Okavango Delta, tourism activities are largely based on the commercial utilisation of wildlife resources. This is categorised into two broad groups, namely:

- consumptive uses
- non-consumptive uses

4.2.1 Consumptive Wildlife Resource Uses

Consumptive wildlife resource utilisation involves the process of wildlife off-take such as spot hunting or trophy hunting, game farming, live capture and export of live animal or translocation, and taxidermy and trophy processing. In the Okavango, because of the sufficient wildlife resources, consumptive wildlife utilisation has taken the form of hunting tourism safaris. Safari hunting is done outside protected areas in Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs) or in concession areas. Several hunting safari companies, mostly based outside Botswana but with offices in Maun, operate the hunting safaris in the region.

Safari hunters, mainly from the industrialised western societies visit the delta for the purpose of sport hunting and for obtaining trophies. Scout Wilson Consultants (2001) note that safari hunting in the delta starts in the United States where hunters from all over the world attend the Safari Club International (SCI) convention in January every year. At this convention safari hunting companies sell their hunts for up to 2-3 years in advance. The report further notes that the majority of the hunters are Americans, followed by Spanish and Italians. Hunting quotas and hunting licences are provided by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks to individuals, Community Organisations, and to safari hunting companies. These permits are provided for hunting during the hunting season from April to September of each year. Safari hunting tourism has generated much revenue for local communities in Ngamiland and for Botswana as well as creating employment for the local people.

4.2.2 Non-consumptive Wildlife Resource Use

Unlike consumptive wildlife utilisation, non-consumptive wildlife resource utilisation does not involve a wildlife off-take. The Okavango Delta is one of the major areas in Botswana where wildlife resources are important for scientific, educational and recreational purposes. Apart from hunting, wildlife use in the Okavango is mostly associated with photographic tourism. Photographic tourism involves activities such as photographic safaris, photographic camps and lodges, air charter operators, and the wildlife film industry. In addition to accommodation, camping, food and beverages, photographic tourism safaris in the delta offer game drives, boat safaris (Plate 4.1), and walking safaris (Plate 4.2). Some operators in the delta also offer elephant and horse riding safaris. Photographic tourism allows nature to take its own course. In fact, it is environmentally friendly and suits the interests of the international animal rights groups (Mothaogae, 1995). Among other things, this depends on numbers of people involved. If the number is high, this can disturb the animals and birds in an area.

Photographic tourism is especially important in Moremi Game Reserve, which offers what can be described as protected area safari tourism. The World Conservation Union (International Union of Conservation of Flora and Fauna-IUCN) defines a protected area as an area which contains exceptionally beautiful or unique landscape, fauna and flora of national and international importance. Wildlife-based tourism is the only type
of land use allowed in these areas because it is assumed that tourism is compatible with the primary wildlife conservation goals of protected areas. The establishment of tourist facilities such as lodges and camps is done by private enterprise to promote tourist activities in Moremi Game Reserve. The primary management goals of the tourist use of protected area are to conserve the natural features and maintain biodiversity. Photographic tourism in the Okavango Delta is also carried out in what has come to be known as commercial photographic and community photographic areas.

Plate 4.1: Tourists in a boat safari near one of the high-cost accommodation facility in the Okavango Delta

Plate 4.2: Tourists in a walking safari with a professional guide leading them in one of the forests in the Okavango Delta

4.3 Types of Tourists

Findings in this survey indicate that there are four main types of tourists that visit the Okavango Delta every year. These are photographic (high-cost, mobile and independent) tourists and trophy hunters.
4.3.1 The “High Cost” Tourist

The most important type of tourist visiting the Okavango Delta are “high cost” tourists. A high cost tourist is defined by Borge et al. (1990) as a person who chooses to stay at a permanent camp operated by private camp operators/owners. In the Okavango Delta, “high cost” tourists mostly come from Europe, North America, and New Zealand/Australia. These clients either fly into Maun from Johannesburg, Victoria Falls, or Windhoek. From Maun they are then flown directly to permanent camps in the Okavango Delta. High cost tourists rarely use accommodation facilities in Maun. “High-cost” tourists pay a high price for the package in advance and are generally confined to high cost camps owned by a safari company from which they bought their package. Informal interviews with tour operators indicate that, on average, high cost tourists pay 6,000.00 US dollars for a safari package in the delta. They usually visit two or three camps owned and operated by the same company spending 2-3 nights in each.

4.3.2 The Mobile Safari Tourists

The second most important type of tourist visiting the Okavango Delta are “mobile safari” tourists. Mobile safari tourists stay in private, public or Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB) campsites. Like the “high cost” tourists, they fly into Maun from Johannesburg, Victoria Falls or Windhoek. From Maun they depart on a circuit that involves camping in the Okavango Delta. Mobile safaris take between 5-21 days with fees ranging from less than 200 US dollars per night for participatory camping (the least expensive option), 200 – 500 dollars per night (for modest priced packages) and over 5000.00 dollars per night for the up market packages. Mobile tourists in the Okavango Delta also include those who are on tours that encompass the wider east and southern African wildlife areas. Such trips are made on overland trucks and can take up to eight months, commencing in South Africa or Namibia and ending in Kenya or Tanzania or vice versa.

4.3.3 The Independent or “Low Cost” Tourists

The third group of tourists who visit the Okavango Delta are “independent or low cost” tourists. Roberts et al. (1985) define the independent tourist as one who “travels independently, relying upon his own resources and not as part of an organised tour group”. These travellers may drive independently, hire a guide, or charter a flight. Borge et al. (1990) state that their distinguishing feature is that they usually do not pay package price before entering Botswana and they generally use public facilities such as campsites run by the Department of Wildlife National Parks in protected areas or privately owned campsites elsewhere. Independent tourists are also termed “low cost” tourist because of the assumed low expenditure they incur while in the delta. Independent tourists in most cases visit Botswana from neighbouring countries such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia. These tourists travel on private four-wheel drive vehicles such as Land Rovers or Land Cruisers with as many as five passengers in a single vehicle often in family groups. Independent tourists often visit Botswana for the first time to view the country’s unique environment and to experience the unrestricted wildlife areas. At times independent and mobile tourists combine both types of travel in their journeys to northern Botswana.

4.3.4 Day Visitors

Visitors or tourists who visit a particular place for pleasure for a period of less than 24 hours are referred to as “day visitors”. The Department of Tourism (2001) defines a day visitor as a visitor who does not spend the night in a collective or private accommodation in the place visited. In the case of the Okavango Delta, day visitors mostly drive or fly from Maun in the morning into various parts of the delta (either for more safari or game drives) during the day and come back in the evening. Day visitors do not stay in a safari camp or lodge in the Okavango but perhaps find lodging or campsites in Maun. As a result, when compared with the above three main categories of tourists the prices they pay are much less.

4.3.5 Safari Hunters

Safari hunters also form an important part of tourists in the Okavango Delta. As already noted, safari hunters (i.e. spot or commercial hunters) mostly come from North America, Europe and Now
Zealand/Australia. A typical safari hunter in the Okavango Delta generates more revenue than a photographic tourist, so safari hunting contribute more money to Botswana’s tourism industry than photographic tourism (Section 4.6).

4.4 Annual Tourist Numbers

The Central Statistics Office categorises visitors to Botswana into business, transit, holiday makers, and other (e.g. employment seekers), the focus of this study was, therefore, limited to tourists classified as holiday makers, with particular reference to the Okavango Delta. The Department of Tourism (2001) notes that tourist arrivals in Botswana have grown considerably from 463,000 in 1994 to almost 750,000 in 1998. These findings tally with those by the World Trade Organisation (1999) which noted that 740,000 tourists visited Botswana in 1998. The DOT (2001) report notes that the increase of tourists numbers between 1994 and 1998 in Botswana represents an annual growth rate of almost 13%, and a remarkable growth rate of 23% between 1996 and 1997. The DOT (2001) report further notes that in 2000, the Okavango Delta received a total of 12.1% of the total visits to Botswana. However, this report does not explain the methodology that was used to conclude that 12.1% of the tourists that visit Botswana visited the Okavango Delta. Assuming that the results of the 1998 Visitor Survey (BTDP, 1998) were used, then it can be concluded that the 12.1% was obtained from survey carried out between 12-26th June 1998 in the various entry/exit points into Botswana. The survey was generally limited to tourists classified as holiday tourists (leisure and holiday tourists) and business tourists.

Findings indicate that leisure and holiday tourists in Botswana amounted to 169,544 while business tourists were 79,330 in 1998 (DOT, 2001). A combined total of the two is 248,874 of which 12.1% of these tourists come to 25,512 people. Based on these results, it can therefore be stated that 52,512 tourists visited the Okavango Delta in 1998. However, the number of tourists that visit and pass through Moremi Game Reserve can also be used to provide an estimation of tourists that visit the Okavango Delta every year. As noted earlier, about three-quarters of Moremi Game Reserve is located within the Okavango Delta and the majority of tourists who visit the Delta visit it or pass through it to Chobe National Park. As shown in Table 4.1, about 49,556 tourists visited Moremi Game Reserve in 1998.

Table 4.1: Total Number of Tourist who Visited Moremi Game Reserve (1995-2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Tourists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>36,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>38,204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>42,987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>49,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>46,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>30,835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>31,076</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DWNP (2002)

Figures from Moremi Game Reserve, should, however, be used with care as they can be an underestimate of the total number of tourists visiting the Okavango Delta every year. This is because the Okavango Delta has several free outlets (e.g. the panhandle area) where people visit the delta and the information is never recorded. However, if data from DOT (2001) and that from Moremi Game Reserve are reconciled, it can be assumed that an average of 50,000 tourists visit the Okavango Delta every year. Since it is difficult to accurately estimate the number of tourists that visit the Okavango Delta every year, the ideal situation would be a complete sample of people who stayed in all accommodation areas (camps, lodges, hotels) in the Okavango Delta in a particular year.

When using tourist figures from Moremi Game Reserve, findings indicate that there has been an increase in tourist numbers visiting the Okavango Delta between 1995 and 1999. However, there was a decline in tourist numbers visiting the Delta in 2000 and 2001 (Tables 4.1 and 4.2). The mostly affected groups include independent (self-drive) and mobile tourist as shown in Table 4.2. Several factors can be advanced to explain this decline, this include the following: the global economic recession in the period (was noted...
by operators who were respondents in this survey; the political instability in Namibia's Caprivi Strip; the political instability in Zimbabwe as the country moved towards parliamentary elections in the winter of 2000 and presidential elections in 2002; floods in 2000 that resulted in Moremi Game Reserve being temporarily closed for self-drive and mobile tourists for half of the year as roads were impassable. Other reasons that were noted by operators include the increase in park fees for Moremi Game Reserve during this period.

Table 4.2: The number and Types of tourists who visited Moremi Game Reserve from 1995-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Independent (Private)</th>
<th>Mobile</th>
<th>High Cost (Fixed)</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>8,025</td>
<td>12,570</td>
<td>15,479</td>
<td>36,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>7,495</td>
<td>15,395</td>
<td>15,314</td>
<td>38,204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>11,298</td>
<td>17,487</td>
<td>14,202</td>
<td>42,987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>14,560</td>
<td>17,890</td>
<td>17,106</td>
<td>49,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>16,367</td>
<td>14,835</td>
<td>15,487</td>
<td>46,689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>8,141</td>
<td>8,521</td>
<td>14,173</td>
<td>30,835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>7,035</td>
<td>7,687</td>
<td>16,351</td>
<td>31,076</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Despite the decline in the number of tourists that visited Moremi Game Reserve in 2000 and 2001, the general picture shows an increase in the number of tourists visiting the reserve in other years. As a result, it can be safely assumed that the number of tourists visiting the Okavango Delta has been increasing especially from the 1990s to the present. Assuming a rate of 8% from 1995 to 1998 when tourism visits were at their highest in a four year period, it can be concluded that this represents a rate of increase in tourist visits to the delta every four years.

4.5 Origin of Tourists

When using data from Moremi Game Reserve, findings indicate that the majority of tourists visiting the Okavango Delta come from Europe, north America, and New Zealand/Australia and South Africa (Table 4.2). Some of the reasons that can be used to explain this development have already been elaborated upon in previous chapters, however, the return of peace to the region especially to South Africa, improved transport system especially through the air, marketing of the Okavango Delta as a tourist destination in developed countries, and the general peaceful political climate in Botswana are some of the reasons why tourists from these wealthy countries visit the Okavango Delta.

Table 4.3: Tourist Numbers according to country of residence, 1999 - 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizens</td>
<td>3,761</td>
<td>2,787</td>
<td>3,353</td>
<td>9,901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents</td>
<td>3,456</td>
<td>2,595</td>
<td>5,500</td>
<td>6,601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>9,625</td>
<td>5,907</td>
<td>9,213</td>
<td>23,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Africa</td>
<td>987</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>3,031</td>
<td>4,631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>1,657</td>
<td>6154</td>
<td>8,331</td>
<td>15,542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>7,461</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>1,933</td>
<td>10,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>3,762</td>
<td>2,426</td>
<td>4,968</td>
<td>11,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
<td>14,122</td>
<td>8,993</td>
<td>19,625</td>
<td>42,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia &amp; New Zealand</td>
<td>1,761</td>
<td>1,148</td>
<td>2,550</td>
<td>5,459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>1,331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>1,228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47,160</td>
<td>30,835</td>
<td>31,076</td>
<td>109,071</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Findings in Table 4.3 also show that citizens of Botswana do not visit the Okavango Delta in large numbers as only 9901 visited the area in the three years. High prices charged in tourism facilities in the Okavango Delta have been noted to be one of the reasons why citizens fail to visit the Okavango Delta. Other reasons that have been advanced include a general lack of awareness of the importance of tourism, and low level of interest in investing personal time and resources in tourism activities by citizens. This therefore, shows the poor domestic tourism in the Okavango Delta.

4.6 The Number of Days Spent by Tourists in the Okavango Delta

The number of days spent by tourists in the Okavango Delta depends on the particular category of tourists, that is, self-drive/independent, mobile or high-cost tourists. On average, high-cost tourists spend 6-10 days in the Delta, of which 2-3 days/night is spent in 2-3 safari camps that they visit in various parts of the delta. Mobile safari operators spend between 7-14 days while independent or self drive take up an average of 10 days in the Okavango Delta. Table 4.4 shows the total number of nights/days that were spent by the various tourist categories in the Okavango Delta between 1997 – 2001.

Table 4.4: The Number of Days/Nights Sold to Tourists in Moremi Game Reserve, 1997-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Mobile</th>
<th>High-cost</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>20,832</td>
<td>22,039</td>
<td>30,951</td>
<td>73,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>26,898</td>
<td>27,313</td>
<td>40,668</td>
<td>94,879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>27,694</td>
<td>26,963</td>
<td>33,681</td>
<td>88,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>12,818</td>
<td>19,118</td>
<td>25,478</td>
<td>57,414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>11,002</td>
<td>12,907</td>
<td>28,926</td>
<td>52,835</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Information in Table 4.4 indicates that high-cost tourists spent more days in the three years than the other two categories of tourists that visit the Okavango Delta. High-cost tourists also contribute more revenue than other photographic tourists in the Okavango Delta (see Chapter 5).

4.7 Tourist or Visitor Expenditure.

Visitor expenditure represents the total amount of money that tourists are expected to spend in tourist destination areas such as the Okavango Delta. The various types of tourists spend differently during their visit to the Okavango Delta. For example, informal interviews with safari managers indicate that high cost tourists (who are the main group of photographic tourists in the delta) spend roughly US$ 5 000.00 – US$ 6 000.00 in a 6-10 day visit to the Okavango Delta. Mobile tourists come in a range of packages. As a result, their expenditures range from less than US$200.00 to over US$500.00 per night. Self-drive tourists, especially those from South Africa, spend very little in Botswana. In most cases, they carry their own camping equipment, food, petrol, and spare wheels. They do pay park entry fees and vehicle taxes. Safari hunters or spot (commercial) hunters are the biggest spenders in the Okavango Delta. For example, a hunter who stays 31 days at Rauno Hunting Safari Company to hunt an elephant is expected to pay over US$ 150,000.00 (P900,000.00). Some of these tourists stay one or more nights in hotels in Maun. On average, a tourist pays P500.00 per night in a lodge or hotel in Maun and US$ 500.00 in luxurious camps and lodges in the delta. While these rates are considered to be high by locals, tourists from abroad and tour operators in the delta have described them as competitive.

4.8 Tourist satisfaction and experiences

The BTDP (1999) states the abundance of wildlife resources, good lodging facilities and a relative crime free crime country as some of the reasons why the Okavango Delta unique and appreciated by international tourist. In this study, findings indicate that sampled tourists were generally satisfied with their trip to the Okavango Delta (Table 4.5) The majority (69.4%) of the tourists considered their visit to the Okavango Delta of value and appreciated it. These respondents noted that they are likely to come back to the Delta in future. They also noted that they are likely to recommend visiting the delta as a good place to visit to friends back to their respective hometowns.
Question: Do you consider your visit to the Okavango Delta valuable and that you are likely to come back in future?

Table 4.5: Value of the visit to the Okavango Delta by High-cost and Mobile Tourists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>High-cost</th>
<th>Mobile</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>22 (71.0%)</td>
<td>21 (67.7%)</td>
<td>43 (69.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>9 (29.0%)</td>
<td>10 (32.2%)</td>
<td>19 (30.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>31 (100.0%)</td>
<td>31 (100.0%)</td>
<td>62 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001)

Tourist respondents mentioned that they enjoyed the wilderness nature of the Okavango as well the variety of wildlife species in the area. Friendliness and good reception by local officials at the Departments of Immigration, Customs, Air Botswana, and tour operators were some of the services tourists mentioned during their visit to the delta. The high level of tourist satisfaction amongst high cost tourists is likely a result of the high level of service that tour operators try to provide their tourist clients. This means that most lodges and camps have a high level management that has so far made it possible to provide more than satisfactory service needed by the overseas tourists. It is also important to note that the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta is mostly dominated by foreign entrepreneurs who have a wide experience in the tourism business inside and outside Botswana.

On the other hand, informal interviews with self-drive tourists showed that most of them were not happy with park entry fees at Moremi Game Reserve (P120.00 for non-residents for 24 hours) and accommodation charge rates in lodges and camps which they consider to be very high. They also complained of poor facilities such as ablution blocks and littering in public camping sites. Informal interviews with independent tourists and tour operators also show that there is a general concern about Air Botswana fares is also considered to be higher than to those of other international airlines. For example, the cheapest return trip of one and half-hours from Gaborone to Maun costs about P 806.00 (US$ 160.00). Apart from small aircraft that can be chartered, Air Botswana is the only airline in the country. Hence it enjoys a monopoly which apparently seems it can succeed with non-competitive fares.

High-cost tourists described the quality of tourist services in the Okavango Delta as satisfactory as shown in Table 4.6. This is contrary to the views of the self-drive and mobile tourists.

Question: What is your view about the service offered by DWNP, Camps and Tourist Guides (rate your level of satisfaction either as Not Satisfactory (NS), Satisfactory (S), Very Satisfactory (VS) or No Idea (NI).

Table 4.6: Perceptions of High-Cost Tourists on Quality of Service in Tourist Facilities, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>No Idea</th>
<th>Not Satisfactory</th>
<th>Satisfactory</th>
<th>Very Satisfactory</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DWNP</td>
<td>14 (45.2%)</td>
<td>1 (3.2%)</td>
<td>5 (16.1%)</td>
<td>11 (35.5%)</td>
<td>31 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camps and Lodges</td>
<td>5 (16.1%)</td>
<td>1 (3.2%)</td>
<td>7 (22.6%)</td>
<td>16 (51.6%)</td>
<td>31 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Guides</td>
<td>4 (12.9%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>4 (12.9%)</td>
<td>22 (71.1)</td>
<td>31 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001)

In order to find to assess the attitudes of tourists towards the conservation of the environment, tourists were asked whether they would be willing to pay a conservation fee in case it is introduced in the Okavango Delta. As shown in Figure 4.1, about 80.7% of the high-cost tourists stated that they appreciate the idea of a conservation fee and will be willing to pay it in the event that it is introduced. However, findings indicate that other groups of tourists such as self-drive and mobile tourists have little concern of environmental conservation. This is illustrated by their complaints of park fees which they consider to be very high as already noted.
Question: In case a Conservation Fee is charged on Tourists to Promote the Conservation of the Okavango Delta, will you be willing to pay it?

![Fig 4.1: Perceptions of High-Cost Tourists on Possible Introduction of a Conservation Fee, 2001](image)

Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001)

The difference in opinions between high-cost tourists on the one hand and self-drive or independent tourists on the other indicates that tourists have different preferences which should be specifically catered for in tourist destination areas. The support of a conservation fee directed towards the conservation of the Okavango Delta shows the level of conservation awareness on the part of high-cost tourist on the need to conserve the Okavango Delta as a wetland of international importance. This is in line with the ideals of eco-tourism which promotes the participation and environmental awareness of tourists in destination areas.

4.9 Impressions of Tourist Services in Maun

In relation to the various services provided to facilitate the tourism industry in Maun, tour operators had various opinions regarding each of them as shown in Table 4.7.

Question: What is your impression about service offered by the following listed institutions? (Besides each option write either 1 for satisfactory, 2 for Very Satisfactory, 3 for Not Satisfactory, and 4 for No Idea).

Table 4.7: Tour Operator’s Levels of Satisfaction with Services in Maun, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Not Satisfactory</th>
<th>Satisfactory</th>
<th>Very Satisfactory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Botswana Power Corporation</td>
<td>19 (54.3%)</td>
<td>15 (42.9%)</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana Telecommunications</td>
<td>15 (42.9%)</td>
<td>16 (45.7%)</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maun General Hospital</td>
<td>25 (71.4%)</td>
<td>10 (28.6%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Botswana</td>
<td>17 (48.6%)</td>
<td>15 (42.9%)</td>
<td>3 (8.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Transport</td>
<td>26 (74.3%)</td>
<td>9 (25.7%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs Services</td>
<td>4 (11.4%)</td>
<td>30 (85.7%)</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Services</td>
<td>5 (14.3%)</td>
<td>30 (85.7%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking Facilities</td>
<td>13 (37.1%)</td>
<td>21 (60.0%)</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodging Facilities</td>
<td>2 (5.7%)</td>
<td>25 (71.4%)</td>
<td>8 (22.9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001)

Based on the information in Table 4.7, some of the general comments on some of these services by the different tour operators are as follows:
• **Botswana Power Corporation** — Maun usually experiences power failure which is considered disturbing by tourism operators in Maun. About 54.3% of the operators noted that they are not satisfied with services of Botswana Power Corporation.

• **Botswana Telecommunications** — The billing system introduced in 2000 was faulty and overcharged consumers; as noted by 42.9% of the operators in Maun.

• **Maun General Hospital** — The general condition of the hospital was described by 71.4% of the respondents as not satisfactory and very poor. As a result, in cases of emergency, most tour operators fly their tourists and clients to Johannesburg or Gaborone Private Hospital. Tour operators did not have many comments about Delta Medical Care since the hospital was still new at the time of the study.

• **Air Botswana** — The national airline was described as very expensive; 48% of the respondents noted that there is need to open up the skies and allow competition and break Air Botswana’s monopoly.

• **Department of Immigration** — Although 85.7% of the operators are generally satisfied with the department, 14.3% of the respondents noted that the department is slow in processing residence permits of operators. This negatively affects the tourism business. Customer relations of officials in the Department of Immigration and Citizenship were also described as not satisfactory. The operators noted the need for a regional visa, that is, a Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) visa, because it will ease the problems tourists from neighbouring countries already experience in the region. As noted earlier, most tourists who visit the Okavango Delta also visit one of the adjacent countries.

• **Department of Customs and Excise** — A total of 85.7% of the tour operators expressed satisfaction with the Department of Customs and Excise. However, 11.4% of the operators noted that customer relations in this department together with that of Immigration need improvement.

• **Banking Services** — Maun has three commercial banks (Barclays Bank, Standard Bank and First National Bank). Tour operators were not satisfied with Barclays and Standard Bank which were said to be characterised by long cues and poor customer relations. Most operators preferred First National Bank. About 53.3% of the operators use FNB, 29.0% use Barclays Bank, 16.7% use Standard Bank, 6.7% use both Standard Bank and FNB while 3.3% said they use all the three banks.

• **Local Transport** — local transport was described by 74.3% of the respondents as not satisfactory. However, Avis Car Rental Company was noted as providing good services, especially to high-cost tourists.

• **Lodging facilities** — an overwhelming majority (71.4%) of the respondent believe lodging facilities to be satisfactory. However, some tour operators noted that there some lodges and hotels which are poor and hence are perceived to be giving a bad picture of the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta.
Some more pictures on some of the animals found in the Okavango Delta and are an important tourism product.

Plate 4.3: Giraffes are some of the common species available in the Okavango Delta that attract tourists

Plate 4.4: There are 120,000 elephants in northern Botswana (1999 statistics). They increase at an annual rate of 7.2%. Elephants play an important role as a tourism product in the Okavango Area
Plate 4.5: Tourists boarding one of the bush aircraft after a safari in the Okavango Delta. The aircraft fly tourists to the Delta and back to Maun after short stay in the Delta.

Plate 4.6: It is very rare to find hippos out of the water during the day, in the Okavango Delta, it is possible to find them grazing along water channels during the day.
CHAPTER 5

ECONOMIC IMPACTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the economic impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta. These include the contribution of tourism to gross domestic product, foreign exchange earnings, government revenue, employment creation, rural development, and infrastructure development. The chapter begins by giving some background to the ownership of tourist facilities and services in the area.

5.2 Dates of Establishment and Ownership of Tourist Facilities

Although the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta is still at an infant stage, the establishment of new tourist facilities in the Okavango Basin has been pronounced in the last ten years. Information in Table 5.1 indicates that about 86.1% of the facilities have been operational for less than 15 years. Only 13.9% of these companies have been operating in the area for more than 20 years. Some of the major safari companies operating in the Okavango Delta include Safari South, Ker and Downey, Desert and Delta, Gametrackers, Okavango Wilderness Safaris and Landela Botswana. Over the past 15 years, the safari industry has been exceptionally dynamic. Many of the companies have not only changed ownership but also have reinvested themselves and diversified shifting from hunting to photographic safaris or broadening their services to include both or to appeal to a broad spectrum of tourists.

Table 5.1: Dates of Establishment in Maun and the Okavango Delta, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years</th>
<th>Company in Delta Freq %</th>
<th>Business in Maun Freq %</th>
<th>Totals Freq %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 years</td>
<td>4 13.3 14 40.0 18 27.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
<td>6 20.0 10 28.6 16 24.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15 years</td>
<td>12 40.0 10 28.6 22 33.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 30 years</td>
<td>4 13.3 1 2.9 5 7.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 and more</td>
<td>4 13.3 0 0 4 6.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30 100.0 35 100.0 65 100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001)

Until recently, the tourism sector in the Okavango Delta has been developing with very little support (e.g. financial) and recognition from the government (when compared to agriculture and manufacturing which heavily rely on government subsidies). As a result, international safari companies and individual expatriate families who could afford the cost of setting up tourist infrastructure such as camps and marketing and administration discovered a niche in the Delta. Table 5.2 shows that 53.3% of the safari companies operating in the Okavango Delta are non-citizen owned, 27.7% are jointly owned, while 18.5% are citizen owned. This means that 81.5% of the safari companies in the Okavango have a foreign influence.

Table 5.2: Ownership of Tourism Facilities in Maun and the Okavango Delta, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ownership</th>
<th>Frequency and Percentages</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen Owned</td>
<td>Safari companies 7 (23.3%) Tourism Business 5 (14.3%)</td>
<td>12 (18.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jointly Owned</td>
<td>10 (33.3%) 8 (22.9%)</td>
<td>18 (27.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Citizen Owned</td>
<td>13 (43.3%) 22 (62.9%)</td>
<td>35 (53.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>30 (100.0%) 35 (100.0%)</td>
<td>65 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001)

The above findings tally with those by Ndubano (2000) who states that about 95% of the accommodation and transport sectors in Maun have foreign involvement, with 60% of them being 100% foreign owned,
35% of them are jointly owned between locals and expatriates, and only 1% is fully owned by citizens. Furthermore, data from the licensing office in the Department of Tourism (2000) indicate that out of 103 tourism-related businesses registered in Maun and operational in Maun and Ngamiland District, 16 (15.5%) are citizen owned, 36 (35.0%) are jointly owned (between Batswana and non-citizens) while 51 (49.5%) are non-citizens owned. This suggests that 87 (84.5%) of the tourism-related companies registered in Maun and operational Ngamiland District have direct foreign involvement. Table 5.3 shows concession areas in Ngamiland leased by the Tawana Land Board: 4 (26.7%) are leased to citizen companies, 6 (40.0%) to jointly owned companies (between citizens and non-citizens), and 5 (33.3%) to non-citizen companies. This means 73.3% of the non-citizen companies operate in 11 of the CHAs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ownership</th>
<th>No of CHAs</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jointly</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Citizens</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author's Fieldwork (2001)*

Based on these data, it can be concluded that the tourist industry in the Okavango Delta is predominately foreign owned and controlled. This extremely owned (and often externally controlled) industry has designed and built infrastructure and services to meet the needs of their international clientele-elites from rich countries.

5.3 Economic Impacts

The assessment of tourism's contribution to development requires an analysis of the backward and forward linkages between tourism and other sectors, an understanding of the spatial location of tourism activities, and identification of the beneficiaries of its economic and other impacts. That is, if tourism is to have a major influence on the economy of a country or a particular region, it should have strong linkages with the rest of the domestic economy. Some of these linkages include: agriculture, manufacturing, construction, wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants, transport, banking and insurance services, water and electricity, and social and personal services. It is difficult to study some of these economic impacts in isolation of the total contribution of tourism to the economy of the country. In this study, economic impacts of tourism will be limited to the following:

- contribution to gross domestic product (GDP).
- contribution to foreign exchange earnings.
- contribution to government revenue
- creation of employment.
- contribution to rural development
- contribution to infrastructure development.

5.3.1 Contribution to Gross Domestic Product

As noted in Chapter 1, Botswana's predominately wildlife-based tourism is concentrated in northern Botswana, especially in the Okavango Delta, Moremi Game Reserve and in the Chobe National Park. Tourism is one of the sectors that significantly contribute to Botswana's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In 1997, a total amount of P800 million was contributed to GDP by the tourism sector. This represents 4.5% of the GDP in 1996/97 or 7.0% of the non-mining GDP. Hermans (1996) noted that in 1983/84, the contribution of tourism in Botswana's economy was P25million or about 2% of the GDP. As a result, tourism contribution to GDP increased by 2.5% from 1983/84 to 2001.

If the tourism sector is to have a major influence on the economy of a country, it should have strong linkages with the rest of the domestic economy. Table 5.4 shows the linkages of the tourism sector with
other sectors in the country. The table shows that the hotels and restaurant sector is the major output with 71.0%. Personnel services (10.1%), transport (8.3%) and the wholesale trade (5.6%). Linkages were weakest with the agriculture, construction, mining, water, and electricity.

Table 5.4: Share of Tourism Related Output by Economic Sector (as a %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water and Electricity</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and Retail trade</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels and Restaurants</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking and Insurance Services</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Government</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and Personnel Services</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Bank of Botswana (1999)*

The Botswana Tourism Development Programme, BTDP (1999) states that the newly defined tourism sector, the hotels and restaurant sub-sector generated 43% of the total tourism GDP, with the remaining 57% embedded in other economic sectors such as social services which includes safari camps and lodges (12.2% of the tourism GDP), wholesale trade (9.1%), transport (8.9%), banks, insurance and business services (8.6%) and general government (8.4%).

5.3.2 Contribution to Foreign Exchange Earnings

According to the BTDP (1999), credits on the travel account amount to an estimated P495 million in 1997. This represented 4.5% of the exports of goods and services in that year. This shows that tourism was the third largest export sector in 1997, after diamonds (P7 654 million) and vehicles (P748 million) and ahead of copper-nickel (P343 million) and beef (P343 million). Leakages of foreign exchange due to imported goods and services, which is estimated to have been P175 million in 1997 represent 35% of the credits and travel in that year. However, tourism has since become the second largest revenue earner in Botswana after diamonds.

5.3.3 Contribution to Government Revenue

The revenues derived from the tourism industry can be divided into three general categories:

- import duties
- taxes (including income and sales tax)
- licences and fees

As shown in Table 5.5, the BTDP (1999) estimated that about P81 million was contributed to central government revenue by the tourism sector in 1996/97. Tourism-related duties are estimated to have contributed P30 million, followed by licences and fees (P11.2 million), sales and tax on lodges and hotels (P8.8 million) and lease rentals and resource royalties (P5.2 million). The expected yields from income tax and retail sales tax are estimated at P17 million and P9 million respectively.
Table 5.5: Estimates of Tourism’s Contribution to Government Revenue, 1997/98

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revenue</th>
<th>Pula (million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Import duties</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income tax</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sales tax</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- hotels and lodges</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- retail sales</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licences and Fees</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>District Councils and Land Boards</strong></td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>81.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (Excluding income tax)</strong></td>
<td>64.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BTDP (1999)

Licences and fees collected by Government Departments of Wildlife and National Parks, Tourism and Civil Aviation from tourism related activities in 1996/97 to 1998/99 is shown in Table 5.6. The revenue increased from P11.2 million in 1996/97 to P20.3 million in 1998/99.

Table 5.6: Estimated Tourism-related Revenues from Licences and Fees, 1996/97 – 1998/99 (Botswana Pula*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wildlife and National Parks</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game Camp Fees</td>
<td>8,241,498</td>
<td>10,000,000</td>
<td>11,017,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game Licences</td>
<td>969,348</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>970,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Export tax (Game Trophies)</td>
<td>37,585</td>
<td>37,000</td>
<td>37,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of Ivory, Trophies and Forfeited Animals</td>
<td>110,568</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td>9,358,991</td>
<td>11,097,000</td>
<td>12,094,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Department of Tourism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of Publications</td>
<td>430,260</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casino Control Board</td>
<td>4,987,754</td>
<td>6,500,000</td>
<td>6,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism Enterprises Licences</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60,500</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td>5,418,014</td>
<td>6,562,300</td>
<td>6,700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aviation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airport Tax</td>
<td>1,032,611</td>
<td>2,200,000</td>
<td>2,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landing Fees</td>
<td>1,771,646</td>
<td>2,200,000</td>
<td>2,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aircraft Parking Fees</td>
<td>1,077,945</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td>3,882,202</td>
<td>4,600,000</td>
<td>4,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(of which, tourism related)</em></td>
<td>1,281,127</td>
<td>1,518,000</td>
<td>1,518,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total – Licenses and Fees</strong></td>
<td>11,181,132</td>
<td>19,177,300</td>
<td>20,312,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DOT (2000b) * 1.0 USD = 6.0 BWP

Tourism in the Okavango Delta especially in Moremi Game Reserve significantly contributes to government revenue. Moremi Game Reserve is wholly located in the Okavango Delta and hence provides a better understanding when estimating the amount of government revenue generated from tourism in the Okavango region. The total revenue collected from Moremi Game Reserve can be categorized according to the actual fees paid by visitors through the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. Table 5.7 shows the various types of park fees that were paid by tourists and tour operators to government in the Okavango Delta in 1998 to 2001. These are entry, camping, vehicles, and boat and aircraft fees.
Table 5.7: Types of Fees paid tourists at Moremi Game Reserve, 1998 and 2001 (in Pula)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Entry Fees</th>
<th>Camping</th>
<th>Vehicles</th>
<th>Boat</th>
<th>Air craft</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>PARRO** (Camping)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>3,195,160</td>
<td>466,617</td>
<td>222,485</td>
<td>3,385</td>
<td>4,564</td>
<td>2,157</td>
<td>475,796</td>
<td>4,373,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>3,006,140</td>
<td>423,238</td>
<td>231,798</td>
<td>3,760</td>
<td>7,776</td>
<td>4,241</td>
<td>508,095</td>
<td>4,175,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>5,171,289</td>
<td>407,207</td>
<td>490,124</td>
<td>3,810</td>
<td>11,750</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>113,052</td>
<td>6,198,232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DWNP (2000) * data for 2000 was not provided by DWNP ** Parks and Reservation Office

Maun international Airport, the principle airport used by tourists who visit the Okavango Delta has also become a major source of government revenue in Ngamiland District. Table 5.8 shows that in 2000, the Department of Civil Aviation (DCA) collected P567,871 from the various fees charged to passengers, aircrafts and tour operators for using airport facilities.

Table 5.8: Revenue Collected at Maun International Airport, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Fee</th>
<th>Revenue Collected (in Pula)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Landing fees</td>
<td>170,107.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parking fees</td>
<td>6,353.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary Air Service Permit</td>
<td>44,380.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger Service fee</td>
<td>69,743.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En Route Charges</td>
<td>205,310.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>71,977.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>567,871.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DCA (2001)

Findings indicate that the contribution of tourism to government revenue has been increasing with the growth of tourism in the country. The increase has been a result of the establishment and improvements made to several tourism sectors in the last decade. Of particular interest and relevance to the Okavango Delta, is the increase in revenue collection from the various fees charged at Maun Airport, Moremi Game Reserve and from the various accommodation facilities in the region. This, therefore, highlights the important role that tourism development in the Okavango Delta and the rest of the northern part of Botswana play in the economic development of the country.

5.3.4 Creation of Employment

One of the most important economic impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta is its potential to create employment. The extent to which employment is created is influenced by the degree of linkages between tourism and other sectors of the economy. In 2001, 923 people were employed in 50 safari camps (accommodation facilities) in the Okavango Delta and 727 other people were employed in tourism-related businesses in Maun (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Number of Workers in Tourism Businesses, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Workers</th>
<th>Safaris</th>
<th>Camps/ Tourism</th>
<th>Businesses (Maun)</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>1503</td>
<td>1503</td>
<td>91.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>923</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>1650</td>
<td>1650</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Fieldwork 2001

A similar survey conducted in the Okavango Delta at the same time as this one but on different camps and lodges by Scout Wilson Consultants in April 2001 indicate that 735 people are employed in a total of 20
safari camps in the Delta. This means, a total of 50 safari camps and lodges in the Okavango Delta employ about 1658 people, which is about 16.6% of the formal employment in the tourism sector in Botswana.

However, the above findings are contrary to those by the Botswana Tourism Master Plan (DOT, 2000b) which estimated that employment in the accommodation sector in Maun/Okavango to be 882 people. The BTMP study excluded people employed in tour operator communications and operations centers, and tourism ancillary sector (e.g. shops, handicrafts, banks etc). Findings by the DOT (2000b) are, therefore, an underestimate when considering evidence from the first two surveys.

Tourism is one of the economic sectors that is accused of being expatriate dominated especially on management positions (BTDP, 1999). When assessing the citizenship of workers in the Okavango Delta without necessarily categorising them according to their positions, findings in Table 5.10 shows that in safari camps and lodges, 866 workers were citizens while 57 were expatriates. In tourism-related businesses, there were 672 citizens and 55 non-citizens.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Workers</th>
<th>Safari Camps/Lodges</th>
<th>Tourism Businesses</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizens of Botswana</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>1538</td>
<td>93.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Citizens of Botswana</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>923</strong></td>
<td><strong>727</strong></td>
<td><strong>1650</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's Fieldwork 2001

Table 5.11 shows that the majority (37 or 33%) of non-citizen workers come from South Africa and Zimbabwe and they occupy management positions. The BTDP (1999:5) notes that, "the shortage – whether real or imaginary – of some skills within the tourism sector has led to the engagement of some non-citizens in key positions..." Such skills include camp management, accounting, professional hunting and guiding, flying bush aircraft, and kitchen management are now often provided by expatriates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Safari Camp/Lodge</th>
<th>Tourism Businesses</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia &amp; New Zealand</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other African Countries</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other European Countries</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
<td><strong>55</strong></td>
<td><strong>112</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's Fieldwork 2001

Computing total employment in the tourism sector in Botswana is complicated matter. Different researchers and reports give conflicting figures. For example, the Botswana Tourism Development Programme, BTDP (1999) states that, in 1997, the total number of jobs generated by the wildlife and tourism sectors was 9,900, which is about 4.5% of the total employment in Botswana, a figure also quoted by the Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana, HATAB (HATAB, 2001). The Bank of Botswana, BOB (1999) states that this figure is an underestimate and puts the figure at 10,015 people, same as that given by the 1995/96 Labour Force Survey (CSO, 2000). The Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB) notes that tourism employment in Botswana increased from 2,630 in 1998 to 9,990 in 1998. This represents an increase of 26.6% over the ten-year period. The DOT (2000b) notes that direct employment in core tourism-related occupation amounted to 8,536 persons in 1998 or 3.8% (Table 5.12) of the total number of paid employees in Botswana. However, DOT states that 8,536 is a conservative estimate as no employment has been calculated for staff employed by tourist shops, foreign exchange bureaus and other tourist-related services provided through, or embedded in, other sectors (e.g. retailing, banking, personal services etc).
Table 5.12: Estimated Direct Employment Generation in Tourism (1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Number of Establishments</th>
<th>Persons Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>4,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants, bars and night clubs (outside hotels)</td>
<td>40 (tourism-related only)</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour and Safari Operators</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>1,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Hunters and Guides</td>
<td></td>
<td>904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel Agencies, Air Charter, Car Hire</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Tourism</td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Wildlife and National Parks</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs and Immigration</td>
<td></td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>8,536</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: DOT (2000b)*

Despite conflicting employment statistics in the wildlife and tourism industries in the country, findings indicate that employment in the tourism sector in the Okavango has increased in the last two decades by almost 30%. For example, in 1984, about 3,000 people were employed in the tourism sector. This figure increased to 5,000 by 1988 (Hermans, 1990). By 2001, the total tourism employment is estimated at 10,000 people as already noted.

There is also little doubt that the tourism sector contributes significantly to the livelihoods of other people not employed in tourism related jobs in Botswana. For example, the Botswana Confederation of Commerce, Industry and Manpower (BOCCIM) regional conference held in Francistown in 1997 stated that the about 27,000 people are supported by workers employed in the wildlife and tourism sector. The majority of jobs in the tourism sector are provided in the accommodation sector, followed by social and personnel services (which includes safari camps and lodges), wholesale and retail trade, and transport. With a high rate of population growth, a small agricultural sector and limited opportunities for the development of manufacturing, tourism can be a vehicle for creating jobs, particularly in rural and wildlife areas where most tourists visit and where there are few other opportunities.

### 5.3.4.1 Educational Backgrounds and Training of Safari Workers

It is government policy that management positions occupied by expatriate staff should have local staff members understudying them. This presumably will ultimately lead to localisation of the posts. This approach appears to be not feasible (at least in the near future) in the tourism sector. Firstly, the majority of the local workers in the tourism businesses have a limited educational background (Table 5.13) and safari operators appear not obliged to employ the qualified citizens. Secondly, there is little or no professional training provided to those already working in the industry to enable them to quickly occupy management positions. Thirdly, there appears to be no initiative on the part of employers to employ trained local personnel in the available professional and skilled jobs in the tourism sector.

Table 5.13: Educational Background of Workers in the Tourism Industry, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Background</th>
<th>Workers in Delta</th>
<th>Workers in Maun</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freq</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Freq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never been to School</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Certificate</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’level e.g. Form IV</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certificate (Tertiary)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author’s Fieldwork 2001*
To emphasise the low educational background of workers in the tourism sector in the Okavango Delta, the survey as shown in Table 5.13 found that about 4.18% of the workers in the tourism industry have never been to school, 14.3% have been to primary schools, 37.7% have gone up to junior certificate, 22.4% have done O’level while 18.4% have been to tertiary institutions such as the Vocational Training Centre and Brigades. This means that about 78.5% of the local people working in safari camps in the Okavango Delta have either no education or have attained up to O’level.

In emphasising that the majority of the workers are not sent for any formal training either in the form of short courses or certificate courses (such as catering, travel and hospitality, accounting, professional guiding, administration and any other specialised skills), the study found that a majority of 77.6% of the workers said that they were never sent for training by their respective companies (Table 5.14). It should, however, be noted that the duration and number of years for the different workers differed, a limitation that was not taken into consideration when tabulating results in Table 5.14.

**Question:** Since you started working in this company, were you ever sent for training or a Short Course to improve your skills?

**Table 5.14: Training through Short Courses or other of Safari Workers?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Safari Workers in Delta</th>
<th>Tourism Businesses</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freq</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Freq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author’s Fieldwork 2001*

Informal interviews with lecturers at Maun Vocational Training College indicate that safari operators usually do not prefer graduates from their institute (e.g. the Hotel and Catering programme), mainly because, according to these sources, they prefer unqualified personnel who demand lower salaries and are more easily manipulated. As a result, the institute noted that even though they are situated in Maun, the tourist centre of the Okavango Delta, their graduates are forced to go to Gaborone, Francistown or any eastern town where they can find employment and be paid salaries be-fitting their training.

Despite the poor educational background of the majority of the workers in the tourism sector in the Okavango Delta, results show that on the job training that is provided to them by the respective safari operators might be adequate. As shown in Table 4.6 in Section 4.7, about 74.2% of the tourists who stayed in safari camps and lodges in the Okavango Delta were either satisfied or very satisfied with services in these accommodation facilities (As a researcher, I have had the opportunity to stay in some of the camps/lodges at the courtesy of some operators in the Okavango Delta. When comparing the service in these facilities with that offered elsewhere in the country or outside, my impressions about the service in camps and lodges in the Delta are very high). It can, therefore, be suggested that on the job training for safari workers in the Okavango Delta is valuable.

In relation to academic qualifications of those in management positions in safari camps and lodges in the Okavango Delta, Figure 5.1 shows that, 40.0% of the managers hold a Bachelor’s Degree, 23.3% hold a diploma, while 26.6% have O’level education. Their qualifications ranged from personnel management, education, ecology and engineering. In some cases, some of the managers who happen also to be owners of the business do not necessarily have advanced academic credentials but instead have experience in the business. As noted, management positions in the tourist industry in the Okavango Delta and in Botswana are generally occupied by expatriate staff on the assumption that there are no local qualified and experienced personnel to do the job.

**Question:** What is your educational Background?
While it is true that locals do not possess the necessary skill and experience in the tourism business, the current qualifications of managers in safari camps indicate that if incentives are put in place for locals similar to those for expatriate staff (e.g. free tax gratuities, attractive salaries etc), the industry would likely to attract more citizens, even in Maun tourist offices.

5.3.4.2 Salary Structures of Safari Workers

The majority of citizens employed in the tourism industry in Maun and in the Okavango Delta occupy junior positions which attract lower salaries (Table 5.15). They are mostly involved manual work where they are employed as drivers, maids, cleaners, cooks, night watchmen, and gatekeepers (a few locals occupy senior positions especially as professional guides, and assistant managers). As local staff members occupy lower positions, they are paid lower salaries compared to those of expatriate counterparts who occupy management positions and are paid higher salaries. As a consequence of this stratification, there are marked differences in salaries between the expatriate workers and local workers in the tourism industry, not only in the Okavango Delta but also in Botswana as a whole.

Table 5.15: Salaries for Workers in the tourism industry, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salary of Workers</th>
<th>Workers in Delta</th>
<th>Workers in Maun</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freq</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Freq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than P300.00</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P301.00 - 400.00</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P401.00 - 500.00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P501.00 - 600.00</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P601.00 - 700.00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P701.00 - 800.00</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P801.00 - 1000.00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1001.00 - 2000.00</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2001+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2001)

Salary information by category of worker obtained from operating managers of the various safari companies operating in Maun and the Okavango Delta, is shown in Table 5.16.
Table 5.15: Salaries of Workers in the Tourism Industry According to Type of Work, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Worker</th>
<th>No of Workers</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waiters</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>P550.00 — P600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooks</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>P700.00 — P900.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar Attendants</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>P500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaners</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>P500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor boat drivers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P1200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P2250.00 — P2100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance Assistants</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P850.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trackers/Polers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>P650.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Guides</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>P2200.00 — P2400.00*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Managers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>P1200.00 — P4000.00+*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>P8000.00+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing Directors</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>P18000.00+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001) *salaries defer depending on expatriate or locals, those for locals are lower.

About three-quarters of the junior workers in the tourism industry in Maun and the Okavango Delta are paid salaries ranging from P300.00 — P900.00 per month. Senior workers are paid salaries that range from P1200.00 — P2400.00 for local staff and P4500.00 — P8000.00 for expatriate staff. Managing Directors are paid between P15, 000.00 — P18, 000.00. These findings are consistent with those by Ndubano (2000) who found that in a sample of 50 citizens employed in the tourism sector in Maun, 33 of them earned between P300.00 and P900.00. Almost two-thirds (62%) of the citizens employed in tourism-related jobs in Maun earn much less than P954.78, the country’s poverty datum level in 2000.

These findings are consistent with those reported by Botswana Tourism Development Programme (BTDP) consultants, whose main focus was that of salaries in the tourism industry at a national level. The BTDP notes that even though the percentage of foreigners in the tourism employment is small (about 4% in the hotel and lodge sectors), they dominate better paying jobs (BTDP, 1999). According to BTDP, median salaries range from around P500.00 per month for the lowest paid categories to around P5, 000.00 per month for the highest paid. As shown in Table 5.17, expatriate salaries are considerably higher than those paid to citizens in similar or comparable positions, especially for executive managers, general managers, food and beverages manager, safari lodge manager, and professional guides. The information in Table 5.17 also shows that expatriates numbers in management positions in the tourism sector in Botswana is higher than that of citizens.

Table 5.17: Distribution of Basic Salaries in the Hotel, Catering and Tourism Sector, 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Title</th>
<th>Citizens</th>
<th>Expatriates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Median Basic Salary (Pula)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing Director</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Manager</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safari Lodge Manager</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel Manager</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food &amp; Beverages Manager</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Chefs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Guides</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>895</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The BTDP report further notes that the gap between citizen and expatriate levels of remuneration becomes still wider when benefits and allowances are taken into consideration. Most expatriate employees qualify for generous tax free gratuities, home leave passages, children’s education allowances, furnished housing
allowances, and encashment of leave allowances. This scenario is noted to be peculiar to tourism development by Cooper et al (1998) who state that as with any form of economic development, the new income-earning opportunities created by tourism development are unlikely to be evenly distributed across the destination. This may give rise to some members of the host communities feeling resentful and antagonistic towards tourism development.

In her study in Maun, Ndhubano (2006) found only six local managers (14.3%) out of 42 established posts in the accommodation facilities; expatriates occupy all the remaining posts. This salary structure in the tourism sector in the Okavango Delta appears to be consistent with that of other developing countries in the world. For example, Pantin (1998) states that in St Lucia, nine out of ten managers in the hotel and restaurant sectors were expatriates and their average salaries were several times higher than the earnings of unskilled local labourers.

5.3.5 Contribution to Rural Development

The growth of tourism in the Okavango Delta has encouraged rural development in Ngamiland District, especially in Maun, the district headquarters and administration centre. In this study, rural development is limited to infrastructure improvements, and the provision of social services.

5.3.5.1 Contribution to Infrastructure Development and Provision of Social Services

In comparing Maun with other major villages with roughly the same human population and administrative status (e.g. district headquarters) in the country, Maun developed faster in the last 10-15 years. As shown in Figure 5.2, 83.6% of rural respondents indicated that the provision of social services and infrastructure in Maun and Ngamiland District in the last decade was largely influenced by the growth of tourism in the district. Only 16.4% of the respondents do not directly interpret the current infrastructure development and the provision of social services in Ngamiland District as a direct result of tourism alone, but rather of a combination of factors such as government efforts to promote rural development.

**Question:** Do you think Infrastructure Development and Provision of Social Services in Maun is Influenced by Tourism Development?

![Fig.5.2: Infrastructure Development and Provision of Social Services in Maun is Influenced by Tourism Development?](image)

*Source: Author’s Fieldwork 2001*

Figure 5.3 shows that 68.6% of the business managers in Maun link the success of their businesses in Maun and Ngamiland District to the growth of tourism in the Okavango Delta. They state that the improvement of infrastructure and the provision of social services in Maun and Ngamiland District are directly linked to
tourism. They perceive Maun as a tourist centre in which most of the tourist offices are located and that tourist supplies for tourism camps in the Okavango Delta are done from Maun. The other reason they give is that Maun is the departure centre for all tourists visiting the Okavango Delta. As a result of all these activities in Maun, it was necessary to provide infrastructure and social services as soon as possible in Maun and Ngamiland District to in order to meet the needs of the tourist industry.

**Question:** Is the Expansion of Businesses in Maun and Ngamiland District Due to Influence of Tourism?

![Fig. 5.3: Expansion of Businesses in Maun and Ngamiland District Due to Influence of Tourism?](source)

*Source: Author's Fieldwork (2001)*

However, 31.4% of the respondents explain the existence of businesses in Maun and Ngamiland District being related to both tourism and the relatively large human population in Maun and Ngamiland District.

### 5.3.5.2 Transport and Communication Systems

In the late 1980s, northern Botswana was very much inaccessible because there were virtually no tarred roads. The situation gradually changed. During the National Development Plan 6 of 1986 to 1991, Government realised that tourism in northwestern Botswana had the potential of positively contributing to the economy of the country. At present, northern Botswana has over 1500 kilometres of tarred road as shown in Table 5.18. Tarred roads provide a link between northern Botswana’s main centres of Maun and Kasane with other eastern towns like Francistown and Gaborone. They also provide a link with neighbouring countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Namibia’s Caprivi Strip.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Road Section</th>
<th>Length in Kilometres</th>
<th>Year Completion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Francistown – Kasane</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nata – Gweta</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maun-Shorobe</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gweta – Maun</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsau – Gumare</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maun – Schitwa</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gomarc – Seopoa</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shihitwa – Ghanzi</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanzi – Mamono</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakawe – Mobembo</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1334 +</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Government of Botswana (1997) and Department of Roads (2002) personal Communication*
The road network in northern Botswana has improved accessibility of the region with other eastern centres hence increased the efficiency in the delivery of social services. The network is also an important aspect of tourism development in northern Botswana, especially in the Okavango and Chobe regions. As noted, tourism development in Botswana is linked to that of southern Africa since most tourists (i.e. self-drive, mobile and high-costs) who visit Botswana (e.g. the Okavango and Chobe) also visit Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia and Zambia.

The development of the road network in northern Botswana is part of the government objective to improve the road system in the country. As shown in Table 5.19, there has been an expansion of the road network in Botswana from 1990 – 2002. During Botswana National Development Plan 8 of 1997/98 – 2002/3, the development of roads account for 58% of the investment allocation of the Ministry of Works Transport and Communications in National Development Plan 8 (Botswana Government, 1997).

Table 5.19: Roads maintained by the Central Government, 1994 – 1999 (in Kilometers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bitumen</th>
<th>Gravel</th>
<th>Earth/Sand</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2565</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>4589</td>
<td>8114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>2831</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>4371</td>
<td>8134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>3603</td>
<td>2930</td>
<td>2148</td>
<td>8761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>3878</td>
<td>2739</td>
<td>2148</td>
<td>8761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>4177</td>
<td>2632</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>8766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>4761</td>
<td>2087</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>8805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>4729</td>
<td>2191</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>8761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>4789</td>
<td>2131</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>8761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>4969</td>
<td>2131</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>8941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>5570</td>
<td>2688</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>10217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>6082</td>
<td>2270</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>10217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>6421</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>10156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002 (March)</td>
<td>6501</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>10192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


5.3.5.3 Airports and Airstrips

In addition to the tarred road network, in 1993, Maun Airport was improved with a new terminal and extended runway. Improvement of Maun Airport has attracted international flights connecting Maun Airport and Johannesburg, Windhoek, and Victoria Falls. These links form the main air routes used by tourists who visit the Okavango Delta. In terms of aircraft operations each day, Maun Airport is the second busiest airport in Africa after Johannesburg International Airport (Table 5.20). This is further illustrated by the Ngami Times (2001:1) which notes “Maun Airport is regarded as the second busiest international in Africa in terms of aircraft movement after the combined Johannesburg area (South Africa) airports of Johannesburg International, Lanseria, Rand and Grand Central”.

Table 5.20: Aircraft Movement at Maun Airport, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Total Movements</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International</td>
<td>2,846</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>34,666</td>
<td>86.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Commercial</td>
<td>2,786</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>40,246</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DCA (2001)

Maun Airport in 2000 had an average of 256 aircraft landing and taking off each day during the tourist peak seasons of April to October. In the non-tourist peak season of November to March, an average of 157 aircraft landings and take offs each day. Most of this aircraft movement is by small engine aircrafts that fly
into the delta either to transport tourists or carry supplies. In 2000, there were eight privately owned air companies with a total of 44 small engine aircrafts operating in the Okavango Delta and using Maun Airport as the main base (Table 5.21).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Air Company</th>
<th>Number of Airplanes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sekeke Air</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moremi Air</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delta Air</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Air</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swamp Air</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mack Air</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushfree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safari Air</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mbatwa (2000)

In the Delta, there are about 23 privately owned airfields and seven government airstrips in the area, excluding those operated by the Botswana Defence Force.

In addition to the already existing airport facilities in Maun and in the Okavango Delta, there is a proposed agenda by government to expand existing airport facilities at Maun Airport, especially the runway. This idea is hoped to make Maun Airport capable of having receiving bigger aircrafts. The expansion of Maun Airport suggests an increase in volume of tourists, airport facilities, the number of small bush aircrafts and employment opportunities especially for the local people. While this is a positive economic development, care should be taken to prevent negative environmental impacts in the area especially in the Okavango Delta. This, therefore, suggests that studies on limits of acceptable change or carrying capacity of both Maun and the Okavango Delta should be carried out to determine the level of expansion and the volume of tourism that the area can hold.

5.3.5.4 Hotels, Lodges and Camps

The increase in accommodation facilities in Maun and the Okavango Delta from the 1990s to the present is one of the ways in which tourism growth and economic development in the region can be measured. In 1989 for example, there were 32 accommodation facilities in the Okavango Delta (Mpoktwane, 1990). This figure has since increased to 63 accommodation facilities in 2001 (Table 5.22). This represents an increase of 49.2% in the thirteen-year period. However, this is likely to be a conservative figure as hunting camps used by safari hunters are not included in Table 5.22.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Facility</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lodges</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camps</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mpoktwane (1990) and Author’s Fieldwork (2001)

In addition to the above camps, SMEC (1989) noted that there were 15 fishing and hunting camps located in the Okavango (which in this case were not treated as accommodation facilities). As a result, Mpoktwane (1990) estimated that a total of 45 camps could have been located in the Okavango Delta by 1990. The increase in accommodation facilities is associated with an increase in the number of available rooms and beds in the country. The BTDP (1999) states that there were 1,759 rooms and 3,562 beds available in Botswana in 1996. Maun and the Okavango accounted for 258 rooms which is 14.7% of the total share of rooms in the country. By 1998, it was estimated that the total number of rooms in serviced
accommodation had increased to 2,284 rooms spread over 114 establishments of which 482 rooms or 21.1% were in Maun and the Okavango area (Table 5.23). In 2001, the 63 lodges, hotels and camps in Maun and the Okavango Delta was found to have a total of 572 rooms and 1068 beds (see Appendix 2).

Table 5.23: The Number of Rooms Available in Accommodation Facilities in Botswana (1996-1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>1998</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rooms</td>
<td>% of Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaborone</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>46.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francistown</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Towns and Villages</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maun and Okavango</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasane</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulis Block</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,759</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BDTP (1999)

Although the grading of tourism accommodation facilities in the Okavango Delta is not clearly defined, some of the facilities are of high standards. Some of these facilities have luxurious rooms, restaurants and swimming pools. Accommodation facilities in the Okavango Delta can therefore be described as being of high quality and attracting rich tourists from rich countries of North America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand. The government high-cost tourism policy has partly contributed to the establishment of high-cost tourism facilities in the Okavango Delta. The policy was designed to prevent mass tourism through high prices as the Okavango Delta is a sensitive environmental wetland.

Most tourists visit the Okavango Delta and its immediate surroundings in the dry winter season and room occupancy reaches its highest levels at this time. Findings by Silitsheña and McLeod (1998) as shown in Table 5.24 indicate that room occupancy rates in the Okavango and Chobe regions are high during the dry season than in the wet season in 1990.

Table 5.24: Room Occupancy Rates in the Okavango Delta, 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month (Wet Season)</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
<th>Month (Dry Season)</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Silitsheña and McLeod (1998)

The trend in occupancy rates in accommodation facilities in the Okavango has continued to be more in the dry season than in the wet season even in the late 1990s as shown with bed occupancy rates in Table 5.25.

Table 5.25: Bed Occupancy Rates in and around the Okavango Delta, 1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month (Wet Season)</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
<th>Month (Dry Season)</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>43.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BTDP (1999) and DOT (2000b)
The explanation that is likely to be influencing high room and bed occupancy rates in the dry season is that in the dry season, wild animals become concentrated in swampy parts of the delta where water is readily available. In the wet season rain water can be found everywhere thus making wild animals to disperse hence cannot be seen easily by tourists.

More pictures showing some of the infrastructure that has been developed to promote tourism development in the Okavango Delta.

Plate 5.1 shows one of the luxurious tourist accommodation facilities in the Okavango Delta. As a way of maintaining the aesthetic value of the Delta, thatching grass, wood and tents are some of the materials recommended for construction in the area.

Plate 5.2: A swimming pool in one of the high-cost accommodation facilities in the Okavango Delta
Plate 5.3: The terminal building and runway for Maun Airport was completed in 1993. This was carried out to cope with the growing tourism sector in the Okavango Delta.

Plate 5.4: Part of the Maun Airport terminal building for international arrivals. Tourism is noted to have grown and the need for the airport to receive bigger aircrafts has resulted in the proposed idea to expand it.
CHAPTER 6

COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM: AN ASPECT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

6.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with community-based tourism in the Okavango Delta. Background on the Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programme which facilitates community-based tourism is followed by an assessment of successes and failures of community-based tourism. Finally, it describes some of the challenges that face community-based tourism in the Okavango Delta in future.

6.2 Community-Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana

Community-based tourism is carried out through the implementation of the Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) programme. In the past decade, the CBNRM programme has become an aspect of rural development in the Okavango region. Botswana’s programme of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) is the backbone upon which community-based tourism in the Okavango Delta and Ngamiland District is based. Community-based natural resource management within the Eastern and Southern African states has become a mode of development where the conservation paradigm has shifted from a centralised preservationist and protectionist approach to a more integrated approach (Mhawi, 1999). This approach recognises the need for the promotion and empowerment of the local communities by linking economic and social development to natural resources management. In Botswana, there are two main overriding policy documents which advocate the involvement of the rural communities in the sustainable utilisation of natural resources. These are the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 and the Tourism Policy of 1990. It is assumed that if rural communities participate in natural resource utilisation and derive economic benefits, this will cultivate the spirit of ownership and will ultimately lead to more sustainable use of natural resources by the rural poor communities.

The Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 is generally seen as a blueprint upon which CBNRM has been designed. It proposed the division of all the nine/tenc districts in Botswana into Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs). CHAs form smaller management units within WMAs. Botswana is divided into 150 CHAs (Modise, 1996). Most of the CHAs in Ngamiland District are adjacent to wildlife areas such as Moremi Game Reserve. The idea of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) in Botswana arose from a need for conservation and controlled utilisation of wildlife and other natural resources outside national parks and game reserves, along with the desirability of creating buffer zones between parks and reserves and areas of more intensive land use. A Wildlife Management Area (WMA) can thus be defined as an area where wildlife utilisation and management is the primary form of land use. Other types of land use are permitted provided they do not prejudice the wildlife populations and their utilisation (DWNP, 1999). Winer (1995) states that community natural resource management projects in WMAs, as a principal aim, seek to return custodianship of natural resources to the local communities in order for conservation to be linked to rural production systems that generate wealth and rather than to be viewed as being in conflict with them as has often been the case.

The CBNRM concept recognises the incorporation and importance of indigenous knowledge system in natural resources management. Indigenous Knowledge or Local Knowledge or Indigenous Technical Knowledge (ITK) denotes a cumulative body of knowledge generated and evolved over time, representing generations of creative thought and actions within individual societies in an ecosystem of continuous residence with an effort of coping with the ever changing agro-ecological and socio-economic environment (Fernandez 1994, LaDuke 1994, Laws and Luning 1996, Serrano 1996, Warren 1996, Darkoh 1996). The CBNRM architects regarded indigenous technical knowledge as the basis for establishing a realistic blend, if not an alternative, to the current inadequate conventional natural resource conservation. As Darkoh (1996) puts it, the local communities possess a pool of knowledge of the ecosystem in which they live and are involved in adaptive and coping livelihood strategies that ensure the sustainable use of natural resources in their local environment.

The participation of local communities in natural resource management is an indication that conventional methods of natural resource management on their own are not adequate for the sustainable use of natural
resources in the area. They are unable to solve the growing problems of natural resource decline such as is happening with wildlife. This is partly because conventional methods of resource management are mostly imposed on rural people, and, therefore, are often unacceptable to these rural communities. The re-introduction of indigenous knowledge into natural resource management is meant to involve local people in the decision-making process and implementation of resource policies and programmes. In giving local communities an active role in the management of natural resources and effectively returning to them some of the control they lost in the past, it is now envisaged that the natural resources will become an integral part of the socio-economic development, thus guaranteeing that future generations will also benefit from the same resources. This approach is in line with the concept of sustainable development which emphasises intergenerality and social equity. In theory, community-based tourism should, therefore, demonstrate how traditional and modern natural resource management practices can be fused together to achieve a higher degree of sustainability in Ngamiland.

6.3 Community Perceptions Towards Community-Based Natural Resource Management

The people of Ngamiland District generally see community-based tourism as a good idea. Informal interviews with Community Board members as well as household interviews indicated that the people of the area think community-based tourism is a good idea and should be encouraged. Figure 6.1 shows that 76.9% of the respondents in Khwai, Seronga and Dithiping believed that community-based tourism is a good idea since it has resulted in the creation of employment opportunities and has generated much revenue for the people in the district.

**Question:** Is Community-Based Tourism a Good Idea and need to be Implemented in the Okavango Area?

![Fig.6.1: Community-Based Tourism a Good Idea and need to be Implemented in the Okavango Area](image)

*Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001)*

Among the numbers why 23.1% of the respondents in these villages do not see CBOs and community-based tourism a good idea were that some CBOs and community-based tourism has so far had no direct benefits to the concerned households but rather benefit a few members of the community and expatriate safari companies operating in the area.

6.4 Decision-Making and Institutional Framework in Community-Based tourism

Decision-making in community-based tourism is one of the major social benefits of local communities in tourism development in the Okavango Delta. Previously, the decision-making process was centralised by government and major decisions in tourism were taken based on demands of operators who are mostly outsiders (Mbaiwa, 1999). The need to adhere to the principles of sustainable development especially social equity issues where all stakeholders should be involved in programmes that affect their lives resulted in the inclusion of local communities in tourism management issues in the Okavango Delta. Social equity advocates for the fairness and equal access to resources by all user groups. Among other issues, it aims at ensuring equity in the distribution of decision-making and management of resources (Angelson et al. 1994). Murphy (1993) in his five principles of sustainable natural resource management notes that the unit of
proprietorship (i.e. who decides) should be the unit of production, management and benefit. Local communities that manage the natural resources should form the local management institution. As CBNRM aims at ultimately returning custodian of natural resources to the local communities, the formation of Community-Based Organisations (CBO) in the Okavango Delta, therefore, provides them the opportunity to take decisions in tourism development in their local environment.

Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) are registered trusts that provide a locally controlled institutional framework in tourism development in the Okavango Delta. CBOs coordinate tourism activities for their respective communities. The operations of CBOs are guided by a constitution which addresses issues of membership, organisation and duties of each CBO. Generally, in all the constitutions, all local people over 18 years age and living in a village within a designated Controlled Hunting Area (CHA) automatically become general members of a CBO in their area. For administration purposes, CBOs either have a Village Trust Committee (VTC) or the Board of Trustees or both. CBOs that comprise one village do not necessarily have a VTC but a Board of Trustees only, while those that comprise more than one village have both VTC and Board of Trustees.

The Board of Trustees is the supreme body where all the VTCs in each village should report. Members of Village Trust Committees (VTC) and Board of Trustees are elected at a kgotta (public meeting) every two years. In cases where CBOs have more than one village, the VTC represent the needs of a particular village to the Board of Trustees, they also report to the village or general membership the affairs of the CBO and discuss, identify and manage village tourism projects. VTC also consult members on the usage of the revenues earned by the CBO from tourism activities. The Board of Trustees conducts and manages all the affairs of the CBO on behalf of its members. These affairs can include signing of legal documents such as leases and contracts with safari companies and maintaining a close contact with the CBO lawyers. The Board of Trustees also keep CBO records, financial accounts and reports and present them to the general membership at Annual General Meetings. The kgosi (village chief) and the Village Development Committee (VDC) members are ex-officio members of VTCs or Board of Trustees. The Kgosi is the traditional head of a village and in carrying out developments projects in his village, he is assisted by the VDC. The inclusion of the kgosi and the VDC in the Board of Trustees and VTCs as ex-officio members gives CBOs credibility and legal support from village authorities.

As participants in natural resource management, the local communities through their CBOs have the opportunity upon which indigenous knowledge can be fused with conventional methods. This has the potential to bring about a sustainable use of natural resource in developing countries. Studies have shown that conventional methods and conventional uses of natural resource uses on they own are less successful in achieving a sustainable use of natural resources in developing countries (Steiner and Rihoy, 1995). The involvement of traditional institutions such as the VDC and traditional leaders such as the kgosi in tourism development in the Okavango Delta, therefore, provides planners with the opportunity to assess how the scientific and indigenous knowledge can be fused together and promote sustainability in natural resource management.

Once a community has formed a CBO, the central government allocates a wildlife quota and leases land (a Controlled Hunting Area) for tourism development to it. The CBOs are given resource management rights to CHAs leased to them by the Tawana Land Board (TLB) together with security of tenure through fifteen-year leases. The TLB is the government land authority in the Okavango while the Department of Wildlife and National Parks allocates a wildlife quota. Land and wildlife resources in Botswana are centralised and remain the property of the government thus the use of these resources by any community or individual is only allowed by central government. The CBOs have three options on which they can use their CHA and wildlife quota, these are through managing the CHAs themselves, sub-lease the resource use rights to a safari company at a fee, or entering into a joint venture partnership with a safari company by holding shares. The lack of expertise and the necessary capital to invest in tourism activities by CBOs have so far favoured the sub-lease of community CHAs to safari companies by most of the CBOs in the Okavango Delta.
CBOs select lessee or joint venture partners through an invitation to tender. Technical committee comprising of central and local government officials (e.g. from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Department of Tourism, District Administration, District Council and Tawana Land Board) assesses and ranks the technical proposals of all tenders received, which are then submitted to the community at the kgotla (a traditional public meeting) for the final decision through a public vote on the selection of a lessee or joint venture partner.

The voting system is not only intended to make the decision making process transparent but is also seen as a way of involving them in taking part in the planning that affect their socio-economic livelihoods. The use of kgotla for general meetings where major decisions regarding community-based tourism are taken is considered necessary in that the kgotla is the authentic meeting place in rural areas of Botswana. It is the most democratic place where local people are free to express their views, it is a "traditional parliament" in every village in Botswana if compared to the western idea of parliamentary democracy. The involvement of local people in making decisions in the tendering process as well as tourism development in their local environment is inline with the principles of sustainable development. As noted already, sustainable development provides for the involvement of the rural poor in the decision making process if the proposed policy or programme would ultimately impact on their livelihoods (Chambers 1986; WECU 1987). Programmes and projects that involve local people in their design and implementation stand a better chance of being successful as they have local support (Chambers, 1986). Based on this perspective, assuming that other factors (e.g. provision of entrepreneurship skills to local communities) are taken into consideration in community-based tourism development, it is possible that the programme can be sustainable.

Although local people are made to participate in the decision making process regarding community-based tourism, they are, however, not necessarily involved in the broader tourism policy making or wildlife management at national level (Mbaiwa (1999). Policies are formulated at the center and government officials disseminate information to the local people through the kgotla about how such tourism and wildlife policies and laws should be implemented (Mbaiwa, 1999). It is at this lower level of the decision-making process where local communities become involved in tourism development. For example, the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 and the Tourism Policy of 1990 which are the two main policies spearheading the implementation of CBNRM and community-based tourism did not involve local communities in their design. As a result, issues of local community empowerment especially entrepreneurship skills in the tourism business were ignored while emphasis was placed on natural resource conservation. The design of the Ngamiland/Okavango Wildlife Management Plan of 1992 that led to the demarcation of the Okavango region into WMAs and CHAs also did not include local communities in its design who are major beneficiaries of the plan. Failure to involve local communities in tourism and wildlife policy formulation at a national or regional level means that they have no control over land and its resources. Lack of control of tourism products such as land and wildlife resources by the local people in the Okavango Delta is one of the major obstacles in the progress of community-based tourism. This is because communities are not necessarily free to decide on how best to use natural resources in their area but are told how to do it by the central government.

6.5 Community-Based Organisations and Economic Benefits in the Okavango

The CBOs in the Okavango Delta have so far been able to generate economic benefits for the people in the district such as employment to various community individuals and income generation for each community or CBO. However, much of the revenue that Community-Based Organisations have so far been able to generate is mainly from land rentals or through the sub-leasing of their Controlled Hunting Areas to safari operators and through the sale of their animal quota provided by the Department of Wildlife and National parks. Employment opportunities that have been generated for the communities are mainly provided by the safari operators that lease the community land (CHA) where the majority of the workers are labourers. Most of the participating communities in community-based tourism are not directly involved in the tourism business. They can, therefore, be described as passive participants in tourism development in the Okavango Delta. Table 6.2 shows some of the community-based organizations (CBOs), the type of tourism activities in which they are engaged on and the amount of revenue that each community projects has managed to generate on annual basis from the first year of operation.
Table 6.1: Community Based Tourism Organisations in the Okavango Delta, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Trust</th>
<th>Village(s) Involved</th>
<th>CHAs Used</th>
<th>Tourism Activity</th>
<th>Revenue Generated (in Pula)</th>
<th>Number of People Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mababe Zoikotsana Community Trust</td>
<td>Mababe</td>
<td>NG 41</td>
<td>Hunting and Photographic</td>
<td>2000: 675 000</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okavango Kopano Moloro Community Trust</td>
<td>Ditshiping, Boro, Xataha, Daumana, Xharaxa, Xuaao</td>
<td>NG 32</td>
<td>Hunting and Photographic</td>
<td>1998: 6 80 000, 1999: 710 000, 2000: 1 100 000</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwai Development Trust</td>
<td>Khwai</td>
<td>NG 18 &amp; 19</td>
<td>Hunting and Photographic</td>
<td>2000: 954 000</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Mbaivwa, 2000) 1 USD = 6.2 BWP

From the above table, some of the Community-Based Organisations in the region are singled out and briefly discussed below:

6.5.1 The Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust

The village of Sankuyo was the first village in Ngamiland District to establish community-based tourism in 1996. The village of Sankuyo is located on the northeastern fridges of the Okavango Delta. In 1996, Sankuyo established the Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust (STMT) to coordinate community-based tourism activities in the village. The village and its trust have been allocated NG 33 and 34 to be used for photographic and hunting purposes respectively. STMT has since sub-leased these two community areas to Game Safaris and Crocodile Camp Safaris. Since the trust started operating, it generated P285, 000 in 1996 and 1997, P345, 000 in 1998, P562, 800 in 1999 and P595, 400 in 2000. Mvim (2000) divides the revenue STMT accrued from community-based tourism activities in specific categories, namely, the sale of a wildlife quota, land rentals, concession fees and community development (Table 6.3).

Table 6.2: Revenue Accruing to STMT from Land Rentals and Quota Fees, 1997-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rental (Pula)</th>
<th>Quota (Pula)</th>
<th>Others (Pula)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>345,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>345,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>140,000</td>
<td>202,850</td>
<td>120,000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>154,000</td>
<td>223,135</td>
<td>148,940**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>169,400</td>
<td>245,450</td>
<td>180,610***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mvim (2000)

*P35,000 for concession fee and P85,000 for development fund (installation of radio communication systems, office, social centre, village soccer club and education).
**P55,000 for concession fee and P93,500 for development fund.
***P77,760 for concession fee and P102,850 for development.
The direct household benefits in Sankuyo include the construction of forty Enviro Loo toilets and the distribution of P200.00 to each household in 1997. Shared community benefits include the purchased Land Cruiser vehicle for community use and the construction of community trust office and a community social center. Out of a village population of 389, about 55 people in Sankuyo were employed in the community trust in 1998 (Mbawwa, 1999). However, more employment opportunities and financial gains are expected once the construction of CBO's campsite and traditional village is completed. The traditional village, among other things, includes the construction of two safari camps, one in the hunting area while the other is in the photographic area. When completed, the photographic camp is expected to provide services to photographic tourists such as accommodation in traditional huts, traditional dishes, dance and music while the camp in the hunting area is expected to provide accommodation and hunting activities only. The move by the people of Sankuyo to build their own facilities means that in the near future, they will not sub-lease their community areas to any foreign hunting and photographic safari company but will run the tourism businesses for themselves. This to some extent demonstrates the move towards a culturally and locally controlled tourism as is the case in eco-tourism.

6.5.2 The Okavango Community Trust

The Okavango Community Trust (OCT) comprises several villages of Seronga, Bredsha, Gumtsooga and Gudigwa in the panhandle. These villages are. The OCT was established in 1996 and was allocated NG 22 and NG 23. The OCT has sub-leased its CHAs to hunting and photographic safari operators (John Calitz and Machetti Bates Safaris). As shown in Table 6.2, sub-leasing of the OCT CHAs generated P446,000.00 in 1996, P468, 050.00 in 1997, P625, 650.00 in 1998, P 652,340.00 in 1999 and P686, 240.00 in 2000 for the trust. Individual benefits to Board members include a sitting allowance of P500.00 for each member per meeting.

6.5.3 The Okavango Polers' Trust

In addition to being part of the OCT, the village of Seronga operates its own trust, known as the Okavango Polers' Trust. The Okavango Polers Trust (OPT) was formed with intention of establishing a viable eco-tourism operation in the panhandle. The trust is involved in canoe (mekoro) safaris in the Okavango River and operates a camping site. Mekoro safaris are meant to offer tourists a trip by makoro the traditional method of transportation in the Okavango River and Delta as a way of viewing game and camping in the wilderness. At campsites, traditional dishes, dance and music depicting the Wayeyi culture are offered as entertainment to tourists. From April 1998 to September 2000, the trust had 9586 overseas tourists and generated about P639, 118.00 in the financial year ending in March 1999. Tourists are charged P120.00 for a mokoro safari per day. The trust also charges P20.00 per person a day in the community camping site. The trust has so far provided employment for 75 people who work as polers, 20 casual polers, eight boat drivers, six women catering traditional dinners, two office workers, two co-ordinators, and one business manager. In addition to these eco-tourism developments, the OPT is currently developing a safari lodge that is also expected to offer traditional cultural fare as dance, music and food once completed.

6.5.4 The Khwai Development Trust

The Khwai Development Trust (KDT) comprises the village of Khwai, located on the eastern fridges of the Okavango Delta. It started operating in 2000 in NG 18 and 19. The Khwai Development Trust is the only CBO in Ngamiland District that at the time of fieldwork did not sub-lease its community CHAs to any safari operator. Instead it runs the tourism business own its own. In year 2000, the trust sold its community wildlife quota at an auction sale and made P1, 500, 000.00. The KDT is constructing two safari camps in their CHAs, creating employment opportunities for local people. By April 2001, there were about 78 people, out of a total village population of 429, employed to perform various jobs at these camps. These include 26 people employed as builders, while 22 are employed to construct roads and tourist trails. Twenty (20) people had jobs as spot guides, waiters, scullery, cooks and night watchmen, while six were employed as housekeepers. In terms of monthly payment, builders were each paid P800.00 per month, those constructing roads were paid P450.00 per month, night watchmen P500.00, and supervisors were paid P750.00 each.
6.6 Problems Affecting the Success of Community-Based Tourist Projects

Although the establishment of CBOs in and around the Okavango Delta has had several positive results, CBOs are also characterized by several problems which make some of them to perform poorly.

6.6.1 Lack of Understanding of the concept of CBNRM by the Local Communities

The major problem that faces community-based tourism activities and CBOs in Ngamiland District is that the concept of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) in which Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) are based is relatively new and generally lacks understanding by the local communities. This is shown by some local communities proposing and engaging in community tourist projects that are too elaborate and complicated for them to understand and manage. For instance, all most community-based tourist projects have bought Land Cruiser vehicles which have been turned into a free public transport system for the respective villages. They have also tried to run businesses such as kiosks, bottleshops and guesthouses, but have often failed due to lack of management and investment skills (Table 6.2). The lack of understanding and the necessary entrepreneurship skills to run tourism projects force CBOs to seek the assistance of private sector safari companies who have such knowledge and experience. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that there is too much focus on high-income tourist projects requiring high levels of organisation and management not easily available in rural areas. Community-based tourist projects would be successful if focus was put on viable and appropriate projects that require the locally available skills in rural areas.

Table 6.3: Brief Review on Progress made by Community-Based Tourism Projects, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of CBO</th>
<th>Village(s) Involved</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sankuyo Tahwaragano Management</td>
<td>Sankuyo</td>
<td>- households got P200.00 each in 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td></td>
<td>- built 40 Enviro Loo toilets for 40 households (not operating)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- purchased a Land Cruiser, built an office and social centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- building traditional village in their community areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Kiosk stopped operating due to losses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okavango Community Trust</td>
<td>Seronga, Eretsha,</td>
<td>- bought a plot at Seronga with shop, bottleshop, guest house and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gunotsogo, Beetsha,</td>
<td>office (shop &amp; bottleshop closed due to mismanagement of funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gudigwa</td>
<td>- built a shop at Beetsa (shop operating)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Kiosks in Gunotsogo, Eretsha &amp; Gudigwa closed down due to mismanagement of funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- purchased 2 Land Cruisers, 1 truck and a motor boat (motor boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not operational due to break down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mababe Zokotsana Community Trust</td>
<td>Mababe</td>
<td>- bought a vehicle, besides sub-leasing their land and sale of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wildlife quota, they have no immediate plans of what to do in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>investing in tourism business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okavango Moloro Community Trust</td>
<td>Ditshiping, Boro Xaxaba,</td>
<td>- bought a Land Cruiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daunara, Xharaxo, Xuxao</td>
<td>- progress to invest in other activities not forthcoming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwai Development Trust</td>
<td>Kwai</td>
<td>- in the process of buying a vehicle and constructing two tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>camps (traditional villages) in their community areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaegege Tlhabalogo Trust</td>
<td>Xaxai</td>
<td>- office, campsite, trust hall, craft shop, and guest house are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>operational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- bought a Land Cruiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- future plans to operate a bakery and a vegetable garden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Mbaia, 2000)

Sub-leasing of CHAs by CBOs has also resulted in some safari hunting operators exploiting the situation to their advantage. Their ability to market themselves in Europe provides tremendous profit from animal quotas they buy cheaply from the communities in Ngamiland. For example, in 1998, a single elephant that a safari hunting operator bought at $22,000.00 (US$ 4,500.00) from the community quota, was sold at US$ 50,000.00 ($250,000.00) to spot hunters from Europe (Mbaia, 1999). This figures respectively rose to P40, 000.00 (US$ 8,000.00 and US$ 80, 000.00 ($400,000.00) in 2000 as shown in Table 6.4.
Table 6.4: Buying and Selling Prices of Elephants by Safari Operators, 1998 and 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Buying Price</th>
<th>Selling Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>US$ 4,500.00 (P 22,000.00)</td>
<td>US$ 50,000.00 (P 250,000.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>US$ 8,000.00 (P 40,000.00)</td>
<td>US$ 80,000.00 (P 400,000.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mbuiwa (1999) and Author’s Fieldwork (2001)

The information contained in Table 6.4 was based on informal interviews with community and wildlife officials. However, there is a likelihood that it is an underestimate especially for the selling prices if data collected from Ranno Safaris (a hunting safari company in Maun) is considered. Data form Ranno Safari Company indicates a full package for elephant hunting by a safari hunter from overseas can be as high as US$ 150,000 if hunting is done for over 30 days (Safari South, Botswana, 2001). Based on this information, community-based tourism can be described as a means of enriching foreign companies instead of the local communities.

6.6.2 Lack of Re-investment into Tourism by the Local Communities

Where local communities have managed to sell their hunting quota or sub-leased their CHAs to safari hunting companies, sums of money have accrued to CBOs (Table 6.1). However, lack of entrepreneurship skills by local communities has often led to a failure to reinvest or misuse or misappropriation of community trust profits. Rozemeijer and Van der Jagt (1999) state that a community with a lot money in the bank may lose the interest/support of its members when they see that their living conditions do not improve. The problem of failure to re-invest community funds by CBOs in Ngamiland District is related to that of community-based tourism decisions based on the demands of the commercial tour operators instead of the local communities who are supposed to be the owners of the resources. Local communities lack business negotiating skills when making deals with safari operators. As a result of this deficiency, unscrupulous safari operators often cheat them. To overcome this problem, local communities rely on outside assistance for advice and for the organisation and management of community tourist projects. For example, local communities mostly depend on the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (a government body) and from foreign donor agencies on the direction upon which the community-based tourist projects should take. Any project that wholly relies on outside influence and support is not likely to sustain itself once foreign aid is withdrawn. If training amongst communities is not given a priority, community-based tourism is likely to collapse once outside assistance is finally withdrawn.

6.7 The Challenges of CBNRM and Community-Based Organisation

The implementation of community-based tourism in Ngamiland District presents several challenges to local community involvement in tourism.

6.7.1 Empowerment and Mobilisation of Local Communities in Tourism

The implementation of CBNRM programmes are based on the assumption that communities living in natural resource areas have a greater interest in the sustainable use of natural resources around them than the centralised government or private management institutions. From this perspective, the intention of CBNRM has never been to give communities ownership over land or resources but to provide them with an incentive to manage the land or resources. Since CBNRM was primarily designed to achieve conservation, issues relating to social empowerment, social equity and sustainable economic development were largely ignored. Economic benefits were perceived as a means of achieving conservation as well as being an end in themselves. As a result of this approach, CBNRM in the Okavango is currently performing poorly. Natural resources, especially land and wildlife, remain either centralised or in private hands with community-based projects only allocated wildlife quotas annually.

Failure to address local community empowerment has resulted in failure to re-invest the money or misappropriation or mismanagement of community funds. The CBOs in Ngamiland District are faced with the responsibility to ensure that they are capable of managing resources (natural and financial) in order for government to hand over responsibility for natural resources. If CBNRM is to be successful in the
Okavango, local empowerment needs to be given priority. Particular attention should be given to training of local community representatives in the tourism business (e.g. marketing, book keeping, and investment skills) and on their rights to land, and the natural resources found in it.

6.7.2 The Problem of “who benefits” or “who should benefit” from CBNRM Projects

The question of “who benefits” or “who should benefit” from Community-Based Natural Resource Management projects is one of the problems of community-based tourism projects in the Okavango Delta. Group discussions in Ditshiping attended by the Village Development Committee members and the Village Trust Committee and informal interviews with some community members showed that in some communities have not yet benefited from community-based tourism. The Village Development Committee members and some members of the community noted that only the Village Trust Committee, Board of Trustees and other villages with the exclusion of Ditshiping benefit from the project. They also noted that decisions are generally taken without their consent of which in most cases other villages within the trust are suspected to be benefiting from the trust while Ditshiping get nothing. Communities noted that they do not derive expected benefits such as the use of trust vehicles, jobs, money and the community projects promised when joint venture partnerships with safari operators were made. It is not clear to most members of the community of Ditshiping whether they should benefit as individual households or as a community from their trust.

Taylor (2001) also states that the Gudigwa community which is part of the Okavango Trust (OCT) alleged that they were not receiving their fair share of the benefits accrued to the OCT from leasing out their land, such as jobs, meat, cash and the use of OCT vehicles. Taylor interprets the problem of lack of benefits by the Basarwa of Gudigwa from their CBO to ethnic differences with other five villages/members of the trusts who belong to a different ethnic background (mostly Basubiya). The Basarwa claim that their village is looked down upon by other members of the trust because they are Basarwa. They as a result prefer an independent trust and community wildlife area from the rest of the OCT.

Based on the information discussed above, the problem of the distribution of benefits, how they should be distributed and who should benefit can be described as a result of several factors, these include: ethnic differences and internal conflicts between members of a trust, poor co-ordination between the Village Technical Committees/Board of Trustees and the general membership, and the lack of understanding of how revenue generated through trusts should be shared. In addition to these problems, some of the CBOs have the rural elite and influential people in Village Technical Committees and Board of Trusts, these individuals are noted for being paid high setting allowances (e.g. P500.00 at OCT in 2000) while the rest of the general members get nothing. Rozemeijer and Van der Jagt (1999) hence state that the distribution of benefits is probably the most crucial component of CBNRM, and if not worked out in a sufficient detail, becomes a potential stumbling block for CBOs.

The problem of “who benefits” or “who should benefit” from Community-Based Natural Resource Management projects is further noted in a savingram from the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government (Mr. Molale). The savingram dated 30th January 2001 was addressed to all District Commissioners, Council Secretaries, Land Board Secretaries and Tribal Authorities and copied to most Permanent Secretaries of government ministries. It instructed that all funds earned from community-based projects should be management in trust by the District Councils instead of safari operators dealing directly with participating communities. The savingram raised the following concerns:

- Only a few people benefit from these funds and yet they are meant to benefit larger sections of the community;
- These funds are earned from natural resources and as such there is a strong feeling that there shouldn’t be a departure from the policy of these resources benefiting the whole nation, as is done with diamonds and other revenue earning natural resources;
- The handling and use of funds earned is suspect as in some cases, there are not even audited reports on their management;
- These projects tend to be discriminatory in that if, for instance, there are any job opportunities, they are reserved for participating localities to the exclusion of other citizens from outside.

- The original intention whereby funds from these projects could be used in undertaking development projects in the participating localities is not working. Quite often project identification, formulation and implementation are either deficient or duplicating what Government is providing through Local Authorities.

Although the National CBNRM Forum tried to address the above issues with the Permanent Secretary concerned, there is a clear problem of who should benefit from the projects. There is also a confusion of how natural resources in Botswana should be used, that is, are they to benefit the whole nation as is the case with diamonds or those living in wildlife and tourism areas as is the case in the Okavango Delta. While these questions and problems exist in relation to the use of natural resources and who should benefit, they affect the progress of CBNRM in the Okavango Delta. As a result, a proactive approach will need to be adopted to define the use of natural resources in Botswana.

6.7.3 Enclave Tourism in the Okavango Delta

Community-based tourism in the Okavango Delta is carried out at a time when the tourism industry in the area is already owned and controlled by expatriates. Community-based tourism is, therefore, developing parallel to a better organised and advanced tourism sector. Skilled personnel who have experience in the tourism business and are able to market themselves in developed countries where most of the tourists visiting the Okavango Delta come from run this sector. Tourism that develops in remote areas and is largely owned and controlled by outsiders (e.g. expatriates) has in recent literature being referred to as "enclave tourism" (Britton, 1981 and Ceballos-Lascurain 1996). Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) defines enclave tourism as tourism that is concentrated in remote areas in which the types of facilities and their physical location fail to take into consideration the needs and wishes of surrounding communities. The goods and services available are beyond the financial means of the local communities and any foreign currency created may have only a minimal effect upon the economy of the host location. Enclave tourism has also been referred to as internal colonialism (Drakakis-Smith and Williams 1983; Dixon and Heffernan 1991).

Internal colonialism is a phenomenon whereby natural resources in a host region mostly benefit expatriates or outsiders while the majority of the locals are marginalized either financially or otherwise (Drakakis-Smith and Williams 1983; Dixon and Heffernan 1991). In enclave tourism, facilities are characterised by foreign ownership and are designed to meet the needs and interests of foreign tourists (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996).

In the Okavango Delta, the type of tourism that has so far developed is characterized by tourism facilities such as hotels, lodges and camps are also foreign owned and controlled. As already shown in Table 5.2, Section 5.2, 81.5% of the tourist facilities in Maun and in the Okavango Delta have foreign influence in which 53.8% are 100% foreign owned. Citizens and expatriates jointly own about 27.7% of them while only 18.5% are 100% owned by citizens.

A study by Nduhano (2000) also showed that about 95% of the accommodation and transport sectors in Maun have foreign involvement, with 60% of them being 100% foreign owned, 35% of them are jointly owned between locals and expatriates, only 1% is 100% locally owned. However, data from the licensing office in the Department of Tourism indicate that in 2000 out of 103 tourism related business registered in Maun and operational in Maun and in the delta, 16 (15.5%) are citizen owned, 36 (35.0%) are jointly owned (between Batswana and non-citizens) while 51 (49.5%) are non-citizens owned. This suggests that 87 (84.5%) of the tourism related companies registered in Maun and operational in the Okavango region have direct foreign involvement. Related to the issue of ownership of tourism facilities, interviews the Tawana Land Board officials indicate that in a total of 15 concession areas under its custody in the Okavango Delta, 4 (26.7%) are leased to citizen companies, 6 (40.0%) to jointly owned companies (between citizens & non-citizens) and 5 (33.3%) to non-citizen companies. This means 73.3% of the non-citizen companies operate in 11 concession areas (this excludes those controlled by the central government and are also leased out to operators).
Glasson et al. (1995) note that the dominance of the industry by foreign investors and the non-local investment can reduce control over local resources. Glasson et al further note that the loss of local autonomy is certainly the most negative long-term effect of tourism. A local resident may also suffer a loss of sense of place, as his/her surrounding is transformed to accommodate the requirements of a foreign dominated tourism industry. Interviews with the local people in Ngamiland indicate that there is a general assumption that the delta has been taken from them by government and given to foreign tour operators. As a result, citizens view the approach negatively because they perceive the domination by non-citizens as “selling out” of their resources (Mbaiwa 1999). The fact the tourism industry is pre-dominantly foreign owned and controlled indicates that there is no equal access to the use of resources and decision making between the local people and the tour operators. This is not inline with sustainable development since the concept presupposes equal access and opportunities to all user groups. Glasson et al. (1995) and Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) note that tourism should be sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the host population. It should provide for local participation in decision-making and the employment of local people in order to make it sustainable.

Butler (1980), Prosser (1994) and Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) note that resentment, antagonisms and alienation often emerge between the host communities and the foreign tourism investors if efforts are not made to include local communities in the tourism business. Cooper et al. (1998) state that the negative socio-cultural impacts can be generated if the tourism development is not managed properly and the full economic potential of that development is not realised. For example, foreign employment in tourism-related jobs and foreign investment in tourism projects both add to the local resentment of tourism development. The exclusion of hosts from certain tourist facilities will further increase the pressure of resentment and may create conflict between the host population and the tourists.

The suspicions and mistrusts between the local communities and tour operators in the Okavango Delta have since developed into another problem of racism between the two groups. Racism in the tourism industry between the local black population and white tour operators was confirmed to be in existence by 53.3% of the managers and 73.1% of workers in safari camps and lodges in the delta and 60.0% of the managers and 47.6% of workers in tourism related industries in Maun. Racism was explained to be characterized by failure on the side of tour operators to employ local people in top management positions hence the assumption that management positions in the tourism industry are reserved for expatriate workers. Racism was also explained to be characterized by the unpleasant working conditions for local workers in the delta (e.g. working long hours without compensations, poor accommodation in camps, unfair dismissal of local workers and the use of abusive language often used by employers towards local workers). This accusations were, however, confirmed to be true by the Department of Labour, the Ngamiland District council and by the Minister of Trade, Wildlife and Tourism.

Ceballos Lascurain (1996) states that in enclave tourism, backward linkages are very weak, especially if the enclaves are controlled by multinational interests. This probably is part of the explanation why tourism development in the Okavango has so far failed to promote agriculture and manufacturing in the area. Agricultural and manufacturing products used in the tourism industry in the Okavango are either imported from Zimbabwe or South Africa. As noted earlier, in enclave tourism, any foreign currency generated may have only a minimal effect upon the economy of host nations as it is transferred to home regions. Cater (1991) notes that in a situation where headquarters of multinational tourism companies are in the developed world, there is considerable reduction the net tourism receipts in Third World economies. The nature of Botswana’s tourism industry which is predominantly foreign owned has led to much of the revenue generated from tourism being repatriated resulting in only a small share being retained in the country. The Botswana Tourism Development Programme, BTDP (1999), Bank of Botswana (1999) and Botswana Tourism Master Plan (2000) estimate that tourists spent P1.1 billion in 1997. Of this gross expenditure, 55% (P605 million) was spent outside Botswana and a further P175 million was first-round linkages of receipts due to tourist-related imports. Only 29% (P320 million) was spent in Botswana on local goods, wages, taxes and other activities. These findings are in line with those by Dixon et al. (2000:22) about the pre-dominantly foreign owned tourism industry in the Caribbean. They state that in the Caribbean,
"... investment incentives to foreign firms represent an effective transfer of tax revenue from the domestic economy to the foreign home of the firms in question, since corporations can typically claim foreign tax credits in reporting their income to their home tax authority... the extent that these firms are taxed on worldwide income and do enjoy foreign tax credits, the existence of a tax holiday is of no material to them – they simply end up paying tax to their home country rather than where the investment is located".

Britton (1991) notes that where tour packages are offered by foreign airlines, and foreigners run hotels, the destination countries receive on average 22-25% of the inclusive tour retail prices paid by the tourists. The lack of a home-based international airline with flights to Europe, North America and Australia/New Zealand in Botswana also contributes to the repatriation of revenue outside the country. Air Botswana, the only national airline in Botswana has flights to Johannesburg where most overseas connects with it to the Okavango Delta and other parts of Botswana. A comparison of arrivals and receipts between Botswana and Namibia (see Table 2.3 in chapter 2), indicate that Botswana has more arrivals than Namibia, however, in terms of receipts, Namibia’s performance is better. This is because Namibia has a home-based international airline with flights to Europe, especially Germany, where most of her tourists originate (Bank of Botswana, 1999). The lack of a home-based international airline in Botswana and together with a foreign run tourism industry in the Okavango make it possible for a lot of money that is paid for tours by visitors to never arrive in the Okavango or Botswana, since bookings are mostly done outside Botswana (either in Johannesburg, America or Europe). Even if a tourist pays a local tour operator in Botswana for a safari tour to the Okavango, a large proportion of this money is used to pay for imported food, equipment and expatriate staff (Silithlhenwa and McLeod, 1998; Mbaia 1999).

The development of enclave tourism in the Okavango Delta is a result of the pursuance of Botswana's Tourism Policy of 1990. The policy emphasizes the promotion of high cost-low volume tourism. This strategy was adopted to raise the needed revenue for the industry to sustain itself. As a result, from 1990, there has been a shift from encouraging casual tourist campers in favour of tourist who occupy permanent accommodation. They policy also presumed that low volumes of tourists are more consistent with the need to protect the environmental basis of the industry. As a result, the Tourism Policy was implemented through targeted marketing and imposition of high fees for the use of public facilities. High-spending tourists have as a result been encouraged to visit the Okavango Delta while low budget tourists are indirectly being discouraged by the high fees charged. As Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996 notes, enclave tourism is characterized by high prices charged in tourist facilities and services, such prices become unaffordable to the majority of the local people. In the Okavango Delta, on average, a tourist is expected to pay US$400 as accommodation charge per night in a tourist camp or lodge. A one-hour flight in the Okavango Delta costs on average about US$220. These charges make the Okavango Delta a very expensive resort area for locals to visit. This is shown by a low figure of 8.1% of the citizens who managed to visit Moremi Game Reserve in 1999 while 91.9% of the visitors non-citizen tourists (DNP, 2000). Rich foreign tourists from North America and Western Europe, therefore, mostly use the Okavango Delta.

It can also be argued that the low level of Botswana's economic development, a great deal of capital needed for tourism development and high levels of management in the tourism sector also contribute to tourism in the Okavango Delta being under the control of foreign investors. Whether real or imaginary, locals are noted of not possessing the necessary expertise and management skills required to provide services needed by the type of clientele that is being targeted by the high-cost low volume tourism policy (Bank of Botswana, 1999). In addition, to the problems propounded by the tourism policy, Botswana's financial initiatives such as the recently terminated Financial Assistance Policy (FAP) meant to promote citizen participation in tourism development were poorly designed. The FAP was designed to support unskilled labour intensive industry, however, tourism is based more on investment in capital and skilled labour. As a result, the volume of grants was low relative to total costs to the extent that some investors never attempted to access the FAP funds (Bank of Botswana, 1999).

Part of the solution to the problem of enclave tourism in the Okavango and Botswana is through the adoption of polices that promote a citizen and locally controlled tourism industry. According to Bank of Botswana, Bop (1999), in promoting agriculture, government provided infrastructure, extension services, and various forms of financial support. In manufacturing, the industrial development policy is designed to
facilitate the growth of not only large manufacturing firms but also small and medium scale activities. BoB further notes that government policy is to encourage citizen-owned construction companies. Similarly, with respect to tourism, government policy should promote citizen participation and providing the necessary financial support as is the case with other sectors of the economy such as agriculture, manufacturing and construction. The adoption of an eco-tourism approach in tourism development is another way in which locals and citizens can be made to participate and benefit from tourism. Ecotourism is a direct opposite of enclave tourism. Ecotourism is defined by Ceballos-Lascurain (1996:20) as,

"environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy, study and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features – both past and present). It is a type of tourism that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact and provides beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations".

Ecotourism is promotes a locally controlled tourism industry, rural economic development and environmental conservation. BoB (1999) notes that the design of ecotourism with a view to encouraging tourist linkages with the local communities while safeguarding the environment will need to be implemented with considerable care. This is essential because financial support to the industry should not distort basic principles of an independent tourism sector, instead, it should be complementary to private sector efforts and consistent with market discipline (Bank of Botswana, 1999).

It is essential for tourism development in the Okavango Delta to promote ecotourism principles especially a community-based and citizen led tourism industry. However, this is not feasible in the near future. This is because the local communities and citizens are new to the tourism business. They lack the necessary resources and empowerment to independently run the tourism industry. The recently introduced community-based tourism is also inadequate to meet the needs of the rich tourists from overseas. As a result, there is need for a framework to be developed where community-based tourism and enclave tourism are to complement each other in order to meet the needs of the various tourist categories that visit the Okavango Delta.

6.8 Has CBNRM in the Okavango Delta Succeed or Failed?

While the implementation of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) projects in the Okavango Delta has problems, it is, however, unrealistic and too early to assess and judge these projects as having failed or succeeded. They have only been operating for less than a decade. The first CBNRM project in the Okavango area is the Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust and was established in 1996. It also happens to be the second project of its nature in the country after the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust which was established in 1994 in the Chobe region.

Although it is too early to pass judgment on the failure or success of CBNRM in the Okavango Delta, Rozemeijer et al (1999) have made a general observation of what they consider to be the achievements of Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Botswana in the last ten years. The achievements mentioned include the following:

- The Department of Wildlife and National Parks has laid down comprehensive legislation and implementation guidelines in support of CBNRM in Botswana.
- A nationwide land use zoning exercise has realigned the boundaries of wildlife (hunting) and other land use zones and create economically and ecologically viable land units.
- Community-Based Organisations are in the process of being established or are already active in natural resource management, some have entered into joint venture partnerships with safari companies and are generating substantial financial revenue.
- Resource revenue/land rentals have increased to better reflect the value of natural resources.
- Extensive CBNRM related human resource and organizational development has taken place at a community level and it is used as a vehicle for the improvement of living conditions of people in remote areas of Botswana.

- An association of CBNRM, known as Botswana Community Based Organisation Network (BOCOBONET) has been established to take up important mediating and advocating role in representing the interest of the sector. In addition to BOCOBONET, the is the National CBNRM Forum and in Ngamiland, there is the Ngamiland CBNRM Forum, the aim of the forum is to provide a forum upon which all the stakeholders in the community-based tourism discuss common issues that affect them.

In addition to the success of CBNRM as noted by Rozemeijer et al (1999), Boggs (2002) states that the fact that there is an operating CBNRM programme in Botswana can, in itself, be considered a success. He notes that the joint venture system is in place and when it begins to function as a true partnership, it should build capacity and empower local citizens to own and operate successful tourism enterprises. He notes that all the three members of the tripartite agreement, mainly government, communities and the private sector are at least on paper, invested and committed to making CBNRM work. Boggs urges that the groundwork for CBNRM has at least been laid down.

Despite the fact that the groundwork for the implementation of CBNRM has been laid down, the joint venture partnership system in the Okavango Delta is very weak and it directly affects the successful performance of community-based projects. The joint venture partnership is assumed to be very important for the success of CBNRM projects (DWNP 1999; Gujadjur, 2001). Communities which do not have knowledge about how to commercial utilise their natural resources, nor capital to do so, have joint venture partnership to fill the gaps (Gujadjur, 2001). One of the major aims of CBNRM is to empower communities to manage wildlife and benefit from its management (Thakadu 1997; Mbaiva 1999; Mvimi 2000; Gujadjur, 2001). However, this goal has not been successfully implemented in the Okavango Delta. There is no transfer of skills between communities and safari operators in the development of community-based tourism. The participating communities in the commercial utilisation of natural resources in the various Controlled Hunting Areas in the Okavango Delta are generally limited to obtaining revenue from land rentals from safari operators. They have no major role to play in decision-making or the active management of tourism development in the Delta. As a result, Gujadjur (2001) states that even though there are communities with tourism operations plans, there is no example of real collaboration and learning between safari companies and communities. Therefore, what was intended as a true joint venture partnership through CBNRM has resulted in a management contract where communities have little to do with the management, monitoring or practicalities of running a tourism business. Instead of being managers or being in the forefront in the development of community-based tourism, most of the participating communities have become labourers and land lords. Most of these communities are aware that money will come regardless of participation or performance (Gujadjur 2001; Boggs 2002). CBNRM has, therefore, created a system of passive participation, raised expectations and provided disincentives to work (Boggs, 2002).

Much is expected from the private sector in the provision of entrepreneurship skills to participating communities. This expectation is noticeable from the DWNP (1999) definition of a joint venture,

"a business activity undertaken between two or more partners for their mutual benefit. Partners in a community joint venture will be rural people, who have user rights to the natural resources occurring in an area, and established private sector companies that recognize an area's potential for business development".

While safari operators are expected to promote community-based tourism and provide the necessary entrepreneurship skills and financial support to rural communities, this has not been the case in the Okavango Delta. Instead, there has been a development of suspicions and mistrust amongst the joint venture partnership members. Gujadjur (2001) notes that the communities feel that the private sector might be “cheating” them, and the government is “trying to control them”, the private sector believes that communities are “blackmailing” them and the government is influencing the communities to do so, and the
government thinks that communities are “stuffing their pockets” and the private sector is “only interested in maximum profits”. Because of these suspicions and mistrusts, the communities are the major casualties hence their poor participation in tourism development. It should be noted that the concept of community-based natural resource management is built on the idea that local communities need to be empowered to make decisions, enforce rules, actively own and operate enterprises in order to realize change and be successful (Ostrom 1990; Peters 1994; Boggs 2002). These ideals appear to be lagging behind in most community projects in the Okavango Delta except for the Okavango Poler’s Trust.

Despite its numerous problems, indications are that if the current problems affecting CBNRM (e.g. local community empowerment especially the provision of entrepreneurship skills) in the Okavango Delta are addressed, there is the likelihood that it will in the end achieve its objectives. The Okavango Delta is rich in natural resources such as wildlife, forests and culture which are important tourists products. If a comparison is to be made in assessing the time limit under which a community-based initiative can be judged as a failure or success, the Tillmark Cheese Factory in Oregon State in the United States provides a good case study. It took over 100 years for the factory to be successful. It is owned by a group of farmers who over a hundred years ago formed a cooperative to produce dairy products such as cheese. The farmers took years to collectively encourage each other to practice sustainable agriculture (dairy farming) and to build a strong co-operative. Training for factory workers also took several years. At present, the factory has over a million tourists who visit it annually and it exports cheese to other countries. Apart from providing employment for the local people it has earned a good reputation in the United States and in the world.

Based on the Tillmark example, it is, therefore, rather ambitious to expect quick results from CBNRM in the Okavango Delta in less than ten years of its existence. It is also illogical or insensitive to expect communities to be turned into successful tourism entrepreneurs who understand modern concepts of the tourism business such as hospitality and marketing within such a short space of time. As community involvement in tourism is still at an implementation stage, it is vital to address problems of local community empowerment and who should benefit from these projects. The initial objective of CBNRM, which is to promote conservation of natural resources through the involvement of local communities, should be promoted while at the same time addressing the problems of local empowerment.
CHAPTER 7

SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the socio-cultural impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta. A brief background on the status of cultural tourism in Botswana is discussed, with specific reference to the Okavango. The chapter discusses both positive and negative socio-cultural impacts in the Okavango Delta.

7.2 Cultural Tourism in Botswana and the Okavango Delta

Cultural tourism in the Okavango Delta and Botswana is in its early stages of development. Botswana's tourism industry largely depends on wildlife resources and the wilderness experience in the Okavango and Chobe areas. Resources such as museums, national monuments, historical sites and ruins, rock paintings, cultural events, sports and recreational activities remain untapped in terms of their potential contribution to the tourism sector (Government of Botswana, 1997). Enclave tourism, mentioned earlier partly contributes to the poorly developed cultural tourism in the Okavango Delta. In enclave tourism, there is little interaction between tourists enclaves and the local communities (BoB, 1999) or between the operators and the host communities.

Apart from the worker–employee relationship, there is virtually no interaction between operators and the local people in the Okavango area or between tourists and host communities. For example, high-cost tourists fly into Maun, upon their arrival, they are immediately flown to exclusive camps in the Okavango Delta. Most of these tourists never come to visit any part of Maun or spend a night in a local lodge or hotel in village. This reduces the interaction with the local people and eliminates the chances of tourists spending money in the village. In this process, a false impression is created on tourists that northern Botswana especially the Okavango and Chobe regions are completely wilderness areas without human beings living in these areas. Marketing of the Okavango Delta in developed countries as a tourism destination area mostly give the wilderness nature of the area without describing the socio-cultural and economic structure of the inhabitants in the region or that of Botswana as a whole. This marketing strategy can be assumed to be contributing to the poorly developed cultural tourism in the Okavango area.

Despite the limited interaction between the foreign owned tourism sector and the local communities and tourists and local people, attempts are being made to promote cultural tourism through the recently introduced community-based tourism initiatives. Mention has been made of the traditional villages and dishes that some of the community organisation in the Okavango Delta are beginning to offer to tourists. Some of the safari companies have also introduced boat or mokoro transportation as a tourist service to their clients. This is especially common with some of the operators in upper Okavango River (panhandle area) and by fixed tourist camps along the Boro and Savutadibe Channels. The Okavango is one the areas that is rich in culture as it has a culturally diversified society and cultural sites such as the Tsodilo Hills with its rich rock paintings and Drosky or Xwihaba Caves.

Basket making is one of the cultural aspects that can play an important role in the development of cultural tourism in the Okavango Area. In Bisha 6, women have organised themselves to produce baskets which are being sold to tourists as souvenirs. Although basket marking and craft work (Plate 7.1) in general are poorly developed in Botswana (see section 7.6), some of the communities in the Okavango Delta are either doing the work individually or some of the community-based tourism organisations are introducing it.
Plate 7.1: Although the shown craftwork comes from Zimbabwe and is being sold in Maun, with mobilisation of the local people, the Okavango rich in cultural diversity can be an important cultural tourist centre.

Tourism as an economic activity can also have socio-cultural impacts in destination areas. Such impacts are minimal in the Okavango Delta due to the limited interaction between host communities and the tourism sector. Cooper et al (1998) state that there is a tradition of examining the socio-cultural impacts of tourism purely in terms of the contact that takes place between the host and visiting populations. To Cooper et al., this is a limited approach. They note that true socio-cultural impacts of tourism are far reaching and encompass direct and indirect effects in a similar manner as economic impacts. Some of these consequential impacts may be beneficial while others may be seen as detrimental (Cooper et al 1998). In this survey, both the direct and indirect impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta were assessed. There is also a tradition of viewing the socio-cultural impacts as a combined effect because of the difficulty in distinguishing between sociological and cultural impacts (Cooper et al 1998). This distinction is also somewhat artificial given that sociological and cultural effects overlap to a large extent. Therefore, socio-cultural impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta are treated as combined effects mainly because of this problem of overlapping.

Socio-cultural impacts of tourism are manifested through a range of aspects, from arts and crafts through to the fundamental behaviour of individuals and collective groups. They can be positive, such as the case where tourism preserves or even resurrects the craft skills of the population or the enhancement of cultural exchange between two distinct populations. The impacts can also be negative, such as the commercialisation of arts and crafts, ceremonies/rituals of the host population. The impacts can also detract from cultural exchange by presenting a limited and distorted view of one of the populations (Cooper et al, 1998).

7.3 Impacts of Tourism on Local Culture and Traditions

There are conflicting views amongst safari operators and the local people in relation to the socio-cultural impacts caused by tourism in the Okavango Delta. Table 7.1 shows that about 56.9% of the safari managers view tourism in the Okavango Delta having negative cultural disturbances to the people in the area, while 43.1% of the managers view tourism as the main economic activity in the development of the region.
Question: Does Tourism has any Disturbance to the Culture and Traditions of the People Living in the Okavango/Ngamiland Area, 2001? If yes, make a list of what you consider to be a cultural disturbance. If no, explain your opinion.

Table 7.1: Disturbance of Local Culture and Traditions Due to Influence of Tourism in the Okavango/Ngamiland Area, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safari Managers in Maun</td>
<td>21 (60.0%)</td>
<td>14 (40.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safari Managers in the Delta</td>
<td>16 (53.3%)</td>
<td>14 (46.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>37 (56.9%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>28 (43.1%)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safari Workers in Maun</td>
<td>17 (27.8%)</td>
<td>44 (72.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safari Workers in Delta</td>
<td>9 (24.3%)</td>
<td>28 (75.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households</td>
<td>45 (22.3%)</td>
<td>157 (77.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>71 (23.7%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>229 (76.3%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001)*

There are also opposing views among the local people in Ngamiland with regards the cultural impacts of tourism in the area. 76.3% of local people do not see the growth of tourism in the Okavango Delta having serious negative cultural impacts amongst their people. Only 23.7% of the respondents noted negative cultural impacts of tourism in their villages. In the overall, only 23.7% of the respondents said tourism has negative cultural impacts on the people of the area while a majority of 76.3% of them do not see tourism as a negative cultural hazard in the Okavango/Ngamiland area.

Respondents (both local people and safari managers) who do not view tourism as having few serious negative cultural impacts noted the following about tourism:

- **Economic Backbone** – respondents noted that tourism is the economic backbone of Ngamiland District. It is noted for its economic contribution to the economy of the region (e.g. employment, income generation and the provision of social services);

- **Promotion of Environmental Conservation and Management** – tourism was described by respondents as the driving force behind all the conservation and management strategies being developed for the Okavango Delta. Mention was made of the high-cost low-volume tourism approach which was designed to promote environmental conservation; and,

- **Cultural Exchange and Diversity** – respondents especially operators noted that tourism encourages cultural exchanges and diversity rather than being destructive as it is often assumed by individuals.

For respondents (both tour operators and local people) who said tourism has negative impacts on the culture and traditions of the people of Ngamiland District, noted that the improvement of infrastructure and other social amenities has made Maun to become semi-urbanised. This has as a result led to the escalation of several social problems that can be directly linked to the influence and development of tourism in the Okavango Delta. Some of the cultural defects they mentioned include the following:

- **Dress** – young people in Maun and Ngamiland District are said to be influenced by the western styles of dressing. Respondents noted that young people generally imitate tourist type of dress and those of safari operators they see in the area. Some of the examples given included the safari type of dressing. In some areas respondents stated that some tourists pass through Maun “half-naked”, meaning that much of their bodies are exposed as noted by one white citizen manager of South African origin. This was noted as having the potential of being cultural unacceptable to rural communities especially to the elderly. Cooper et al (1998) state that there is evidence of sociocultural impacts, ranging from the clothes we wear, the food we eat and our general lifestyles and attitudes, which can all be influenced by places we visit. While Cooper et al discuss the impacts on
tourists, in the case of the Okavango, it is the host communities influenced by tourists and foreign tourism operators.

- **Prostitution** - Though not fully grown as is the case in urban centres of Gaborone and Francistown, prostitution is noted to be slowly growing in areas which are commonly visited by tourists in Maun, mainly restaurants and hotels such as Sedia Hotel and Bull and Bush. Prostitutes or "commercial sex workers" as they are commonly referred to is said to be a result of the urbanisation of Maun which is largely influenced by tourism in the Okavango Delta. Cooper *et al* (1998) state that more recently, a major tourism market has grown up around sex tourism and destinations such as Thailand, The Gambia and some of the Central European countries have actively marketed the sexual content of their products. Although sex tourism is not legally allowed in Botswana, it is common to find women hanging around hotels and streets ready to trade with sex. The dangers of this sex industry is that it is associated with cultural breakdown and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases especially the deadly HIV/AIDS.

- **Crime** - Although Botswana is described as one of the crime free countries (BTDP, 1998), crime in Maun is noted to be on the increase (Table 7.2). It is described to be a result of the influence of tourism and the rate of urbanisation in the village. Cooper *et al* (1998) state that the link between tourism and crime is hard to establish. However, Mathieson and Wall (1982) have suggested the link but find it hard to establish whether crime increases simply because of the increased population density or whether it is more specifically associated with tourism. Cooper *et al* (1998) note that the presence of large numbers of tourists provides a source for illegal activities including drugs trafficking, robbery and violence. Apart from peri-urban villages of Mogoditshane, Tlokweng, Bobonong, Maun’s population has grown faster than that of any village in the country. From 1991 to 2001, Maun’s annual growth population stood at 5.08%. In 1991, there were 26,768 people living in Maun, this figure increased to 43,952 by 2001 (CSO, 2001). Other infrastructure development such as hotels and lodges, wholesale and retail trade centres, telecommunications have also increased in the last decade (see Chapter 5). The growth of Maun in terms of population, trade, and infrastructure development is also associated with the increase in crime in the village.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Theft</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Annual increase Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>2343</td>
<td>2774</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>2568</td>
<td>3069</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>3429</td>
<td>4071</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1574</td>
<td>8340</td>
<td>9914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Department of Police, Maun (2002)*

Findings in Table 7.2 also show that crime increased by 15.8% between 1999 and 2001 in Maun. Petty theft was noted by the Maun Police Station Commander as the major crime that is common in the village. Drug trafficking, which is usually associated with tourists, was reported to be almost non-existent in the village.

- **Unacceptable Language** – One of the issues that respondents stated was the bad foreign language or words not acceptable to local communities. These words or language is in some cases is considered vulgar by local people. However, it is fast spreading amongst the young people in Ngamiland District. Vulgar language was reported to be common between safari workers and their managers. Cooper *et al* (1998) state that it is not even necessary for tourists to come into direct contact with members of the host population for the demonstration effect to take place. Those members of the host population who are influenced by the behaviour of the tourists are likely to influence other members of their community by their changed attitudes and behaviour. This can be classified as an indirect socio-cultural impact. In the case of the Okavango, it is not necessarily the tourists who are noted for vulgar language but the foreign operators in the region. It is the use of this language that has been copied by some of the young people in the local community.
The conflicting views by operators on the socio-cultural impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta shows that tourism as an economic activity has both positive and negative cultural impacts on destination areas. Socio-cultural factors influenced by tourist activities are, in general, the most difficult to measure and quantify. Cooper et al (1998) note that whereas the economic and many of the environmental indicators do lend themselves to objective measurement, the socio-cultural impacts are often highly qualitative and subjective in nature. Despite this limitation in measuring socio-cultural impacts of tourism, the survey some of the impacts of tourism development in the Okavango Delta.

7.4 Canoe (Mekoro) Safaris

Canoes (mekoro) have been used by the traditional societies in the Okavango Delta such as the Bayei for thousands of years (Tlou, 1985). Tlou notes that mekoro (Plate 7.2) have been used as a mode of transportation and for hunting purposes, especially for hunting hippos. Although mekoro are still widely used as a traditional mode of transport in the Okavango, the introduction of tourism in the region has added another aspect to their use, that is, mekoro safaris. Mekoro safaris are popular with international tourists. Some of the safari companies in the Okavango Delta and the community trusts such as the Okavango Poler's Trust in Seronga offer mekoro safaris to their tourists clients.

Plate 7.2: Mekoro (dug in canoes) used for photographic safaris in the Okavango Delta

The use of mekoro for tourists activities in the Okavango Delta is one way in which cultural tourism is indirectly being promoted in the region. The history of the people of the Okavango Delta is indirectly being preserved. At the same time information is provided to visitors on how the different societies in the area were able to move from one point of the delta to the other. Glasson et al (1995) state that without visitors, local culture and traditions may be lost. The introduction of modern transportation (e.g. the use motor vehicles and boats) threatens the use of mekoro. However, mekoro safaris will lead to the preservation of the mekoro transportation. This situation is confirmed by Cooper et al (1998) who state that tourism can stimulate interests in, and conserves aspects of, the host’s cultural heritage. If tourists appreciate the cultural heritage of a destination, that appreciation can stimulate the host’s pride in their heritage and foster local crafts, traditions and customs.

7.5 Community-Based Tourism and Traditional Villages

The recent shift in tourism development where local communities are encouraged to participate in community-based tourism is likely to promote cultural tourism. Mention has been made of the communities
of Sankuyo, Khwai and Seronga which are involved in the establishment of traditional villages in their community areas. The traditional villages are associated with the construction of safari camps to provide services to tourists such as accommodation in traditional huts, traditional dishes, dance and music.

The Okavango Poler's Trust was at the time of the study, engaged in the construction of a lodge which is expected to offer traditional accommodation, dishes and sell traditional craft work once completed. Traditional villages or lodges in tourism development does not only promote and preserve local culture, but it also yields socio-economic benefits to residents. It can be argued that community-based tourism in the Okavango Delta and the introduction of traditional villages are recent developments and currently have a minimal effect on the lives of the local people. However, Glasson et al (1995) state that socio-cultural impacts of tourism vary according to the nature of the tourist, the extent of participation of local residents in the benefits of tourism, the rate of growth of tourism, the absolute numbers of tourists in relation to the host population, and the extent of differences between visitors and hosts. This shows that socio-cultural impacts of tourism on community-based tourism activities should not be ignored or downplayed because of the positive cultural aspects it has on the people of Ngamiland District.

While traditional villages and lodges provide a positive cultural development in the Okavango Delta, Cohen (1979) warns that the commercialisation of culture, religion and arts may result in the misuse of indigenous culture as tourists attractions and the undermining of traditional craft industries with cheaper, artificial imports.

7.6 The Craft Industry

As noted earlier, the craft industry in the Okavango Delta is poorly developed. Most of the craftwork in Maun come from Ghanzi, that is, Bushmen craft, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. Plate 7.3 shows some of the craftwork that is from Zimbabwe and it is sold along the roads which are mostly used by tourists (e.g. Maun-Shorobe Road which leads to Moremi Game Reserve).

Plate 7.3: Some of the Craft work from Zimbabwe and sold along the Maun-Shorobe Road

Gift and souvenir shops in hotels, Maun shopping centres and Maun Airport sell items which mostly come from South Africa and Europe. This is an indication that tourism development in the Okavango Delta has so far been unable to promote the craft industry in the country. As a result, much effort is need to promote the development of cultural tourism and the craft industry in Maun and Botswana.
7.7 The Development of Racism in the tourist industry

Racism is a broad concept with diverse definitions. In this study, it is used to refer to the unfair treatment of an individual based on his/her racial background by another person(s) belonging to a different racial group or colour. Particular attention is paid to the relationship between whites and blacks with the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta and in Maun. Table 7.3 shows that 57.1% of the respondents (workers and managers) indicated that racism is a problem in the Okavango delta where white operators discriminate against blacks (ironically, all the managers that were interviewed in the safari camps in the delta were white). About 64.9% of the safari managers in the delta noted the existence of racism in the industry especially in the various camps and lodges. Tour operators from South Africa and Zimbabwe were noted as being responsible for the development of a racist tourist industry in the region. As a result, respondents stated that government together with the Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB) should put up measures that will ensure that South African Afrikaners and white Zimbabweans change their negative attitudes towards local people and blacks in Ngamiland District and stop the racism in its early stages of development in the delta.

**Question:** Do you think there is racism in the tourist industry in the Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District? If yes, list what you think constitutes racism, if no, explain your opinion.

**Table 7.3: Racism in the tourist industry in the Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District, 2001**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No Idea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safari Managers in Maun</td>
<td>21 (60.0%)</td>
<td>9 (25.7%)</td>
<td>5 (14.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safari Managers in the Delta</td>
<td>16 (53.3%)</td>
<td>14 (46.7%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Total</strong></td>
<td>37 (64.9%)</td>
<td>15 (26.3%)</td>
<td>5 (8.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safari Workers in Maun</td>
<td>29 (47.6%)</td>
<td>29 (45.8%)</td>
<td>4 (6.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safari Workers in Delta</td>
<td>27 (73.0%)</td>
<td>8 (21.6%)</td>
<td>2 (5.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Total</strong></td>
<td>56 (56.6%)</td>
<td>37 (37.4%)</td>
<td>6 (6.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>93 (57.1%)</td>
<td>59 (36.2%)</td>
<td>11 (6.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001)*

Respondents explained that racism in the tourist industry in Okavango Delta is associated with factors such as discrimination into positions of employment, ill-treatment and unfair dismissal from work of black workers by white employers and the unpleasant working conditions that they are subjected to by employers. Respondents noted that there is a deliberate attempt by safari operators not to recruit educated blacks who can occupy management positions that attract high salaries as such jobs are “reserved” for whites. In cases where locals or blacks occupy management positions, blacks are paid lower salaries than those of their white counterparts in similar positions (e.g. in one of the companies, two workers (black and white) with same qualification and experience were paid P2000.00 and P3200.00 respectively as their starting salaries, this excludes benefits such as that the white expatriate worker is entitled to). These differences in salaries and benefits between citizens and expatriates in the tourism industry are confirmed by other researchers (e.g. BTDP, 1999).

Ill-treatment of black workers was further explained by the long hours that black workers are subjected to in safari camps with no overtime allowances. This is also shown by frequent dismissals and retrenchments from work of safari workers. Although the Department of Labour in Maun was not able to provide figures on the dismissed workers, it, however, confirmed dealing with such cases time and again (Mokoto 2001, personal communication). It also confirmed dealing with cases of abusive language that is often used against black workers by safari managers. Furthermore, these workers noted that while in the Delta, they are provided with water from the river or borehole for consumption while their white counterparts are provided with mineral water from Maun. In some camps, workers complained of water which they assumed is not healthy for consumption.

Racism within the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta was first reported by the then Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr. George Kgoroba when addressing a Hotel and Tourism Association of
Botswana Annual General Meeting in 1998. The minister made these remarks, "discrimination against Batswana in the tourism industry is beginning to attract the attention of both tourists and international pressure groups". The minister noted that American tourists observed that in their recent visit to the Okavango Delta realised that Batswana employees were not holding positions of higher responsibility. These American tourists further stated that at one of the camps that hosted them, the assistant manager was a very young expatriate girl of 22 years whose qualification for the job was that she happened to be the future bride of the camp manager (Botswana Guardian, 2000b). What these American tourists observed is an employment problem where colour instead of merit determines the position that a worker should hold in the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta. As a result, expatriate whites occupy positions of higher responsibility even when their qualifications are doubtful.

A British tourist has also confirmed racism in the tourism industry after visiting the Okavango Delta. The tourist published an article describing racism in Botswana’s tourism industry in the Okavango Delta in a British paper known as Marie Claire Magazine. The article was then quoted by the Botswana Guardian on 11th August 2000 and was entitled "The Racist Industry". In the article, the British tourist notes, "the Botswana tourism industry is run by racist whites with deep seated prejudices". She further states, "...it seemed a foregone conclusion that black Batswana should automatically assume a lower status than their white counterparts and employers". The fact that white expatriates occupy management positions in the Okavango Delta while citizens occupy lower positions has already been elaborated upon in this study. The British tourist also notes, "white pilots claim that there are no black pilots in the country". An understanding of this statement is that pilots of small engine aircrafts that fly tourists into and out of the Okavango Delta assume that there are no black citizen pilots in Botswana. Although the observation by white bush pilots is incorrect, there are few black citizen pilots in Botswana. However, just like in other management positions in the safari industry, good paying jobs such as those occupied by pilots are reserved for white expatriates. Government policy is such that where citizens are not available for a particular job, expatriates should be employed on an understanding that the relevant institution or company employ and train a citizen to take over the job once the contract of such an individual expires. Although this policy was designed to empower citizens, it is, however, unlikely to succeed as government fails to implement or monitor some of its policies especially in the tourism industry.

Racism is further noted by an observation made by a manager of one of the camps in the Okavango Delta about black Batswana. The manager is quoted for having said black Batswana are "... generally ignorant, lazy and promiscuous. Its not unusual for a black Motswana to have thirteen sexual partners...". Although it is close to impossible for any nation or society, let alone a cultural group to claim perfection of these social problems, there has been no study carried out to prove that these problems are more pronounced in Botswana than in any other nation or society in the world. As a result, this explains the manager’s "deep rooted prejudice" against black workers in the Okavango Delta and the nation of Botswana as a whole. It shows the manager’s lack of respect and her negative attitude and looking down upon black citizens of Botswana as a cultural group. This, therefore, explains the ill-treatment of local black workers by some of the white employers in the Okavango Delta. At the end of the trip, the British tourists noted, "...we’ve learned very little about the country’s indigenous people". Although the problem of the poor cultural tourism development in the Okavango Delta is a result of several factors, notably the marketing of the wetland as a complete wilderness area, the British tourist also explains racism as one of the contributing factor of the almost absence of cultural tourism in the area.

Minister Kgoroba when addressing the Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana Annual General Meeting further noted that racism in the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta has been observed by international pressure groups. These include the British-based pressure group known as Action for Southern Africa and the British based tourism agencies known as Tourism Concern and Volunteer Services Overseas. These groups were understood to be lobbying British tourists to spend their money on tour packages of Southern African countries whose governments ensure that local communities get more meaningful benefits from tourism. As the problems of racism in the Okavango Delta are not addressed, they are likely to negatively impact on Botswana’s tourism industry. It is possible for international pressure groups to lobby for a boycott of Botswana tourism industry. Therefore, it is important to address issues of racism in the tourism industry before it affects the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta.
7.8 Impacts on the family unit

One of the major concerns raised by safari workers in the Okavango Delta was that their families and social lives are being affected by the long period of separation from their spouses or partners (35.8% of the respondents have spouses or partners, see Figure 7.2). Safari workers are expected to stay between 2-3 months (depending on a particular company) in the delta before they can be allowed to visit their families or partners in Maun or Ngamiland District. At the end of this 2-3 month period, workers have between 7 and 27 off-days (also depending on the company). The fact that workers are expected to stay a long time away from their families is said to be negatively impacting relationships and the family unit.

![Fig.7.1: Marital Status of Safari Workers in the Okavango Delta, 2001](image)

*Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001)*

Only 8.1% of the safari workers noted that they are living with their families (e.g. spouses or partners) in the Okavango Delta. Although some of the couples in camps accidentally got employed by the same company, at Gunns Camps there is a squatter settlement that has so far developed of which it has been possible spouses and partners to stay together.

While safari workers in the Okavango Delta are not allowed to stay with their spouses or partners, findings in Table 7.4 indicate that 89.9% of them fall within the mostly sexually active age group (19 – 49 years) which is currently the most affected by HIV/AIDS in Botswana. There has been no study that has been done to assess the impacts of HIV/AIDS on safari workers in the Okavango Delta.

**Table 7.4: Ages (in Years) of Safari Workers in the Okavango Delta, 2001**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19 – 25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 – 30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 – 40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 – 50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 – 60</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001)*

Some of the effects that respondents gave as a result of staying away for a long time from their spouses, partners and families include unplanned and extra-marital relationships by partners both in the delta and at home. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that workers are not allowed visits of any nature while in the Okavango Delta. For those who are allowed visits, the days and number of the visits are limited for a particular year, and the visitors are expected to meet the travelling costs on their own (preferably flying, as some areas in the delta are inaccessible by road and there is also no public transport). Some camps give
their workers seven days while some 12 days after every two or three months in the delta. Charges are just less than a P100:00 single ticket from the Delta. Most of these people belong to the low income category hence are unable to meet the costs of travelling by air.

Some of the respondents further noted that their white employers do not recognize the traditional extended family system. They noted that their employer's narrow definition of a family is limited to father, mother, siblings or one's children. Extended family members such as aunts, uncles, grandparents and cousins are not recognized. This is noted to be creating problems for workers as they are often denied permission to attend funerals and social activities involving other members of the extended family. In some cases, they are allowed to attend such family occasions but they are often advised to take unpaid leave and pay for aircraft expenses for themselves. This problem is noted by respondents as undermining the traditional aspects of their families hence destroy the cultural bond that exists between members of the extended family.

The impact on the family unit as a result of the separation of spouses due to work in the Okavango Delta has not been properly studied and needs further research. Studies on migrate labour to South Africa by citizens of Southern Africa might provide a clue on some of the impacts on the family when spouses are not living together. It will also be important to assess whether the number of days given to workers either as off duty days or leave days by safari companies is done based on the labour laws of the country. This should provide information on whether the Department of Labour is enforcing labour laws in the country effectively or not.

7.9 Relocation and Displacement of Settlements

The development of tourism in the Okavango Delta has also led to suggestions of relocating some settlements to allow tourism development and wildlife management. The Basarwa village of Khwai which is located on the south-eastern fringes of the Okavango Delta are not recognized as permanent settlements by government. This also applies to the Jao Flats settlement located in the upper Okavango River. As a result, social facilities such as water reticulation, schools, and clinics are not provided in these settlements. Although the problem of re-location affects all of the mentioned communities in the Okavango region, for purposes of illustration, an example of the Khwai settlement is in this study used to demonstrate this problem.

There are some ideas (e.g. from some tour operators) that the Okavango and Moremi Game Reserve should be kept a complete wilderness area for tourism and wildlife management. These ideas have become the source of conflict between operators and wildlife managers especially the Department of Wildlife and national Parks on the one hand and the people of Khwai on the other. Mbaia (1999) writes that the management of Tsaro Game Lodge, Khwai River Game Lodge and Machaba Lodge located along the Khwai River consider Khwai village to be poorly situated within a wildlife and tourist area, a sentiment that was also expressed by officials from the Departments of Tourism in Maun and Wildlife and National Parks at North Gate in Moremi Game Reserve. The Khwai settlement is assumed to be destroying the wilderness picture that tourist clients pay to see. The presence of domestic animals such as donkeys and dogs and littering at Khwai is also perceived as destructive to the tourist industry.

Informal interviews with community leaders at Khwai indicate that people in these villages want to have access, control and benefits from natural resources found in protected areas. This includes hunting and gathering of wild products such as firewood, thatching grass, wild fruits, berries, and edible tubers. However, DWNP does not allow hunting or gathering of resources in the reserve. Access to the reserve is allowed only to individuals who enter as tourists for which gate entry fees are required. Rural communities in most cases are unable to pay park entry fees, nor do they see the need to pay such fees since they regard the area as historically theirs. These communities believe that the DWNP has usurped their resources which previously belonged to them. This conflict situation has resulted in lack of cooperation between the community and DWNP in the management of natural resources in the area. As in Khwai, other communities in wildlife areas view the DWNP with suspicion and mistrust. The prohibitive procedures of DWNP make it to be an anathema to people living in the Okavango Basin.
In response to suggestions on re-location, the majority (85.7%) of the people of Khwai are opposed to it as shown in Fig 7.3. About 11.4% of the respondents either had no idea or did not want to comment on the issue of re-location (this was because some of the respondents felt they could be victimised by government in case they oppose its plans of re-locating the village).

**Question:** Are you happy and in support of the idea of the re-location of Khwai settlement elsewhere from its present site, 1999?

![Fig 7.3: Views of the People of Khwai on the Possible Re-location of their Settlement](source)

Source: Mbaïwa (1999)

They are opposed to re-location mainly because they regard the wildlife and the tourist sectors as having intruded in their territory. They claim that they have been living with wildlife and using it sustainably for centuries, hence the suggestion of re-location by tour operators and government is perceived as a way of trying to deny them the use of resources upon which their livelihoods depends. In response, the government has so far implemented draconian measures designed to indirectly force or intimidate the people of Khwai to consider re-location. These measures include government suspension of the provision of all services such as water supply, clinics, shops, schools and communications in the hope of forcing the people to consider re-location (Mbaïwa, 1999). These measures by government increase the hostility and conflict that already exists between the local community and the tourist industry.

The conflict between the local communities on the one hand and the wildlife and tourist sector on the other demonstrates the unwillingness of the government to involve local communities in wildlife management in protected areas. This conflict should be understood in the context of government approaching the utilisation and management of natural resources in protected areas based on western concepts and ideas of protected area management. Emerging from the western history and experience, a protected area is "an untouched and untouchable wilderness". This view of nature is based on ignorance of the historical relationships between local people and their habitats and of the role local people play in maintaining the biodiversity (Adams and McShane 1992; McNeely 1993). This approach in natural resource management is the source of the antagonism between people living in wildlife areas and conventional methods of wildlife conservation in the Okavango Basin.

The suggestion to re-locate Khwai village is based on the assumption that wildlife and people cannot co-exist and utilise the same area. This contradicts the government's strategy of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CENRM) which is designed to promote local community involvement in the management of natural resources, thereby ensuring them direct resource benefits from these resources. These contradictions show the lack of harmonisation and co-ordination of government policies and activities in resource and areas hence lead to serious conflicts amongst different resource users.

7.10 Living and working conditions of safari workers

The relationship between workers on the one hand and their managers and employers on the other in the Okavango Delta can be described as not very good. This is reflected by accusation and counter-acusations
between the two groups. For example, employers and managers accuse workers for the following: laziness, coming to work under the influence of liquor, theft, insubordination, and failure to deliver. On the other hand, workers accuse their employers of poor conditions of work (low salaries, working long hours without overtime payments, and poor accommodations). When asked whether they are happy with their working conditions, about 59.2% of the workers, as shown in Table 7.5, said they are not happy.

Table 7.5: Are Safari Workers Happy with Living and Working Conditions, 2001?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Workers in Delta</th>
<th>Workers in Maun</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freq</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Freq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Fieldwork (2001)

However, about 40.8% of the safari workers in the tourism industry in our survey are happy with their conditions of work. For those in safari camps in the delta, some of the reasons that they gave were that staying in the delta for two to three months is a saving mechanism for them since employers keep money for them in the bank until they return. They noted that if there were allowed to visit Maun on monthly basis, they would not otherwise save as much money as most of them do currently. They also mentioned free accommodation, bedding, uniforms and the fact that they have gained skills and experience in tourism which may enable them to get employment elsewhere.

For safari workers who are not happy with their working conditions, some of the issues which they mentioned include the following:

- Working long hours beyond the eight-hour recommended time period by the Department of Labour. Respondents in the Okavango Delta noted that they are not paid overtime allowances. They are also made to work during public holidays but they are not paid overtime as it is the case with government workers employed on similar conditions. In some camps, workers noted that they knock off late at night after dinner hence forced to walk at night between restaurants/kitchens and their residential halls. This exposes them to the risk of attack by wild animals of which they have been cases of this nature with their colleagues. Guides who go out for spot game drives at night in some of the camps in the Okavango Delta also mentioned working at odd and long hours without payment. They also noted that night game drives might be dangerous as they are forced to drive towards animals with the help of a spot light, due to darkness, their visibility to other dangerous animals in the vicinity because reduced. While night game drives are offered in some camps, they are not allowed by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks except for educational purposes. This, therefore, demonstrates the lack of monitoring tourist activities by government in the Okavango Delta.

- Small one-roomed and crowded residential halls which are often used as both kitchen and bedroom (in some cases shared by two people) are common in some camps in the Delta. Some of the rooms were said to be poorly maintained have problems of roof leaks. Other workers noted that they are accommodated in rooms previously built as storerooms which lack the necessary ventilation of a living room or bedroom. Some workers live in tents that are usually not replaced over a long period of time of which some are too old and worn out. This leaves them vulnerable to attacks from wild animals. Some workers were found being accommodated in an old horse stable. Bathrooms and toilets are shared and are often located a few meters from bedrooms or tents. Walking to these facilities at night, especially to toilets, also exposes workers to attacks by wild animals.

- Some of the workers, such as those working at Guns Camp and Little Guns Camp, noted that they are not provided with accommodation but are staying at a nearby squatter settlement nicknamed Thabazimbi (one of the unplanned settlements developing in the Okavango Delta). Workers noted that their lives are put to risk from wild animals when they have to walk or canoe to the settlement or camp at night.
- Some workers noted that there is no clear job description of what they are supposed to do. They are often required to do any job irrespective of what they were employed to do or what their signed employment contracts stipulates.

- Workers also noted that they do not have any job security. They are often suspected and wrongfully accused of stealing from the companies they work for. This often leads to unfair dismissals from work. About 35.1% of the workers claim that they were never provided with letters of appointment hence they are vulnerable to expulsion from work at any time their employers so wish.

- White workers in safari camps in the delta normally work as couples or are allowed to have their spouses visit them at any time. However, local workers state that they are not allowed to stay with their spouses or work with them. As already noted, 35.8% of the safari workers in the Okavango have partners or are married.

- Safari workers also noted that their salaries are low, irrespective of the amount of work they do, the long hours they work and the number of years they have spent at work. In some cases, their white colleagues, even temporary white workers who get employed to do the same job as they do often get paid better salaries than they do (see Chapter 5). Safari workers noted that their experience at work is often ignored as reflected in their salaries where new staff members get paid almost similar salaries to those who have been at work for several years.

- In addition to the low salaries, about 75.7% of the workers stated that they never got any promotion ever since they started working (note should be made here that the number of years for workers vary). Only 24.3% of the workers noted that they have been promoted at work (e.g. from ground work to driver). Findings generally show that there are no progression and pay salary structures (let along a salary review after 2-4 years as is the case in other sectors) for safari workers. As a result, it is possible for a worker to hold the same position for several years with minimal salary increases as some of the respondents noted. Promotions and salary increases are some of the motivating factors in making workers more productive, if not carried out, the morale is likely to be low thus affecting productivity of a sector.

- Some workers noted that they are not paid while on maternity leave while others said they are paid half salaries. Government procedure is that all women on maternity leave should be paid full salary for three children. They cannot only be paid if they happen to go on maternity leave before completing twelve months on the job.

Informal interviews with officials at the Department of Labour, the Tawana Land Board, and with councillors and the District Commissioner in the North-West District confirmed the poor working conditions and ill-treatment of black safari workers in the Delta. Table 7.6 shows the number of labour disputes reported and settled at the Department of Labour in Maun between 1999-2001.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Reported Cases</th>
<th>Settled Cases</th>
<th>Total Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000*</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001*</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>1009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1710</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>2788</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*statistics was provided still in draft*

The department of Labour noted that much of the labour disputes are those concerning wages or failure to pay a worker by an employer either during maternity leave, at dismissal or at resignation. Although government has labour laws (e.g. the Employment Act) designed to safeguard the rights of workers in the country, such laws and regulations are often ignored by operators in the Okavango Delta. On the other hand, workers are not unionised and, therefore, cannot collectively deal with common problems they face.
in the tourism industry. The matter is made more difficult by the fact that most of the safari workers are
general having a low educational background. This contributes to the lack of awareness regarding their
rights as workers. The fact that workers are scattered in various camps and lodges where communication
between them is virtually non-existent thus making it more difficult for them to become unionised.
Problems facing safari workers would be dealt with effectively if there was an organized workers group or
a non-governmental organisation that can represent them as the Hotel and Tourism Association of
Botswana represents tourism investors and managers.
CHAPTER 8

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the environmental impacts of tourism development in the Okavango Delta. It highlights on both the positive and negative impacts of tourism development in the Okavango Delta.

8.2 Positive Environmental Impacts

Since tourism development in the Okavango Delta is relatively young with just over a decade of development, it is difficult to accurately assess its positive environmental impacts. However, this study has singled out the following:

8.2.1 The Adoption of Wildlife Conservation and Tourism Development Policies

Although Botswana has had wildlife conservation and tourism policies before independence in 1966, most of these policies have been strengthened and others developed after independence especially in the late 1980s. Botswana’s predominantly wildlife-based tourism mainly concentrated in the Okavango and Chobe regions has been expanding rapidly since the late 1980s. This, therefore, needed a proactive attention from government in the form of wildlife and tourism policies. As a result, the adoption of policies designed to promote wildlife conservation and tourism development by the Botswana Government were adopted during National Development Plan Six (1985/6 – 90/91) and after. This was the time when government also came to the realization that tourism development has an important contribution to the economic development of Botswana. The two main policies that were developed during this time are the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 and the Tourism Policy of 1990. These policies are the basis upon which wildlife conservation and tourism development in modern Botswana has evolved.

The Wildlife Conservation Policy has resulted in the adoption of Community-Based Natural Resource Management and the demarcation of wildlife areas into Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs). In these demarcated zones, photographic and hunting tourism activities in the Okavango are carried out. Community-based tourism which most of the communities living in the Okavango Delta are recently introduced is carried out in CHAs. The evolution of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) in Botswana in the late 1980s is a result of several factors. These include; the threat of species extinction due to over utilisation of resources especially wildlife through poaching, the inability of the state to protect its declining wildlife resources, land use conflicts between rural communities living in resource areas and resource managers especially wildlife managers and the need to link conservation and development (Steiner and Riboy, 1995). CBNRM is, therefore, an awakening approach where the conservation paradigm in Botswana is made to shift from a centralised preservationist and protectionist approach to a more integrated one that promotes the sustainable use of environmental resources. It links rural economic and social development to natural resources management (Mbaiwa, 1999).

In addition to promoting community-based tourism, through the Tourism Policy of 1990, government aims at reducing negative environmental impacts of tourism development in the Okavango Delta through the high-cost low-volume tourism approach. This approach promotes high cost tourism in environmental sensitive areas such as the Okavango Delta with the basic aim of avoiding mass tourism. In 2001, the Department of Tourism developed an Ecotourism Strategy. One of the five main principles of the strategy is to minimise negative social, cultural and environmental impacts of tourism development in Botswana (DOT, 2001).

The success or failure of wildlife conservation and tourism development policies are discussed in Chapter 9, however, it should be noted that it is one thing to adopt a policy or a strategy, it is another to implement it. While the successful implementation of wildlife conservation and tourism development policies need close scrutiny, their adoption indicates government efforts in trying to promote an environmentally friendly wildlife-based tourism industry in Botswana. The main limitation or advantage with government policies in
Botswana is that they are not specific to a particular region, but are designed to be applicable nationally. As a result, Botswana has so far not adopted any policy aimed at tourism development and wildlife conservation specifically for the Okavango Delta.

8.2.2 The Strengthening of Wildlife Conservation and Tourism Development Institutions

The management of wildlife resources and tourism development was until 1985 the responsibility of the Department of Wildlife, National Parks and Tourism established in 1968/9. Tourism management was a small unit within this department. However, the growth of tourism and the need to strengthen the management of wildlife resources who were the main tourism product resulted in the review of the Game Department. The Organisation and Method Review process of the Department of Wildlife, National Parks, and Tourism led to the establishment of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks with five main divisions. It also led to the establishment of the Department of Tourism as a separate department to promote and cope with tourism development issues in the country. The two departments were put under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

More changes have been made to the Department of Wildlife and National Parks and the Department of Tourism in the late 1990s. For example, in 1999, the two departments went through yet another restructuring process where there was a renaming of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to become the Ministry of Trade, Wildlife and Tourism. Three years after the renaming of this ministry, further changes were made in wildlife and tourism management in Botswana. That is, in June 2002, the Departments of Wildlife and National Parks and Tourism were separated from the Trade Ministry and joined with that of Environmental Affairs hence the new ministry came to known as the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism. The strengthening and elevation of wildlife and management institutions in Botswana indicates the important role that natural resources and tourism development play in the country. As a result, it is assumed that the various changes that have been effected in these two departments will promote the sustainable use of Botswana’s natural resources for commercial tourism purposes.

The management of tourism development in Botswana is expected with the establishment of the National Tourism Board. The bill to establish this long overdue body is hoped to pass through parliament in winter of 2002. The establishment of a Tourism Board means decentralization of tourism management. The main benefit from this body is expected to be the provision of a more responsive and commercially-minded organization for the development and promotion of tourism, based on a closer partnership between the public and private sectors, as well as on a wider range of stakeholders (DOT, 2000b). The changes that have occurred in the wildlife and tourism institutional framework in Botswana in the last two decades indicate the recognition by government of the important role that wildlife and tourism play in the economy of Botswana. Although the two departments have their limitations and weaknesses (see Chapter 9), they have been able to provide management in the use of natural resources for tourism purposes in the country.

In addition to the Departments of Tourism and Wildlife and National Parks, Tswana Land Board has become one of the major institutions responsible for tourism development in the Okavango Delta. The Tswana Land Board is responsible for the management and use of customary land (see Section 9.2.3). Moremi Game Reserve which is in the heart of the Okavango Delta is customary land even though the current management is under the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. Wildlife Management Areas and Controlled Hunting areas under customary rights and used for tourism purposes are under the authority of Tswana Land Board. There have been various changes to strengthen Land Boards since 1970 when they started operating to the current time.

As Botswana has developed an institutional framework to oversee the development of tourism in Botswana, it should be noted that such institutions can be able to achieve their objectives provided local knowledge is taken into consideration. Findings (Thakadu 1997; Mbatwa 1999) have shown that the exclusion of local communities and local knowledge in the institutional and policy framework might have problems in the future. In the past it resulted in the development of negative attitudes towards wildlife managers, institutions and policies thus rendering wildlife management efforts inappropriate and unsustainable (Mbatwa, 1999).
8.2.3 Community Attitudes towards Natural Resource Conservation and Tourism Development

Attitudes and perceptions towards natural resource conservation and tourism development by the local people were used to assess whether tourism development has an impact in promoting the sustainable use of natural resources in the Okavango Delta. It was assumed that if the attitudes are positive, then tourism development in the Okavango Delta contributes to natural resource conservation.

8.2.3.1 Attitudes and Perceptions Towards Natural Resource Management

One of the pillars of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) is community participation in natural resource management. Through local involvement and ability to derive economic benefits from their resources in their local environment, it is assumed that they will develop positive attitudes towards natural resources hence use them sustainably (Mbaiwa 1999; Leach et al. 1999; Tsing et al. 1999). In assessing the local community attitudes towards natural resources found around them, variables and studies conducted in the Southern African region and in Botswana were closely examined. For example Mordi (1991) and Perkins and Ringrose (1996) state that the attitudes and perceptions of the people in wildlife areas of Botswana are negative towards wildlife conservation. Mbaiwa (1999) also notes that the attitudes and perceptions of the local people in Ngamiland District are predominately negative towards wildlife conservation. Findings by Mwenya et al. (1991) in Zimbabwe portray the idea that people's attitudes are largely based on the personal or community ownership they attach to wildlife resources. Mwenya et al. assessed people's attitudes and perceptions about wildlife conservation on the issue of "who owns wildlife" and "who should manage it". Their findings indicate that people view wildlife resources as "theirs" because they realize the benefits of "owning" wildlife resources, and they understand wildlife management as a partnership between them and the government.

In using variables similar to those in the above mentioned studies, in the Okavango Delta, we discovered the opposite. Here, there seem to be a development of positive attitudes and perceptions by the local people towards natural resource conservation (in view of previous studies by Mordi (1991), Perkins and Ringrose (1996) and Mbaiwa (1999). Table 8.1 indicates that about 60.9% of the respondents stated that it is necessary to have wildlife resources in the grasslands and forests of the Okavango Delta. Reasons respondents gave are that wildlife attracts tourists to the area and tourism has created employment opportunities and generate revenue in the district. As a result, the respondents view wildlife as a valuable resource.

Question: Is it necessary to have wildlife in the grasslands and woodlands around your village and in the Okavango Delta to promote tourism development?

![Fig.8.1: Existence of Wildlife in Grasslands and Forests of the Okavango Delta](image)

*Source: Author's Fieldwork (2001)*
Conversely, 37.6% of the respondents stated that they do not support the existence of wildlife in the grasslands and forests of the Okavango Delta. These respondents perceive wildlife as destructive to their crops and livestock, as spreading livestock diseases, and that the availability of wildlife in the area has led to much of their land being occupied by foreign tourist investors from which they generally derive little or nothing.

The Department of Wildlife and National Parks in Maun noted that ever since the introduction of CBNRM in Ngamiland District, there has been a reduction in poaching statistics. This demonstrates the value that local communities now put on wildlife resources and their willingness to promote the sustainable use of wildlife in their local environment.

The general conclusion that was made on the attitudes and perceptions of the local people towards natural resource conservation is that they are changing to promote conservation. As a result, tourism has an impact in promoting the sustainable use of natural resources in the Okavango Delta provided it is carried out based on sound management systems.

8.2.3.2 Attitudes and Perceptions of Local Communities Towards Tourism Development

The direct benefits (e.g. income and employment) resulting from community-based tourism, as discussed in Chapter 6, influence the development of positive attitudes and perceptions of the people of Ngamiland District towards the tourism in the Okavango Delta. Figure 8.2 shows that 84.2% of the rural respondents stated that it is important to encourage and support development of tourism in Okavango Delta. The main reasons these respondents gave were that tourism has created job opportunities, generated income, and encouraged rural development in Ngamiland District.

**Question:** Do you think it is necessary to encourage tourism in the Okavango Delta

![Fig.8.2 Is it Necessary to Encourage Tourism in the Okavango Delta](image)

*Source: Author's Fieldwork (2001)*

Those who were unsupportive of tourism (9.9%) perceive tourism as a bad industry in that it largely benefits foreign tourist investors who have taken their land, creates land use conflicts between the local farming communities and the wildlife and tourism industry, and does not necessarily benefit them personally in any meaningful way.

In concluding the attitudes of the people living in the Okavango towards tourism development in their local environment, the study noted they are positive. Most of the people have come to appreciate tourism as a
new economic activity that can support their livelihoods. The communities also acknowledge the link between natural resources and tourism hence the need to use the available resources sustainably.

8.3 Negative Environmental Impacts

Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) notes that tourism impacts in conserved areas can be classified in two categories: direct and indirect impacts. Direct impacts are caused by the presence of tourists while indirect impacts are caused by the infrastructure created with tourism activities. As a result, Ceballos-Lascurain notes that the negative impacts of tourism can only be managed effectively if they have been identified, measured and evaluated. Once this has been done, tailored management responses can be created. A general question to establish whether such impacts exists was asked to various respondents. As shown in Table 8.1, about 54.3% of the tourism managers in Maun and 56.7% of the managers in the Delta noted that tourism is beginning to have negative impacts on the environment.

Question: Do you think there are negative environmental or ecological impacts of tourism development in the Okavango Delta? If yes, make a list of what you consider to be the negative environmental impacts. If no, explain your opinion.

Table 8.1: Any Negative Environmental of Tourism Development in the Okavango Delta, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safari Managers in Maun</td>
<td>19 (54.3%)</td>
<td>16 (45.7%)</td>
<td>35 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safari Managers in Delta</td>
<td>17 (56.7%)</td>
<td>13 (43.3%)</td>
<td>30 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safari Workers in Delta</td>
<td>13 (35.1%)</td>
<td>24 (64.9%)</td>
<td>37 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>49 (48.0%)</td>
<td>53 (52.0%)</td>
<td>102 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the majority (54.3% and 56.7%) of the safari managers in Maun and the Okavango Delta respectively acknowledge the negative impacts of tourism development in the Okavango Delta, 45.7% and 43.3% of their colleagues do not acknowledge such impacts. These managers see tourism development as an economic backbone in the economy of the area rather than being destructive to the environment. These opinions are shared by 64.9% of the safari workers who also associate tourism development in terms of its socio-economic benefits than with the negative environmental impacts. Emphasis on economic benefits and disregard of environmental factors does not constitute sustainable development. Sustainable development promotes economic development that ensures that environmental conservation is taken into consideration (WECD, 1987).

Despite the conflicting views on the impacts of tourism development on the Okavango Delta environment amongst respondents, this study identified several negative environmental impacts of tourism development in the Okavango Delta. This was possible through observations, informal interviews, secondary and from respondents who noted that tourism has negative environmental impacts in the Okavango Delta. The impacts include the following:

8.3.1 The creation of illegal roads in environmental sensitive areas

The high numbers of tourists in the Okavango Delta creates problems of efficient monitoring of tourist activities by government officials especially from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks and Department of Tourism. This has resulted in the creation of illegal roads by tourist vehicles in some environmentally sensitive areas such as the Xakanaxa (Plate 8.1). The creation of illegal roads affects vegetation and reduces the scenic beauty of the Okavango. Roodt (1998) states that there are 178 tourist vehicles that use the Xakanaxa area every day in the tourist peak season. However, the number might be conservative if other additional vehicles are taken into consideration. Such as supply trucks, official vehicles, and research and filming vehicles. Roodt (1998:6) "The actual number is closer to 250 or more vehicles per day during the busy season... I have personally counted 63 vehicles in the Xakanaxa camping site..." Apart from the overutilisation and creation of illegal roads by tourist vehicles in the Xakanaxa area, vehicles are also a source of noise pollution and a disturbance to the wildlife of the area. The Department of Tourism, DOT (2000a) states that overutilisation of certain zones in conserved areas occurs when such
zones are used by all the tourist groups particularly in high tourism seasons. The DOT notes particularly that this occur in the Xakanaxa area in Mokorori Game Reserve.

Plate 8.1: Illegal road with a sign of being closed put by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks

The creation of illegal roads is exacerbated by the fact that tourist camps and lodges are generally concentrated within small areas in various parts of the delta. The DOT also notes that the concentration of tourist facilities in the western part of the Xakanaxa triangle means that the various categories of tourist outlined before are mostly concentrated in a narrow corridor of the reserve between Xakanaxa and Third Bridge. An apparent failure of Departments of Tourism and Wildlife and National Parks to observe carrying capacity in an environmentally sensitive area. Carrying capacity in Botswana is determined by the number of beds and rooms in accommodation facilities in conserved areas. The concentration of camps and lodges within a small distance also indicates failure by government to devise a proper management plan for tourism development in which the radius between each facility is based on some recognition of the ecological impacts of such facilities in the Okavango Delta. The creation of many illegal roads and tracks also indicates failure by the Departments of Tourism and Wildlife and National Parks to implement the country’s rules and regulations in controlling tourist traffic and numbers in environmental sensitive and protected areas.

8.3.2 Noise Pollution

Noise pollution from motor boats, small aircraft, road vehicles, and tourists is also a problem in the Okavango Delta. The noise disturbs hippo populations, nesting birds and other wildlife species in the delta. Roodt (1998) notes that ten years ago when there were fewer boats in the Xakanaxa area, the islands in the fringes of the Xakanaxa lagoon were favourite nesting spots but today only a few birds nest in the lagoon area. Roodt further states that the increase in boat traffic in the Gedi/Kwe/Xhobega area has already led to a decrease in the numbers of nesting sites between 1991 and 1998.

The influx of tour operators in the delta has simultaneously led to an increase in the number of small airplanes and the establishment of new airstrips in the delta. Airstrips have a number of small engine aircrafts landing and taking off time and again hence they are a source of noise pollution which alarm the animal and bird life. Aircrafts are used to carry supplies and tourists on guided tours around the delta. There are about 23 privately owned airfields in and around the Okavango Delta registered with the Department of Civil Aviation. In addition to these 23 privately owned airstrips, government maintains seven airstrips in the area. These are some also owned by the Botswana Defence Force. Interviews with the Department of Civil Aviation (DCA) in Maun indicate that some of the airstrips in the Okavango Delta are
unwarranted because of their density and did not necessarily warrant their construction. The problem was created by zonation of the delta into concession areas which were each allocated to different concessionaires each of whom prefers separate airstrips rather than sharing with neighbours. It has already been noted in Section 5.3 that there are roughly eight privately owned air companies with a total of 44 small engine aircrafts operating in the Okavango Delta. Plate 8.2 shows some of the aircrafts parked at Mauk Airport. The presence of many aircraft in the Okavango Delta which in most cases fly at low altitudes causes disturbance to the wild animals and nesting birds.

*Plate 8.2: Some of the bush aircrafts used to fly tourists especially fixed camp clients or high cost tourists in and out of the Okavango Delta.*

The proposed expansion of Mauk Airport to absorb more tourists and larger aircrafts mean that the volume of tourists and traffic in the Okavango Delta will increase thus an increase in noise pollution. While the expansion of the airport will bring better economic benefits, it is also likely to bring negative environmental impacts in the Delta if care is not taken. Tourist destinations such as the Okavango Delta need to have carrying capacities and limits of acceptable change clearly defined in order to promote sustainable tourism development. However, since this is not clear with reference to the Okavango Delta, poor tourism planning is likely to result in the development of mass tourism which might have adverse negative environmental impacts on the wetland.

Noise pollution by small engine aircraft exacerbates that caused by engine boats in the area. Roodt (1998) states that a total of 32 power boats of which 26 belong to safari operators and six to government, are currently licensed for use the Xanana area. The fast movement of motor boats creates waves which disturb nesting birds, mammals, and reptiles which live in water. Crocodiles and hippos seek undisturbed areas and the presence of too many boats in the Okavango Delta disturbs these species. Roodt (1998) states that hippos, which were in large numbers seven years ago, have already moved out in the Xanana lagoon. The disturbance of animal habitats by motorised tourism presumably impacts the wildlife numbers negatively within the Delta (there is, however, no study in terms of statistics to back these findings as much of the work was based on what individuals considered knowledgeable of the area currently perceive as compared to the wetland).

While impacts of boats at Xanana show the effects of tourism in the lower parts of the Okavango Delta, in the upper parts, that is, in the panhandle, motor boats are also causing noise pollution (NRP, 2001). The boat traffic in the area amounts to 15 - 20 boat passes a day in most parts of the river. There are an estimated 111 motor boats owned by the various tour operators in the area (NRP, 2001). According to Matthews (1982) and NRP (2001), noise pollution by motor boats and by people can disturb waterfowl,
leading to higher infantile death rates in sensitive populations. However, Gall (1995) notes that waterfowl in the Okavango Panhandle are not only disturbed by the wakes and noise from motor boats but also by the frequency of melora tourism related activities. The fishermen in the panhandle area also report that boat noise is disturbing fish at nesting sites (NRP, 2001). The problem of noise pollution in the Okavango Delta also shows poor planning or failure to implement management plans by the government (or example, the Moremi Game Reserve Management Plan of 1991 was never implemented). The crowding of tourist facilities and the noise pollution generated in these areas suggest the Okavango Delta is likely to be further degraded in the near future if measures are not taken to address the problem.

8.3.3 Impacts on the Sanitation System and Water Resources

Littering, especially by plastic bags, pieces of paper, cans and bottles, is common along the roads and in campsites in the Okavango Delta. The high volume of tourists visiting the Okavango Delta has reached levels where the amount of garbage generated has increased and is beginning to negatively impact in the delta environment (Masundire et al 1998, DOT 2000a). Failure to follow proper waste disposal procedures in tourist camps is part of the problem. The DOT (2000a) also states that the large number of tourism enterprise licenses to mobile safari operators means that most of them fail to use HATAB camps hence spill over to public campsites. Occupying these sites with many people than permitted thus exceeding carrying capacities and design capabilities of ablation blocks. This, therefore, negatively impacts the sanitation systems and the environment in the area.

The proliferation of tourist camps in the Okavango Delta, each with its septic tank for wastewater collection, is likely to increase the potential for groundwater pollution. Findings show that there is a problem of liquid waste management in most of the safari camps and lodges in the Okavango Delta. Each unit or accommodation facility has its own septic tank which in most cases are constructed not following any environmental standards, and in some camps such tanks do not exist except for the “pit latrines”. Tourism operators simply dig holes to for liquid waste disposal from toilets, showers and kitchens. Plate 8.3 shows a dug hole that is used for depositing waste from toilets and showers in one of the luxurious tourist camps in the Okavango Delta.

Plate 8.3: A dug hole for waste disposal from toilets and showers from an accommodation facility in the Okavango Delta

While some of the operators have dug holes for liquid waste, some have resorted to trenches where they have platted some reeds as shown in Plate 8.4. All the liquid waste is deposited in such trenches.
Plate 8.4: A trench with planted reeds used for waste disposal from toilets and showers in one of the accommodation facilities in the delta

In addition to failure to dispose liquid waste (both gray and black water) from toilets and showers, there is also a problem in some camps of liquid waste from kitchens and laundry halls. Similar holes to those used for waste disposal from toilets are dug to dispose the waste as shown by in Plate 8.5 for this uncovered hole for liquid waste disposal from a kitchen in one of the safari camps in the Okavango Delta.

Plate 8.5: Waste from a kitchen in one of the restaurants in the Okavango Delta

Although some of the camps have septic tanks to dispose their liquid waste, the tanks do not have soakaways and are general small thus fill up quickly. The camps have as a result resorted to pumping the waste into an open ground using an engine pump. Ideally, there should be an arrangement between the North West District Council and the various safari camps where the council is collecting all the waste from the camps to a centralized waste sewage system in Maun. This is to be done with safari companies paying a certain fee. However, this is not done except for public campsites under the authority of the Department of
Wildlife and National Parks. This is also carried out in government camps which provide accommodation for government workers from the Departments of Water Affairs and Wildlife and National Parks.

McCarthy et al. (1994) state that many tourist camps in the Okavango delta rely on borehole water to supply camp needs, and moreover discharge waste and sewage effluent into the ground water. This situation creates the potential for contamination of drinking water supplies. The water table in the Okavango Delta is high and the soils are sandy with a high permeability. Pollutants can thus travel much greater distances into the soils. According to McCarthy et al. (1994), the water table in the Okavango Delta is usually less than one meter below the surface during flood seasons, as a result, discharge of effluent into ground water is unavoidable. NRP (2000) states that blue-green algae (Microcystis sp.) have been recorded in the Okavango system, and these can be toxic under bloom conditions. The report further notes that the potential for groundwater contamination with nitrate from septic tank drainage in areas where groundwater is close to the surface (10m or less) and contamination by fecal bacteria and possibly viable pathogens could occur if septic tanks are situated in areas where groundwater is at one meter or less beneath the surface. This scenario suggests that groundwater pollution might be possible in areas around tourist camps and lodges in the Okavango Delta.

8.3.4 The Feeding of Wildlife and Night Game Drives

The feeding of wild animals by tour operators is reported to be common in the Okavango Delta especially around the Xakanaxa area. From group discussions and informal interviews, safari workers in the area stated that wildlife species such as baboons, fish, crocodiles, and guinea fowls are fed in order to attract them to specific areas for a closer game view by tourist clients. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks confirmed that it has been reported to them that some of the tour operators in the Xakanaxa area feed wild animals, which is illegal. As a consequence, baboons are becoming a nuisance in tourist camps and campgrounds hence require animal control measures, of which some operators have resorted to shooting them. The shooting and killing of baboons in the area may have long term effects on the baboon population if it is not done with care.

Apart from feeding wildlife in the Okavango Delta, informal interviews with safari workers indicated that some of the tour operators are involved in night game drives which at times last for three hours. This was reported to be the case in NG 30 and NG 22. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks again confirmed that there are aware of the situation. The department noted that night game drives are not allowed, what is allowed is filming or educational video filming but the companies should have the permission to do so. The feeding of wild animals and the spot drives in the Okavango Delta indicate failure by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks to sufficiently monitor tourism activities in the Okavango Delta.

8.3.5 Impacts caused by Bushfires in the Okavango Delta

Fire can be a management tool in ecological terms, however, if not used accordingly, it can also be destructive. Much of the bush fires reported in the Okavango Delta are not management tools but a hazard. These fires are noted to be both a socio-economic and environmental hazard. They destroy tourist property (camps and lodges), wildlife, human life and scare animals to human settlements.

Although there are natural causes (lighting) of bush fires in the Okavango Delta, human activities are also noted to be responsible for the fires. Informal interviews with some safari workers in the Okavango Delta revealed that in some cases, some safari companies deliberately start such fires just before the raining seasons and flooding. The assumption is that when the rains and floods come, green grass immediately grows in the burnt area. This attracts wildlife animals such as springboks, zebras, impalas, kudus, and wildebeest. The concentration of wildlife animals in these areas provides an opportunity for tourists to see some of the animals they have paid to see. This also enables them take good pictures.

At the time of data collection for this study (February – March 2001), there was a fire burning between Gomu Camp and Odzibals (see Plate 8.6). There was another fire in the area at around the same time in
2002. The 2002 fire covered a large area as it was burning on both sides of the river channel and even reached the University of Botswana (Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre site).

Although some of the fires are deliberately caused by camp operators, some are accidentally. For example, the fire that burnt parts of NG 22 between Vumbura Camp and the airstrip in May/June 2002 was believed to have been caused by the burning of litter by a worker at Vumbura Camp. While burning the litter, some of the papers were blown by the wind resulting in the area catching fire. The procedure is that all solid and liquid waste should be taken to Maun where it is disposed in approved landfills, however, failure to implement such policies result in the poor waste disposal. Apart from fires caused by operators, it is reported that the local communities start some of them as well. This is done in order to open up channels and allow water to flow downstream. Some of the fires are said to be caused by hunters and poachers.

A study by Tacheba (2002) on fires in the Okavango Delta confirms some of the above findings. Tacheba notes that most of the fires in the Okavango Delta occur in the dry season especially between the months of August and October, as a result, such fires cannot be associated with natural causes but with human activities. These fires are noted to occur along river channels because they are associated with land use practices along these riverine systems. Tacheba’s findings are related to those of this study since he notes the following as possible causes of veld fires in the Okavango region:

- Local people in settlements along the river tributaries have a tendency to burn vegetation every year before flooding. This is done firstly; to aid the flow of the water (remove blocking plant material/debris), secondly; because of suppositious believes which assumes that if the channels and swamps are burnt, there is a high fish yield during the flooding season;

- camp keepers burn the floodplains around camps so that fresh grass may grow early, thus attracting animals for camp keepers to show their tourist clients.

- Molapo or floodplain farmers use fires to remove the dry remains from the previous burning season from the farms.

The destructive nature of fires on property especially tourist camps was noted by the manager of Delta Camp along the Boro River. He noted that one of their camps known as Oddballs was destroyed by a bush fire in 2000. Although he could not disclose the number of clients that cancelled their bookings to the camp or the amount of business they lost in that year, he, however, noted that the fire economically affected
them. Chitabe Camp was also burnt down a bush fire in 2001 as well. Fires also kill wild animals or leave them without food. Plate 8.7 shows starving ostriches in Makgadikgadi National Parks as the area was burnt down in October 2001.

Plate 8.7: Two ostriches in a burnt environment in the Makgadikgadi and Nxai Pan National Parks

Although the Harry Oppenheimer Research Centre is currently studying the occurrence, causes and effects of bush fires in the Okavango Delta, fires remain one of the disturbing hazards in the area. Findings indicate that there are measures set by government to combat such fires in the Delta are inadequate. For example, fires are not reported on time and there is always a problem of finding personnel to put them off hence they end up burning extensive areas and causing a lot of damage in the process.

8.3.6 The Expansion of Illegal Settlements

The growth of tourism in the Okavango Delta is associated with the development of illegal settlements in the area. Thabazimbi in NG 32 is an example an illegal and squatter settlement that has developed due to the influence of tourism. The settlement developed around 1983 and has an estimated population of about 150 – 200 people. The settlement developed as polers (about 40 in 2001) who are working for Gunns Camp were not provided with accommodation (some of these polers freelance with the camp). Residents of Thabazimbi come from the various villages around the Okavango Delta. Informal interviews with some of the leaders of the settlement indicate that the population has been on the increase as more people have been coming to the settlement to find employment in the surrounding camps. However, informal interviews showed that the 1991 and 2001 Population and Housing Censuses did not include them hence they are not reflected in the country’s population statistics.

Since Thabazimbi is not a gazetted settlement, it has no tribal leadership except for a committee chosen by residents to provide leadership especially in the settlement to settle minor disputes between residents. The committee is illegal and is not instituted by laws of Botswana. Residents construct their huts using reeds (a few have used mud), thatching grass and poles (Plate 8.8). The sanitation in the settlement is very poor as there are no toilets and there is no one to collect the solid waste (Plate 8.9). Through informal interviews with a member of the Thabazimbi committee, it was established that one of the main concern in the settlement is the lack of health facilities. Though not mentioned as a problem, the settlement has no water reticulation and schooling services. The committee member, however, pointed out that there is too much noise from loud radios and music especially at night. There are several truckshops in the settlement that sell various drinks including beer and clothes. To address the problem of noise from radios, the Thabazimbi committee has appointed someone to deal with it whoever the need arises.
Plate 8.8: Some of the huts at Thabazimbi Settlement (a squatter settlement that has developed due to the influence of tourism in the Okavango Delta).

Plate 8.9: Poor solid waste disposal at Thabazimbi settlement. This also shows the problem of waste management in the Okavango Delta.

The development of illegal settlements in conserved areas is likely to have long-term effects on the ecology of the area. The introduction of socio-economic activities such as crop farming and livestock farming is possible in the long run. According to Campbell (1997), most of southern and eastern Botswana was in the 1700s richly endowed with a variety of wildlife. However, wildlife has since disappeared mainly because of the growth of the human population and the introduction of socio-economic activities in the area. A similar situation recently occurred in the Schwelle region where boreholes and cattle farming were introduced in the area. Perkins and Ringrose (1996) notes that the various wildlife species which used to
exist in this region have since been wiped out by cattle farming. This therefore means if illegal settlements are allowed to spread in the Okavango Delta, there are likely to be serious ecological problems in the area in future.

8.3.7 The Introduction of Exotic Species

The human encroachment and movement of people as well as tourists is likely to be responsible for the introduction of exotic and unwanted species in the Okavango Delta. One such species is *Salvinia molesta* or Kariba weed or *Motshimbano* as is locally known in the area. *Salvinia molesta* is a small, free-floating fern with roots trailing in the water, and a narrow rhizome. Kariba weed reproduces vegetatively by fragmentation of the main rhizome and regenerates easily. Although this weed is indigenous to South America, it has become widely distributed in the tropics and can now be found in Africa, India, Malaysia and Australia (DWA, 2000). In Africa, it exists in Kenya, Zambia, Zaire, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia (eastern Caprivi Strip), South Africa and Botswana. *Salvinia molesta* was first reported in Southern Africa in 1948 in the Zambezi River (DWA, 2000). In Botswana, it was first reported in the 1950s in the Kwando/Linyanti/Chobe River systems. In 1986, it was found in the Okavango Delta and Moremi Wildlife Reserve. In the Okavango Delta, the weed is mostly concentrated in the Xakanaxa, Badumatau, Abaquo, Xini and in the Khwai River system (Kurugundla, 1999).

The negative environmental effects of the Kariba weed or *Salvinia molesta* are such that the weed forms thick impenetrable mats which over time develop into floating islands (Plate 8.9). This has the capacity to cause severe ecological alterations. The most significant of these are that it takes over the water surface, prevents sunlight from reaching other water plants, and stifles plant competition. The weed also removes nutrients from the water, decreases the oxygen content of the water (in some instances as high as 30%), destroys fish life, and creates undesirable sediment and debris along river beds. Kariba weed could cause the Okavango Delta to become smaller and smaller (Kurugundla, 1999).

![Plate 8.9: Salvinia molesta or Kariba Weed covering one of the pools which was previously used by hippos near Khwai River Game Lodge (hippos have since re-located hence reduce market value for the lodge)](image)

Boats and other forms of water transportation are the major means of spreading *Salvinia molesta*. Outboard and inboard motor boats, row boats, sail boats, boat trailers, inflatables, rubber boats and sailboards for windsurfing transport and spread the weed easily. Wild animals such as hippos and other large aquatic reptiles such as crocodiles can also spread Kariba weed (DWA, 2000).
Although there is no evidence to account for the spread of Kariba weed between continents and countries, it is possible that tourism and human movement between the continents might be responsible. The general trend in tourist movements between continents and countries is almost similar to that of the spread of the weed. For example, in Southern Africa, the weed was first reported in the Zambezi Valley in 1948 and later in the Okavango system in the 1950s. Tourism in the Zambezi Valley especially to Victoria Falls and the Kariba Dam was amongst the first to be developed in the region. Tourists from the Zambezi Valley (Victoria Falls) often also visit Botswana’s Okavango Delta, Namibia’s Caprivi Strip, and Etosha National Park and South Africa. The use of tourist boats in the Okavango-Kwando-Linyanti-Chobe and Zambezi River systems as well as that of mobile safari vehicles from East Africa to Southern Africa may have contributed to the spread of the Kariba weed as well. Once Kariba weed is in the water, flowing water and aquatic animals together with boats remain the major vectors of the weed.

The Government of Botswana has introduced a South American weevil (Cyrtobagous salvini) as a biological measure to control the Kariba weed. It only eats Salvinia molesta and can only breed on it. It lays its eggs underneath the plant and its larvae then burrow into the plant’s rhizome, causing the plant to collapse from within. Other forms of Salvinia molesta control include blocking water inflows, pumping water from infested lagoons, building fences to divert animal movement, re-routing tourist boats and roads and manually removing weeds by raking and burning (Kurugundla 1999; DWA 2000). While government reports indicate that the programme of controlling the weed is likely to become successful, the plant still exists in isolated pockets and will probably continue to exist. Local communities in the Okavango Delta like those of Khwai Village and tourist safari lodge and camp managers state that the weed appears to be uncontrollable. For example, some of the pools which once had hippos in the Xakanaxa and Khwai areas are currently covered with Salvinia molesta, a factor that has forced hippos to re-locate.

Failure to control Salvinia molesta suggests that the weed will continue to pose serious threats on the future survival of the Okavango Delta. Informal discussions with experts on aquatic plants at the Department of Water Affairs in Maun note that it is not possible to destroy Salvinia molesta, what is possible is the reduction in rate of spreading. This means that, without close monitoring, the weed has the potential to destroy the ecology of the Okavango Delta as well as the growing tourism industry in the area and also affect the livelihoods of the people of Ngamiland District who are directly or indirectly depending on the Okavango River and Delta.

8.3.8 Littering in Maun

Environmental conservation groups in Botswana such as Kalahari Conservation Society and Tshomarelo Tikolgo (Environmental Watch Botswana) usually establish a committee composed of environmental and sanitation experts to assess environmental and health aspects in each village in Botswana. According to the report by one of these committees, in 1999, Maun was declared the dirtiest village in Botswana. As already noted, Maun is regarded in tourist circles as the gateway to the Okavango Delta and the tourism capital of Botswana. At the time of this study, Maun had substantial litter.

Much of the litter in Maun is found in several areas, that is, in shopping areas as shown in Plate 8.11, along the roads (Plate 8.12) and around public transport terminals. Littering is also found near school facilities and in open spaces (between residential compounds). Although littering is associated with health risks, in Maun it is also regarded as disturbing the tourist industry. Informal interviews with tour operators indicate that the litter is likely to give tourists a wrong impression and negative publicity about Botswana especially in overseas countries. The shortage of labour and vehicles are some of the reasons that have been noted to be making the council appear not to be capable of coping with the litter problems in Maun. In addition to the shortage of facilities and labour, it can also be assumed that lack of public environmental awareness on the part of Maun residents and the respective business owners on the dangers that waste has on public health contributes to the problem. However, if they are aware of the health hazards of littering and failure to dispose solid waste accordingly, then it can be assumed that they “do not care” about maintaining a free polluted environment. These problems are exacerbated by the fact that while Botswana has laws on punishing polluters especially littering, there is no personnel to implement such laws or how they are supposed to be implemented.
The problems of litter in Maun indicate that much needs to be done by the authorities in issues relating to litter. This should be done in view of the fact that litter is not only a health hazard to human beings but also has the potential to negatively impact on the tourism on which the economic development of the Okavango region is based. The increase in the human population in Maun and socio-economic activities in the last decades is associated with the generation of waste and its poor management. The growth of tourism destination areas and negative environmental problems is noted by Glasson et al (1995) who state that problems of large numbers of visitors may include pedestrian and vehicle congestion, with noise, air and water pollution, litter, trampling of vegetation, erosion of the physical fabric of buildings, inappropriate new buildings and land uses, insensitive rehabilitation of heritage sites and, at its extreme, the overwhelming size of the morphology of towns. The OECD (1981) and Pearce (1989) identify a range of stressor activities and the environmental stress that can result from large numbers of tourists in a town.
These include major construction activities, generation of waste residuals, tourist activities and the effects on population dynamics. This shows that tourism has environmental problems in destination areas as is the case with waste management and the change in morphology of Maun especially the commercial and industrial areas.

More pictures on some of the environmental impacts of tourism development in the Okavango Delta.

Plate 8.13: Damming of some river channels in the Okavango Delta is done to allow motor vehicles cross to areas which would otherwise be inaccessible except through the air or boats. This is done in community-controlled areas that have been leased out to safari operators. The negative environmental impacts of these sand bridges are not yet known.

Plate 8.14: This is one of the traditional structures erected at Thabazimbi squatter settlement. It attracts tourists who desire to see traditional accommodation, however, the development of uncontrolled settlements in the Delta might have detrimental environmental effects in the long term.
Plate 8.15: These bags contain *Salvinia molesta* or Kariba weed which was hand picked at North Game, Moremi Game Reserve, the weed is finally burnt. Hand picking is one of the methods used by the Department of Water Affairs to control the spread of the weed. However, attempts appear to be having poor results.

Plate 8.16: The Southern Buffalo Fence, 2001. Veterinary fences such as these one in Ngamiland District have been criticised for negative environmental impacts especially blocking wildlife migration routes, trapping and killing wildlife. However, the Southern Buffalo Fence as one of the fences that promote conservation as it blocks human penetration especially livestock grazing into the Okavango Delta.
CHAPTER 9

INSTITUTIONAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORK IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

9.1 Introduction

This chapter briefly assesses tourism management in Botswana with particular attention to the Okavango Delta. It examines the strengths and weaknesses of the institutional and policy framework in the development of wildlife-based tourism and finally suggests alternatives on how sustainable tourism development in Botswana could be achieved.

9.2 The Institutional Framework

Several government departments are directly or indirectly responsible for a sustainable development of the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta. These are the Departments of Tourism, Wildlife and National Parks, Tawana Land Board (to some extent the Departments of Lands, Waste Management, Taxes and Labour). These bodies are responsible for tourism policy implementation and monitoring not only for the wildlife-based tourism in the Okavango Delta but also for Botswana as a whole. In this study focus was made on three of these bodies, these are; the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Department of Tourism and Tawana Land Board.

9.2.1 The Department of Wildlife and National Parks

The Management of wildlife resources through a centralised government system dates back to the colonial period when Botswana was still under British rule. In 1956 the Game Control Unit was established by the British Protectorate Administration to control elephants (Spinage 1991, Mbiawa 1999). Prior to 1956, there was no control over the utilisation of wildlife beyond the licensing of non-citizen hunters. In 1964, the Game Control Unit changed its name to the Department of Wildlife, National Parks and Tourism as activities of the department grew to include limited commercial tourism activities. In 1985, the Organisation and Review Report recommended the establishment of separate departments of Wildlife and National Parks and that of tourism management. The five divisions within the Department of Wildlife and National Parks include: Management and Utilisations, Research, National Parks, Conservation Education and Botswana Wildlife Training Institute.

In terms of administration, the Department of Wildlife and National Parks has grown from 50 staff members in 1966 to over 1000 in 1996 (DWNP, 1997). In 1999, there was an estimated 1,131 people employed in the department (DOT, 2000b). The Department of Wildlife and National Parks has also managed to acquire modern technology such as aircrafts, vehicles, computers, motorboats and communication equipment.

The general objective of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks is that of the management of natural resources found in protected areas, especially wildlife. At present, 17% of Botswana’s surface area is set aside as protected areas for the management of wildlife resources. There is also 23% of the land that has been demarcated into Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs). As a result, a total area of about 39% of Botswana’s land (Figure 9.1) is used for wildlife management. The specific objectives and main responsibilities of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks include the following:

- To play an effective leadership and coordinating role at a national level on all matters concerning the management of national parks and game reserves as well as natural resources found in them such as wildlife.

- To conserve, manage, promote and use the natural habitat and biodiversity in national parks and game reserves with minimal interference within these areas for the interest of the present and future generations.
- To promote the realisation of the full economic potential of wildlife resources outside the national parks and game reserves through sustainable utilisation, whilst maintaining the country’s biodiversity.

- To ensure the maintenance of a sustainable ecological balance in national parks, game reserves and other wildlife areas.

Although DWNP has sound aims and objectives, it has, however, been unable to effectively carry out its mandate because of limitations such as:

- As with other natural resource institutions in the country, DWNP currently has very little political support from government. This is demonstrated by its location in a line Ministry of Trade, Industry, Wildlife and Tourism. This limits its power and strength to effectively implement wildlife policies in the country.

- Lack of equipment, such as vehicles also limits DWNP’s effectiveness. The Central Transport Organisation (CTO), a department in the Ministry of Works, Transport and Communications, is responsible for the purchase, repairs, maintenance and disposal of vehicles and other transport-related equipment for government agencies. CTO is perceived by DWNP officers as inefficient in
handling transport problems. For example, CTO takes a long time to repair or replace broken vehicles. DWNP views lack of transport as a contributory factor in its ineffectiveness in the monitoring tourism activities especially the driving out of prescribed tracks and roads in environmental sensitive areas such as protected areas.

- Shortages of trained personnel and loss of the few that the department has managed to train to better paying jobs in the private sector, non-governmental and parastatal organisations. Young graduates resign from government because of low salaries when compared to the private sector, parastatal companies, and NGOs. The other reasons that force young graduates to resign from government include frustration with the government system, which takes too long to promote individuals and failure to effectively and efficiently perform their duties due to lack of equipment and scientific data. Ferrar (1995) also noted that DWNP had an acute shortage of senior staff with suitable experience and those available had a very low level of decision-making knowledge and authority. He also noted that DWNP has a general shortage of middle-level and junior staff, and those that it has have suffered for years under a completely inadequate training programme.

- Lack of appreciation and support by people living in wildlife areas such as the Okavango Delta. That is, in rural areas, where wildlife resources are found in large numbers, the local people regard DWNP as a policing body whose main duties are to arrest people and prevent them from utilising wildlife resources which to them are their God-given bounty. The prohibitive procedures DWNP imposes on local people have made the department an anathema to rural people. Rural people stated that the culture of guardianship of wildlife resources by local communities has been lost by DWNP. The harassment they face from DWNP when found in a protected area without written government permission increases the hostility between DWNP and local people. The latter want control and access to be returned to them.

Wildlife control in Botswana is likely to remain with DWNP and this may not change or improve the department’s image from being viewed by local communities as a state police department established to deny them access to wildlife. Ironically, there is little doubt that state control of wildlife resources is inadequate, especially since most of the control is done from urban centers, which are dialectically and geographically detached from the rural areas. This, therefore, suggests that effective management and monitoring of wildlife resources requires the involvement of those living within the resource areas because they are best placed and could be economically motivated to monitor it effectively on a daily basis. The successful implementation of CBNM, is however, likely to improve the relations and image of DWNP amongst communities living in wildlife areas.

Interviews with tourists, operators, and safari workers as well as secondary sources noted several limitations of DWNP in the Okavango Delta. This include the following:

- **Liquid Waste Disposal** – As noted already in Chapter 5, there is a problem of waste management in the various camps and lodges in the Okavango Delta. In Moremi Game Reserve, which is currently under the jurisdiction of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, liquid waste (grey and black water) disposal in camps and lodges at Xakanaxa is poor. Liquid waste in some of the camps is discharged into the ground. However, DWNP has been unable to ensure that all camps adhere to the prescribed regulations of waste disposal in protected and conserved areas. Ideally, all the camps should collect and deposit their waste in landfills at Maun or inform the Northwest District Council to collect the waste for them. However, this is not observed by some of the camps in the area.

- **Solid Waste Disposal** – Although the Xakanaxa area is generally clean in terms of solid waste or litter, it is however, possible to find litter in public campsites. Public campsites are under the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. Ablution blocks in public campsites are also noted for being dirty with little attention being taken by DWNP.

- **Poor Booking System for Public Campsites** – The booking system under the Parks and Reservation Office (PARRO) of the DWNP is ineffective. Bookings are either done in Gaborone
or Maun for public campsites in Moremi Game Reserve. Informal interviews with tourists found in campsites at Xakanaxa and North Gate indicate that most of them were unhappy with the booking system. Some tourists indicated that there have stayed in these camps more than once, however, their attempts to make bookings were always difficult in that they would be told that camps are fully booked, only to find them empty once they visit such areas. They also noted that the mode of payment has always been difficult as visa or credit cards are often used to pay deposit but it is not possible to use such cards once in Maun or at Moremi Game Reserve.

- **Poor Monitoring of Tourist Activities** – Informal interviews with some of the tourists at Moremi Game Reserve indicated that DWNP never monitors the activities of tourists once they are in Moremi Game Reserve. Concern was raised for self-drive and mobile tourists who usually drive off road or fail to deposit litter in the right places. In addition to this problem, DWNP was also criticised for failing to provide tourists with the necessary information in the form of brochures and handouts once they are in Moremi Game Reserve. Failure to provide regulations and guidelines on tourists’ activities was also noted to be partly for off-road driving and poor waste management in public camping sites.

### 9.2.2 The Department of Tourism

The Department of Tourism (DOT) is responsible for the formulation and implementation of policy objectives of maximising utilisation, on sustainable basis, of existing natural resources to increase social and economic benefits to Botswana. The Botswana Tourism Master Plan (DOT, 2000b) mentions the following specific aims of DOT:

- Formulation and execution of programmes designed to promote tourism in Botswana;
- Research and development, including the collection and analysis of statistical data;
- Provision to the National Advisory Council on Tourism of such information, advice, and assistance as it may require; provision to the Tourism Licensing Board of information, advice, and recommendations on the licensing and grading of tourism operators;
- Monitoring of tourism operators for adherence to the terms and conditions of licences, particularly with respect to progress made by the operators in pursuing localisation and other high-quality services to tourists;
- Creating and maintenance of an up-to-date inventory of Botswana’s tourist assets and of a system to ensure that these are prioritised for development and protection.

Like DWNP, DOT has been ineffective in discharging some of its responsibilities. The BTMP recognised the following shortcomings and weaknesses of the department:

- Incomplete staffing structure due to lack of suitable candidates;
- Incomplete state of some functions, mainly licensing, grading, and inspection;
- Inability to secure sufficient financial resources for its activities; and
- An uncertain organisational structure.

Informal interviews of officials in government and in the tourism sector, as well as secondary data sources indicate that in the Okavango Delta, problems peculiar to DOT include the following:

- **Failure to monitor tourists activities in environmentally sensitive areas.** For example, even though issuing of licences for mobile tour operators in northern Botswana has been suspended since 1998, interviews with operators confirmed that some of the mobile tour operators still operate in the Okavango Delta without licenses. The problem of illegal driving and overcrowding caused by tourists still exists in the Okavango Delta, especially at Xakanaxa in Moremi Game Reserve.
Informal interviews with tourism operators indicated that some of the mobile safari operators still operate in the Okavango Delta without licences. This was noted for operators who mostly come from outside Botswana.

- Failure to implement tourism policies. For example, allowing compromise of the high-cost low-volume policy. The policy was designed to maintain low tourist numbers in environmentally sensitive areas such as the Okavango Delta. Failure to implement this policy can be illustrated by the crowding of tourist facilities and activities in the Okavango Delta (e.g. at Xakanaxa and along the Boro River), the carrying capacity which is usually determined by the number of rooms and beds in specific areas, is not observed). Instead, what the high-cost low-volume tourism policy has so far managed to achieve is that it has forced tour operators to charge high fees increasing tourist activities in the delta without much care to environmental protection. As a result, the Okavango Delta is one of the expensive tourist destinations in region (BTDP 1999; DOT, 2000b).

- Lack of monitoring tourist facilities such as those that involve the observation of guidelines and procedures in conserved areas as prescribed in management plans by operators. The Department of Tourism has so far been effective in ensuring that operators dispose their waste or put infrastructure following the prescribed guidelines. Particular attention is paid to waste management, infrastructure development, and littering in general.

In order to address some of these problems, previous studies (e.g. Mhaiwa 1999 and Scout Wilson Consultants 1999) made recommendations for the adoption of Tourism Board to guide tourism development in Botswana. In view of the current problems of tourism development in the Okavango Delta and the insufficient implementation and monitoring of tourism policies and programmes by the Department of Tourism, the establishment of the Tourism Board is necessary.

9.2.3 The Tawana Land Board

The Tawana Land Board is one of the major institutions in tourism development in the Okavango Delta, particularly in land management in communal areas. Land tenure in Ngamiland District is divided into two main types, communal and stateland. While the Land Board is responsible for communal areas, the central government is responsible for the management of stateland. Land Boards are responsible for the allocation of land, cancelling of land rights, impositions of restrictions on the use of land, authorization of the transfer of tribal land, and hearing of land disputes and appeals (Abel and Blaikie 1989; Mathuba 1998). The development of tourism in the Okavango Delta has resulted in the Tawana Land Board also being responsible for the allocation of land to both safari operators in the form of concession areas and to communities for community-based tourism in Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs). Figure 9.2 shows that 19.1% of the land under the authority of the Tawana Land Board is used as Wildlife Management Areas, 4.2% is used as a game reserve and 6.4% is used as Tribal Grazing Land Ranches (also see Table 1.1).

![Figure 9.2: Land Use Systems under the Tawana Land Board, 1997](Image)

*Source: Northwest District Council, NWDC (1997)*
Some of the farmers in the Tribal Grazing Land Ranches are involved in game farming, another form of tourism development encouraged by government. In addition to game farming activities in TGLP farms, Wildlife Management Areas and Controlled Hunting Areas in Ngamiland District have become important for consumptive and non-consumptive wildlife resources. The Tawana Land Board gets royalties and lease fees from concession companies and from CBOs. It is from this standpoint that the Tawana Land Board is an important player in issues of natural resource management and tourism development in the Okavango Delta and Ngamiland District.

While the Tawana Land Board has an important role in land and tourism management in the Okavango, it has been noted that it has several problems which threaten the sustainable management of land resources in the area. These include:

- **Poor monitoring of concession areas** hence some of them are run by safari operators as semi-autonomous states in the country.

- **Failure to ensure proper waste management and disposal in lodges and camps** under their authority (see Chapter 8). The Land Board conducts inspection to tourism facilities and activities in areas under its control, however, problems of failure to follow prescribed guidelines and agreed terms by operators are common.

- **Failure to ensure that environmental regulations such as the monitoring of the aesthetic value of the Okavango Delta** are maintained. For example, iron corrugated roofing is not allowed in the Okavango Delta. However, some of the lodges in the Okavango Delta have used the iron-corrugated sheets for accommodation facilities for their workers as shown in Plate 9.1.

![Plate 9.1: Corrugated iron roofing is not allowed in the Okavango Delta, but it is commonly used in safari lodges and camps](image)

The ineffectiveness of the Land Board in land and tourism management is a result of several factors such as the exclusion of indigenous knowledge system from land management. The exclusion of the indigenous knowledge system from land management issues is shown by the absence of the traditional leaders in Land Boards. Before Land Boards were established by the Tribal Land Act of 1968, traditional leaders were responsible for the management and use of land and its resources. In 1970, when Land Boards started operating, dikgosi were made ex-officio official members of the land board. The removal of the traditional leaders in land use issues meant that land management had become centralised.
9.3 The Policy Framework

There is no specific government policy designed for the development of the wildlife-based tourism industry in the Okavango Delta. However, there are two overriding government policies designed for the promotion of tourism development in Botswana, these are the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 and the Tourism Policy of 1990.

9.3.1 The Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986

The Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 is frequently seen as the blueprint for the re-introduction of community involvement in wildlife conservation through the implementation of Community Based Natural Resource Management Projects (CBNRM). The Wildlife Conservation Policy is the precursor of virtually all the changes in wildlife conservation currently being carried out. The Wildlife Conservation Policy was designed to promote economic development of rural areas through the implementation of tourism projects. The policy recognizes the potential value of both consumptive and non-consumptive use of Botswana’s wildlife resources by the people living in wildlife areas. The overall aims and objectives of the Wildlife Conservation Policy are:

- To develop a commercial wildlife industry in order to create economic opportunities, jobs and incomes for the rural population and to enable more rural communities to enter the modern wage economy. This is hoped to reduce the number of rural people relying on subsistence hunting.

- To implement rational and effective conservation and management programmes that will ensure that wildlife is utilised on sustainable basis.

- To obtain good economic return on the land allocated for wildlife utilization.

Although the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 is considered the blueprint for the sustainable use of wildlife resources in Botswana, it has a number of problems:

- It was also rushed through and was done without proper consultation and participation of stakeholders in wildlife management; hence the majority of them do not understand it, especially the local people in wildlife areas. The main beneficiaries of this policy (i.e. local people) have only a rough understanding of those sections of the policy that directly affect them, such as the establishment of wildlife community projects. The main reason attributed to this situation is that most wildlife policies in Botswana are a brainchild of foreign donor agencies and foreign consultants who tended to ignore the involvement of local people in designing policies that affect their socio-economic livelihoods. Foreign donors and consultants also lacked adequate local knowledge, understanding, and awareness of the ecological and social dynamics that affect Botswana and the local communities in wildlife areas. This view is also shared by Mordi (1991: 89) who when writing about wildlife laws in Botswana concludes “…the laws were parachuted, fully formed into society and literally imposed by the government on the people…”. The exclusion of local people in wildlife policy design means local knowledge is not effectively fused into conventional methods of resource management and it is not inline with the principles of sustainable development which emphasises the participation of all stakeholders in decision-making, especially rural communities (WECO, 1987).

- The Wildlife Conservation Policy provides the legal framework for community-based wildlife projects in the country, but does not address the issue of community empowerment and mobilisation. Community empowerment is left in the hands of foreign investors and donors who lack the commitment and understanding of the local situation with respect to the need for training and provision of skills to the local people. Operators are business people who want to make quick profit and a minimal cost. As a result, it is not ironical to assume that they will willingly provide training for the local people. As a result, local communities are automatically eliminated from participation in the booming tourist business. Based on this information, tourism in Botswana is,
therefore, left to benefit only foreign investors and government since they possess the necessary know how. In this regard, the top-down approach of the policy has only appealed to rich foreign investors who are able to establish tourism industries in the Okavango Delta. As these industries are meant to realise quick profits from the use of wildlife resources, this might in the long run prove detrimental to the local environment, especially wildlife species in demand by safari and game hunters.

The Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 also facilitated the formulation of the Okavango/Kwando Management Plan of 1992 which resulted in the creation of Wildlife Management Areas and Controlled Hunting Areas in 1989 (refer to Table 1.1 for WMAs and CHAs). However, there are also problems related to WMAs and CHAs in Ngamiland District:

- Demarcation of WMAs and CHAs in Ngamiland District and the extension of the surrounding protected area (e.g. Moremi Game Reserve) boundaries were done without any Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) and Social Impact Assessments (SIA) or consultation with the local communities in the region (Mbsaiwa, 1995). This places the whole concept of WMAs and community tourism projects at a risk of failure since the local communities do not own and are not obliged to co-operate during implementation of wildlife and tourism policies. Since local communities (e.g. Khwai, Mahabe, Sankuyu, and Disthiping) noted that they have been cheated on issues relating to their land due to creation of WMAs and CHAs. The WMAs and CHAs, therefore, seem to be mostly cognisant of private commercial business interests such as hunting and photographic safaris, into sensitive parts of the area.

- Unlike the private landowners, the rural communities of Ngamiland do not have title deeds to the land they occupy. This, therefore, gives them no control over wildlife resources in these areas. Both land and wildlife resources in WMAs and CHAs remain government or public property, leading to a situation where local communities cannot take sound decisions on land they have no control over or derive insufficient benefits from the wildlife.

Since no proper EIA and SIA were ever conducted when the Okavango-Ngamiland WMAs were designed and established, it suggests that the existing WMAs and CHAs ignore the ecological dynamics and traditional resource uses of the area. This means, the whole fragile Okavango Delta ecosystem stands at risk of being degraded ecologically as local people are not obliged to participate in policies which they were never involved in designing. Therefore, it is necessary for the development of tourism in wildlife areas such as those of the Okavango to be approached on the basis of a comprehensive and prioritised land use zoning plan which takes into consideration the ecological sensitivity of the area before implementing any land or resource development projects.

9.2.2 The Tourism Policy of 1990

The Tourism Policy of 1990 aims at diversifying the economy of Botswana. The specific objectives of the policy include the following:

- To increase foreign exchange earnings and government revenue.
- To generate employment, mainly in rural areas.
- To raise incomes in rural areas in order to reduce urban drift.
- To promote rural development and stimulate the provision of the services in remote areas of the country.
- To improve the quality of national life providing educational and recreational opportunities.
- To project a favourable national image to the outside world.
Like the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986, the Tourism Policy is viewed by decision-makers as having been rushed through without proper consultation of the various stakeholders (Mbaiwa, 1999). Thus, it is not properly understood especially by local communities. It was designed to take place in the framework of rational land use zones designed to ensure wildlife resource utilisation to promote tourism without necessarily taking the de facto open access and local community interest into serious consideration. This top-down approach has resulted in a policy lacking integration to improve links between nature conservation, local community development, and the tourist industry itself. The innovative approaches to tourism of big game lodges and vehicles are not mandatory for successful tourism operations. Tourism would benefit the local inhabitants if it was approached on the basis of traditional values and full participation of the local people through small-scale tourism projects that use the locally available skills.

Interviews with safari managers in Maun and the Okavango Delta indicate that about 50.8% are satisfied with the high-cost, low-volume tourism policy (Table 9.1). Reasons given were that it limits the number of tourists visiting the Okavango Delta hence promotes its conservation.

**Question:** What is your opinion about government tourism policy of high-cost, low volume tourism with respect to its implementation in the Okavango Delta? (put a tick besides the appropriate option). Briefly explain your view in the space below.

### Table 9.1: Views of Operators on High-Cost Low-Volume Tourism Policy, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Managers in Maun</th>
<th>Managers Delta</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freq</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Freq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Satisfactory</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfactory</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Satisfactory</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Idea</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, 38.5% of the respondents noted that they are opposed to high-cost low-volume tourism policy because it is out of reach to local communities and citizens of Botswana. As a result, it promotes the current exclusionist-elitist tourism development which is owned and controlled by expatriates.

Findings by Mbaiwa (1999) indicate that some government officials noted that the high-cost low-volume tourist approach was not based on a sound and full environmental assessment but rather on cost-effective measures. So far, no environmental impact assessment has been conducted. The Tourism Policy is also faced with problems of implementation due to shortage of manpower, limited equipment, and lack of scientific data. The result is that, the Tourism Policy is ineffective and where it has been implemented, there is lack of monitoring and co-ordination.

High-cost low-volume tourism has led to the erection of huge structures like lodges which do not only leave the local communities out also the underprivileged people in citizens of Botswana as a whole. The Tourism philosophy of high-cost low volume has not only succeeded in denying the people of Botswana benefits from wildlife resources in their territory, but has placed wildlife resources and the tourist industry in foreign hands. Much of the tourist industry especially game lodges and tour operators in the country is under the control of foreign enterprises. As noted in Chapter 5, a lot of money paid for tours by visitors never arrives in Botswana. Bookings and payment by tourists are done in Johannesburg, Europe or North America. It can be argued that even if tourists pay local tour operators in the Okavango Delta area for safaris, a large proportion of this money is used to pay for imported food, equipment, and expatriate staff. Furthermore, tourists from neighbouring states, such as South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, usually drive themselves and carry their own food and fuel from these respective countries. Tourism is thus an activity that largely fails to benefit local communities or Botswana in general except for the country's elite and foreign tour operators.
Despite the various opinions on the high cost low volume tourism policy, safari managers show are generally of the impression that most parts of the Okavango Delta are saturated with tourism facilities, movement of tourists and tourism activities. As a result, they suggest that there should not be an increase in the number of facilities nor of the volume of tourists coming to the area. This views are validated by the Tawana Land Board Report on the Management Plan for the Okavango River Panhandle (NRP, 2001) which noted that the panhandle area of the Okavango River is already saturated with boating and fishing activities. The report recommended a reduction of boats and fishing activities in order to promote the sustainable use of the river and its resources in the panhandle.
CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the summary and conclusion of this study. It aims at providing an evaluation of whether the issues raised in the research questions and objectives have been addressed. The chapter finally outlines policy implications and recommendations that can be adopted to achieve sustainable tourism development in the Okavango Delta.

10.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has demonstrated that tourism in the Okavango Delta has rapidly expanded in the last two decades. The Okavango Delta is currently one of Botswana's leading tourist destination areas, mainly because of the rich wildlife resources it sustains and its scenic beauty. Like other wetlands in the world, it provides good breeding areas for a wide range of species of wildlife, birds, amphibians, aquatic mammals and fish. Tourism activities in the Okavango Delta include consumptive (e.g. hunting) and non-consumptive (e.g. photographic) wildlife use activities. Findings in this study have shown that about 50,000 tourists visit the Okavango Delta annually. Tourists can be divided into three categories, that is, high-cost, self-drive/independent and mobile tourists. These tourists mainly come from North America, Europe, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa.

Tourism has necessarily stimulated the development of a variety of allied infrastructure and facilities, such as hotels, lodges and camps, airport and airstrips, within and around the Okavango Delta. Through its backward linkages, wholesale and retail businesses have also been established, especially in Maun, to offer various goods to the tourist industry. Tarred roads and other communication facilities in and to Ngamiland have also been developed partly to facilitate tourism development in the region. The other positive impacts of tourism are that the industry provides employment opportunities to local communities and it is a significant source of foreign exchange for Botswana. Tourism has become the second largest source of Government revenue in Botswana (that is, after the diamond exports, following a slip of the motor vehicle and the beef industry to the third and fourth positions). Government revenue from tourism is mostly generated from northern Botswana which includes the Okavango Delta and the Chobe regions.

Although findings indicate an expansion of the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta, there has been no study carried out to determine the carrying capacity of tourism development especially in relation to numbers visitors, infrastructure development and tourism activities. This shows that tourism development in the Okavango Delta does not given much consideration to issues of sustainable development. Sustainable development or sustainability is hinged on three main concerns: social equity, economic efficiency, and ecological sustainability (Angelone et al 1994). Social equity advocates for fairness and equal access to resources by all user groups. The aim is to ensure equity in the distribution of costs, benefits, decision-making, and management. This assumption is believed to have the potential of eradicating poverty on the poor communities. Contrary to this viewpoint, this study has shown that local communities in the Okavango have limited access and control over tourism resources. Much of the land and its natural resources such as wildlife that are the main tourist attractions are controlled and owned by either the private tour operators or by the government. This has resulted in lack of a meaningful involvement and participation of the local people in the tourism business. Major tourism policy decisions are taken without full participation of the local people whose land has been set aside for wildlife and tourism management. The demarcation of the Okavango Basin into Wildlife Management Areas and Controlled Hunting Areas in 1989 was carried out without consultation with the local people. This has as a result led to land use conflicts between the local people on the one hand and the wildlife and tourist industries on the other (Mbaiwa 1999). If tourism in the Okavango Delta is to become sustainable, it should engage local communities in the planning, design, and implementation of tourism programmes, infrastructure, and facilities.
Economic efficiency is another dimension on which a sustainable tourism industry in the Okavango Delta should be judged. Economic efficiency aims at the optimal use of natural resources to meet human needs or to maximize human welfare within the constraints of existing capital (Sengeldin, 1993). This study has shown that tourism development in the Okavango Delta has centered on infrastructure largely owned and controlled by expatriate tour operators and companies. Most of the tourist facilities and services in the Okavango Delta are designed to serve the interests of international tourists especially those from North America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand. The high cost nature of the Delta’s tourism industry has led to low participation of local investors and has built barriers that prevent citizens from visiting the Okavango Delta. A tourism industry that develops in remote areas such as the Okavango Delta and excludes local investors and local people from participation and deriving benefits is described as enclave tourism (Britton, 1981 and Ceballos-Lascurain 1996). The Okavango Delta is a classic case of enclave tourism. Recent literature has described enclave tourism as internal colonialism whereby natural resources in a host region mostly benefit outsiders while the majority of the locals are excluded from deriving benefits (Drakakis-Smith and Williams, 1983; Dixon and Hefferman, 1991). Enclave tourism is therefore contrary to the principles of economic efficiency, as it is not characterized by equitable distribution of economic benefits amongst the stakeholders.

The low participation of local investors and local communities in tourism means that much of the revenue generated from tourism accrues to private tour operators and to a lesser extent to government in the form of royalties and tax revenues. Apart from wage earnings (for those employed by safari companies) and land rentals (for communities allocated Controlled Hunting Areas), local communities derive little or no benefits from tourism resources in the Okavango Delta. Although attempts have been made to draw local communities into the benefit stream through community-based tourism, the approach is problematic and is so far performing poorly. This is because local people lack the necessary entrepreneurship and management skills to participate as equals in the tourism business. This suggests that strategies should be developed to emphasize further local participation and enhance the use of local knowledge, materials, and labour in order for local people to obtain meaningful benefits from the tourism business. Local empowerment, especially the provision of entrepreneurship, and management skills that will lead to more local control of tourism resources in the Okavango Delta need to be given priority.

Boggs (2002) notes that the groundwork for the implementation of Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) in Botswana has been laid out. What remains, therefore, is that all the members of the tripartite partnership (government, private sector and local communities) should honour their respective role in order for CBNRM to succeed and have a citizen controlled tourism industry. As the groundwork for community-based tourism has been laid down, local communities can thus meaningfully benefit from the booming tourist industry in the Okavango Delta if they engage in small-scale and simple projects that match their capabilities and require local skills and knowledge. Britton and Clarke (1987) note that small-scale projects, locally controlled, can have a significant impact on raising living standards of the local people. Small-scale community projects may include leatherworks, curio shops, campsites, community tourism operations, cultural tourist activities such as the provision of traditional accommodation, traditional dishes, music, dances, walking and boat (mokoro) safaris. Carter (1991) states that large-scale tourism development is often the precursor to small-scale development. This suggests that as tourism development proceeds, indigenous firms and locals gain knowledge and experience in the tourism business. Carter also notes that government planners should co-ordinate investment infrastructure with the needs of small-scale entrepreneurs and the needs of local communities, paying careful attention to the environmental component. If adopted this approach has the potential of making tourism development in the Okavango Delta socially, economically and environmentally sustainable.

The dominance of the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta by foreign tour operators and companies has resulted in the repatriation of revenue from Botswana to foreign countries. It has been mentioned that Botswana retains less than 29% of the total revenue generated from tourism in the country. For example, in 1997, tourists who visited Botswana spent an estimated P1.1 billion. Of this gross expenditure, 55% (P605 million) was spent outside Botswana (representing payment to external agents) and a further (16%) P175 million was first-round leakages of receipts due to tour-related imports (e.g. food, equipment, and wages of expatriate staff). Only 29% (P320 million) was spent in Botswana on local goods, wages, taxes, and other activities (BDTP 1999, BOB 1999). Although tourism is contributing 4.3% to Botswana’s Gross
Domestic Product (GDP) and has become the second in GDP contribution after diamonds (BDTP, 1999), failure to retain a larger proportion of revenue from the industry does not augur well for sustainable economic development in a developing country such as Botswana. This, therefore, indicates that measures should be made in which local investors become involved in the tourism sector in the country. The industry needs ways of inducing local investors to become involved in the tourism business in Botswana.

The development of tourism in destination areas is often linked with the promotion of the local industries such as manufacturing, processing, and agriculture as well as the wholesale and retail sectors. While the wholesale and retail sectors are well established in Maun, tourism in the Okavango Delta has been unable to promote either agricultural production or the craft and manufacturing industries. As a result, most of the goods used in the industry are either imported from South Africa or Zimbabwe. Insignificant amounts are derived from Botswana. This implies that tourism in the Okavango Delta is not at all self-sustaining.

Findings in this study have shown that the rights of workers in the Okavango Delta in the various safari facilities are generally violated. Safari workers are subjected to low salaries, long hours of work, racial discrimination by their white employers and managers, poor accommodation, lack of formal training, and failure to respect the right of spouses and families to live together. This implies that operators in the Okavango Delta want to maximise profits through the use of cheap labour. As a result, measures will need to be taken to address the rights of workers and the development of racism within the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta.

Botswana has an institutional and policy framework that promotes the development of tourism in the country. This institutional and policy arrangement currently fails to address issues of the sustainable use of environmental resources in the Okavango Delta. Mention has been made to failure by the respective institutions to observe tourism carrying capacities or monitor tourism activities in the Okavango Delta. Tourism as an economic activity is always associated by a tendency by operators to maximize profit within a short period of time even at an environmental costs (Butler 1980; Prosser 1994; Carter 1991). However, once resources are depleted, tour operators and tourist usually re-locate elsewhere where there is a tourism boom and the cycle starts all over again (Butler 1980; Prosser 1994). Ecological sustainability thus becomes a vital goal to avoid the negative environmental impacts of tourism in destination areas such as the Okavango Delta. Ecological sustainability means the need to preserve the integrity of ecological subsystems viewed as critical for the overall stability of the global ecosystem. Ecological sustainability stress that the use of renewable natural resources should not be faster than the rate at which the natural process renew them (Serauldina, 1992). Poor monitoring by the Department of Tourism and Wildlife and National Parks and failure to improve on management strategies has led to negative environmental impacts caused by tourism activities in the Okavango Delta. The establishment of tourist infrastructure crowded to specific areas make such areas to have a high volume of tourism activities. Tourists and tourist activities are thus negatively impacting the environment through the creation of illegal roads and tracks, soil trampling, disturbance of vegetation, and noise pollution. Carrying capacities or limits of acceptable change in tourism development, infrastructure and tourists numbers should be clearly and transparently established and enforced in environmentally sensitive areas to avoid further environmental degradation of the Okavango Delta. This is possible by implementing existing management plans and monitoring of tourism activities by the Departments of Wildlife and National Parks and Tourism.

The envisaged Integrated Management Plan for the Okavango Delta should in its design ensure that tourism in the Okavango Delta is sustainable (the study will take three years of which phase one should begin in September 2002). This management plan should ensure that the use of tourism resources benefits the present generations while at the same time not jeopardizing chances of future generations to benefit from the same resources. The plan should also ensure that carrying capacity levels of tourist activities are not exceeded or limits of acceptable change are observed. In coming up with the management plan, all stakeholders should be involved in policy formulation, implementation, and monitoring to increase its chances of success and to ensure the sustainability of tourism in the Okavango Delta. Sustainable tourism development in the Okavango Delta is possible if the ideals of eco-tourism are implemented. Eco-tourism promotes both environmental conservation and community development.
10.3 Recommendations

Based on the information presented in the previous chapters of this study, the following recommendations need to be adopted if the sustainability of tourism development in the Okavango Delta is to be achieved:

(a) Empowerment of Government Bodies and the provision of Equipment

The main government bodies responsible for tourism development in the Okavango Delta should be empowered and provided with the necessary equipment and political support to carry out their mandate of tourism management in the Okavango Delta. Particular attention should be paid to the Departments of Tourism, Wildlife and National Parks, Tawana Land Board (and to some extent those of Labour, and Waste Management). Findings indicate that poor monitoring of tourism activities and implementation of government policies by these departments make the industry to expand in a rather uncontrolled manner hence the socio-economic and environmental negative impacts alluded to in the findings.

(b) Environmental Monitoring and Management of Tourism Activities

The respective government institutions (e.g. the Departments of Tourism, Wildlife and National Parks, Tawana Land Board etc) should carry out environmental monitoring of tourism activities in the Okavango Delta. This should be carried out to promote environmental conservation and sustainable tourism. Tourist infrastructure including camps and lodges in certain areas the Okavango Delta appear to be crowded. Tourists and tourist activities seem thus to be negatively impacting the environment through the creation of illegal roads, vegetation disturbance and noise pollution. These impacts suggest that tourism carrying capacities should be controlled to avoid the environmental degradation of the Delta.

The problem of failure to follow proper waste management guidelines by operators in the Okavango Delta should be addressed. Liquid waste from toilets and showers is indiscriminately disposed into the soil. The Okavango Delta is an environmentally sensitive area with a high water table and sandy soils (Kalahari soils). This means that the possibility to pollute ground water resources due to poor liquid waste disposal is high. Solid waste disposal is also not disposed following government requirements. Some of the companies have resorted to burning solid waste and litter and this has in the process resulted to bush fires. Bushfires are a serious problem in the Okavango Delta. Government expectation is that all waste from camps and lodges in the Okavango Delta should be transported and dumped in existing landfills in Mab. However, this is not being observed, as much of the waste is disposed in the Delta.

Iron corrugated roofing is common in the Delta, even though emphasis is placed on thatching or tents to maintain the aesthetic value of the area. This problem is also associated with that of some safari companies exceeding the required number of beds and rooms in their facilities. These issues demonstrate poor monitoring of tourism activities in the Okavango Delta by government. These environmental issues, should therefore, be addressed to avoid an ecological degradation of the Okavango Delta.

Mobile tour operators, especially those coming from outside Botswana operate without licenses in the Delta. Although the Department of Tourism has in the past attempted to address this problem in 1998, it still persists. DOT (2001) noted that mobile tour operators are partly responsible for overcrowding tourist facilities especially in the Xakanaxa area. While DOT is preparing guidelines, it is recommended that government should consider making it mandatory for any tourist or visitor into the Okavango Delta be accompanied by professional guides. Although this recommendation appears to be presently not feasible due to shortage of guides, if implemented, it would create a demand. This approach is hoped that it will reduce environmental problems caused by tourists and their activities while in the Okavango Delta.

(c) Observing Carrying Capacity or Limits of Acceptable change in tourism development

Since there has been an increase in tourist numbers and tourism facilities in the Okavango Delta in the last two decades, efforts should be made to determine carrying capacities to prevent environmental degradation of the wetland. The use of room and bed numbers to control tourist numbers is ineffective, so is the high-cost low volume tourism approach. The poor monitoring of the number of beds or rooms by government...
has resulted in some of the camps exceeding the required capacity in some parts of the Okavango Delta. As a result, the government approach of using the number of beds or rooms needs to be revisited to promote a sustainable tourism industry in the delta.

The problem caused by crowded tourism facilities also suggest that existing management plans are either faulty, not being implemented or do not observe carrying capacity issues in tourism development. As a result, there is need for these plans to be revisited (note should however, be taken on the proposed study of the Integrated Management Plan of the Okavango Delta).

(d) An Investigation into Causes, Effects and Control of Bush Fires in the Okavango Delta

An investigation into causes, effects and control of bush fires in the Okavango Delta is needed. Findings in this study have established that bush fires are a socio-economic and environmental hazard in the Okavango Delta. These fires were found to be occurring mainly in the dry seasons especially between the months of July and October. As a result, they cannot be wholly attributed to natural causes but human activities. The dry season is important to both the tourism industry and local people. It is a time when the river floods and a high peak tourism season. Activities common at this time include hunting, photographic tourism, bush clearing for molapo cultivation, and fishing. It is alleged that these sectors are partly responsible for causing bush fires for economic purposes. However, a comprehensive study should confirm the causes bush fires and recommend a solution to them. At present, there is no preventive and control measure in place to minimize the fires. Thus they often burn extensive areas with the Fire Control Unit in the Ministry of Agriculture being unable to provide equipment (e.g. vehicles), personnel and financial resources to attend to them immediately after a fire is reported.

(c) Improvement of the Living and Working Conditions of Safari Workers

The poor working and living conditions of junior safari workers in the Okavango Delta should be improved. Poor conditions such as crowded accommodation facilities (which in some cases are shared by more than one adult), working long hours without overtime payment, failure to abide by signed contracts between workers and employers, staying in the Okavango Delta for 2-3 months before being allowed to visit families, low salaries and threats of dismissal from work are all common in the Okavango Delta tourism industry. Manual safari workers are often not paid gratuities as is the case with workers in other sectors (e.g. government). Gratuities benefits are also not clearly stated or provided in contracts of employment, a factor that needs to be addressed.

Workers in the Okavango Delta are generally not given the opportunity to have adequate training. The only form of training they get is that by their respective managers. Their poor educational background and lack of training means that most workers are poorly paid and unable to occupy management positions in the tourism industry. Short courses and vocational training should be widely available to workers in the safari industry of the Okavango Delta. Some operators have noted that the type of training provided by Vocational Training Centres does not necessarily meet their needs, contrary to this view, Vocational training Centres state that the tourism sector does not want to employ their graduates, as they do not want to spend on educated workers. This means that a forum should be established where the two are to design a workable curriculum suitable for Botswana’s tourism industry. However, efforts should be made to encourage operators to employ people with better qualifications to improve service, as opposed to the current situation where most of the workers in the sector are either primary or secondary school dropouts or illiterates who are often are easily exploited and fail to understand their basic rights as workers.

The salary structure for workers in the safari industry in the Okavango Delta should be addressed. The experience a worker has should be recognized and be rewarded accordingly as opposed to the current state where most workers irrespective of years of experience are paid almost similar salaries. Promotions and the progression of safari workers should also be defined. Findings indicate that some of the workers have occupied same positions for years and their salary increments over the years have been minimal. Most of the citizen workers do not occupy management positions. However, in companies where attempts have been made to employ citizens on management positions (e.g. assistant managers), they occupy such positions for a long time at lower salaries and have no hope that they will one day become managers of the
tourism facility. As a result, these positions have been established to create a false impression that citizens are slowly being given management positions.

In the light of the problems affecting safari workers in the Okavango Delta, this study recommends that the departments especially the Departments of Labour and Tourism should assess the living and working conditions of safari workers. These departments should ensure that existing labour laws and regulations (e.g. Employment Act) in Botswana are observed and implemented in the Okavango Delta. An assessment of workers rights in the Okavango Delta should not only involve visits to the various camps but a comprehensive study of the situation. This means the Department of Labour should establish as a task force with clearly defined terms of reference in assessing the conditions of workers in the Okavango Delta.

(f) The Investigation of Racism in the Tourism Sector

The Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB) in 2000 claimed to have assessed racism in the safari industry in the Okavango Delta and that it does not exist. Results of this study have shown the opposite, racism was found to be a problem in the tourism sector. Tour operators, especially whites from South Africa and Zimbabwe, are alleged to be responsible for racist viewpoints and actions amongst the local communities of Ngamiland District. HATAB members are being accused of practicing racism, thus their 2000 assessment cannot carry much weight, as they are the guilty part. One cannot assess oneself and present an impartial viewpoint. As a result, an independent investigation of racism in the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta should be carried out. This investigation should lead to recommendations on how racism in the tourist sector in the Okavango Delta can be dealt with while in its early stages. Racism has the potential of negatively impacting Botswana’s growing tourism industry. International organisations have the capacity to lobby for the boycott of any visits to the Okavango Delta by foreign tourists once they confirm racism in the area. This, therefore, will mean a decline of the tourism industry in Botswana.

(g) Citizen and Local Participation in Tourism Development

In order to address the issue of the tourism industry being pre-dominantly foreign owned and controlled, as well as the repatriation of tourism revenue, government will need to adopt several programmes (government efforts through CEDA are appreciated). However, a pro-active government policy or programme specifically on tourism and citizen participation is needed. This should be done with the ultimate goal of making citizens to become the main shareholders and owners of the tourism industry in the Okavango Delta and in Botswana. This means that economic benefits and accessibility of the tourism industry to citizens of Botswana should become the number one of the main priorities of planners in the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta. The old thinking that Botswana cannot deliver while they are not given the opportunity and incentives to prove themselves should be shelved and a positive approach be adopted in an attempt to promote citizen entrepreneurship in the tourism industry.

(h) The need for community empowerment and mobilisation

Community empowerment and mobilization in tourism business for community-based trust is essential if Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) is to be successful in the Okavango Delta. If local communities are to have the necessary entrepreneurship and management skills in tourism, this will provide an enabling environment for them to obtain better benefits from the booming tourist industry in the Okavango Delta. This means that government, private sector and stakeholders to produce a tourism curriculum where Botswana especially the people of Ngamiland District can be trained and acquire the necessary skills in tourism management. The curriculum should also provide the necessary skills to local people where they can manage and run community-based tourism enterprises independently from any outside influence.

The government should further provide an enabling environment for the enhancement of non-governmental organisations’ capacity by providing them direct links with donor agencies. Compared to NGOs, the government is not as well placed to facilitate community participation in tourism as well illustrated by the failure of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) in effectively implementing CBNRM. DWNP should play an advisory role to community-based organisations in their efforts to benefit from
tourism and complement NGO efforts when the need arises. NGOs are better placed than government in facilitating community training in the tourism industry. The government should use NGOs to reach out to local people and resources spent by government on local communities should be channeled through NGOs. NGOs should further help local communities identify local and international markets for tourism products such as craftwork. Local communities should be advised to come up with tourist projects that use locally available knowledge, skills and materials, such as leatherworks, curio shops, campsites, community tour operations, cultural tourist activities and may further involve the provision of traditional accommodation, traditional dishes, music, dances, walking and boat (mokoro) safaris.

(i) Local Community participation in the decision-making process in tourism development

Local community participation in decision-making regarding tourism management in the Okavango Delta is an important aspect of sustainable tourism development. It has been noted that they do not have a major role in decision-making regarding tourism development, nor beyond a relatively modest number of jobs, do they get any significant benefits from tourism in their surroundings. Therefore, in order for social equity to be possible, control and access to tourism resources should be given to local communities. This is inline with the principles of eco-tourism, which advocates locally controlled tourism to ensure benefits to the local people and promote the sustainable use of resources. The local communities can only have control over the tourism industry if they control tourism resources.

Effective and quality natural resource management and monitoring of tourism activities requires the involvement of those living with the resources since they are better placed and are economically motivated to monitor the use of these resources on a daily basis. This means the decentralisation of tourism resources in the Okavango Delta to the district and to the local communities should also incorporate rights over land use which will in the long run enhance the commitment of the local people. Once rural communities have access to and meaningful benefits from tourism and natural resources, they should feel obliged to use them sustainably. Mention has been made of the so far unsuccessful efforts of the Departments of Wildlife and National Parks and Tourism to monitor tourism activities in the Okavango Delta. Participation of local communities and based on their ownership of resources would draw local people to monitoring indicators of tourism impacts. Studies have shown that once local people own resources and policies, they are capable of effectively ensuring the sustainability of natural resources. Local communities often possess local knowledge of natural resource use that can be fused together with modern scientific knowledge to bring about sustainable tourism development in the area. The involvement of local communities in tourism management is, therefore, assumed to be an important aspect of social equity and sustainable tourism in the Okavango Delta.

(j) Control of settlement expansion in wildlife areas

The rights of local communities living in tourism and wildlife designated areas should be recognised because these areas a part of their ancestral land. Government should recognize existing settlements in tourism and wildlife areas and find ways of making them a part of new tourism development. This also means that settlements in tourism and wildlife areas need to be provided with the necessary social facilities such as clean water supply, communication (e.g. good roads and telephones), health facilities (e.g. clinics) and shopping facilities (e.g. grocery and clothing shops), rather than being forced to relocate in less favourable environments as is the case with the Khwai settlement. However, care should be taken to avoid the expansion of illegal squatter settlements in the Okavango Delta as demonstrated by Thabazimbi along the Boro River channel. Government should not allow new settlements in Wildlife Management Areas and Controlled Hunting Areas in the Okavango Delta.

(k) The Establishment of a National Tourism Board

A National Tourism Board should be established to facilitate effective tourism development not only in the Okavango Delta, but also in Botswana as a whole. The National Tourism Board should direct the development of tourism as well as the utilisation of tourism products such as wildlife and veld products in the Okavango Delta. Current government efforts in consultation leading towards the debate and possible passing of the tourism bill in parliament are appreciated. However, there is need to pay much emphasis on
the composition and the supposedly objectives and mandate of the Board. The composition of the board should include all stakeholders in the tourism industry. Particular attention should be given to local people in the Okavango and Ngamiland District, tour operators or HATAB, the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, the Department of Tourism, the Land Boards and NGOs. The idea of a National Tourism Board presupposes that envisaged Integrated Management Plan of the Okavango Delta and a rational integration of tourism, wildlife conservation, and community development.

(I) The Establishment of a Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism Management

The current pattern of fragmented government ministries and departments dealing with natural resources in Botswana leads not only to conflicting policies and programmes but also results in the ineffectiveness of implementation. In the Okavango Delta, natural resources that are important for tourism development are a responsibility of various ministries and government bodies. For example, wildlife resources are the responsibility of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in the Ministry of Trade, Industry, Wildlife and Tourism. Land resources are under the jurisdiction of the Tawana Land Board under the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Environment. Veld products are the responsibility of the Agricultural Resource Board at the Ministry of Agriculture. Water is under the Department of Water Affairs in the Ministry of Minerals, Energy and Water Affairs. Though the Department of Tourism has no control over any specific resources, it has a responsibility to ensure that tourist activities that use resources do not degrade them. This complex institutional arrangement has resulted in failure to co-ordinate and monitor tourist activities which in turn has led to environmental degradation in the Okavango Delta. For example, the Department of Tourism assumes it is the responsibility of the Land Board to monitor tourism activities in areas under its jurisdiction while the Department of Wildlife and National Parks assumes the Agricultural Resource Board should ensure that veld products are not degraded for tourism purposes in the Okavango Delta. There is an obvious need to clarify the roles and responsibilities of government ministries and departments overseeing tourism development in the Okavango Delta. This can only be achieved through an institutional review of all bodies charged with the responsibility of natural resources and tourism.

The review process might lead to the creation of an integrating land use and national resource use institution that would harmonise policies and programmes from design to implementation. This review process should lead to the placing of all renewable natural resources such as veld products, fisheries, forestry, water, wildlife and institutions such as the NCS, Agricultural Resource Board, Land Boards, and the Departments of Wildlife and National Parks and Tourism under one ministry. However, current attempts to create the Ministry of Environment, Tourism and Wildlife are appreciated, it should provide the bases upon which all renewable natural resources will in future be housed in one ministry.
11.0 References


Department of Labour (2002), personal communication, Gaborone

Department of Roads (2002), personal communication, Gaborone.


APPENDICIES

Appendix A: Research Gaps
This appendix presents what was identified to be some of the major research gaps in relation to the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta. Some of the issues were identified during a workshop organized for stakeholders in the tourism sector at the Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre, University of Botswana. These research gaps are hoped to provide direction in which research in tourism in the Okavango Delta by the Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre should take. The research issues were categorized into socio-cultural, economic and ecological or environmental.

**ECONOMIC ISSUES:**

(1) What is the contribution of tourism into both Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product? At present, tourism’s contribution is lumped up with other contributors to GDP and GNP.

(2) What are the multiplier or spin-off effects resulting from the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta?

(3) Who benefits from tourism in the Okavango Delta? How is the distribution and redistribution of revenue and the cost benefit analysis of tourism in the delta?

(4) What is the current and future value of tourism in the Okavango Delta and Botswana in general? What is the contribution of tourism in the Okavango Delta to the national employment?

(5) Is it true that most of the revenue generated from tourism in the Okavango Delta is repatriated to foreign countries. Is so how much and where does it go and what are the impacts to Botswana’s economy. What is the total capital formation in tourism in the Okavango Delta and Botswana generally?

(6) The Socio-economic impacts of the High-Cost-Low-Volume policy in the Okavango Delta. Is it the right policy?

(7) Consumptive vis-à-vis non-consumptive uses of natural resources- carrying capacity, volume i.e. economic carrying capacity. Which approach is appropriate for the Okavango Delta?

(8) To what extent is cultural tourism has been successful/failing in the Okavango Delta. How far has tourism influenced rural development in the Okavango? What is the extent of diversification of tourism in the Okavango Delta?

(9) Who owns tourism facilities in the Okavango Delta? How far is the encouragement of collective indigenous entrepreneurship within the tourism sector? How far is the issue of training of the local communities in tourism business?

(10) What is the regional importance of the tourism industry in Southern Africa? That is, in terms of economic contribution at s regional level.

(11) What is the taxation aspect within the tourism sector? What is current position in relation to taxation of the tourism sector especially in the Okavango Delta. The current state is such that tour operators are running the industry tax free, is this supposed to be the case in as far as conservation is concerned?

(12) Are the current rentals in wildlife management areas (WMAs) economically viable?

**SOCIO-CULTURAL ISSUES**

(1) What is the historical development of the tourism sector in the Okavango Delta- how has the socio-cultural transformations have taken place as a result of tourism in the Okavango Delta?
(2) What are the indicators of over-exploitation of tourist products (e.g. change in tourists’ attitudes, changes in the state of the environment). Is there any evidence of the overexploitation of tourist products in the Okavango Delta?

(3) Are there any prospects for cultural diversification within the tourist sector in the Okavango Delta?

(4) What are some of the resource conflicts amongst stakeholders within the tourist sector in the Okavango Delta (e.g. conflicts—wildlife vis-à-vis communities, subsistence vis-à-vis commercial purposes or uses e.g. in fishing)? Who are the stakeholders and how can conflicts between them be resolved?

(5) What are the attitudes of local communities and tourists towards tourism in the Okavango Delta?

(6) What is the impact of fires on the tourism sector? What are the causes of fires and its impacts on the participants in the tourism industry e.g. hunters, polers and mokoro farming?

(7) What is the sustainability of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) in the Okavango Delta?

(8) What are the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on the local communities or the impacts of tourism on culture generally in Ngamiland District? What are the impacts of tourism impact on local institutions e.g. VDCs, Village Trust Committees, kgotla?

(9) How are the labour relations between employers and employees in the tourism sector in the Okavango Delta that is, issues pertaining to salaries, allowances, fringe benefits and expectations of employees and employers; labour cases in tourism vis-à-vis other sectors viz. the construction industry and the labour relationships, how they affect families.

(10) What is the classification of tourist camps in the Okavango Delta, that is, are there any standards set for these facilities? Do these tourist facilities adhere to such standards if any?

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

(1) Does CBNRM achieve the goals on conservation that it was designed to achieve?

(2) What is the impact of fires on tourism in the delta—causes social, natural and sundry; how settlements are associated with the frequency of size of fires. What is the frequency of fires and their association with the disappearance of some species in the delta?

(3) Are carrying capacities of tourists and tourist facilities in the Okavango Delta observed? What is the relationship between tourists and off-road driving, pollution, motorboats, waste management, noise pollution and animal behavioural modifications?

(4) What is the level of ecological awareness of the various stakeholders in the tourist sectors in the Okavango Delta?

(5) What is the impact caused by human settlements expansion in the Delta?

(6) What are the ecological impacts of invasive species (e.g. Kariba weed) on tourism in the delta?

(7) What is the institutional and policy framework in relation to sustainable tourism in the Okavango Delta? What are some of the legal issues that affect tourism in the Okavango Delta—local and international?

Appendix B: Safari Camps, Lodges and Hotels in Mauu and the Okavango Delta*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Facility</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Guests</th>
<th>Rooms</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Crocodile Camp</td>
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<td>2. Gomoti Camp</td>
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<td>3. Semetsi Camp</td>
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<td>Desert and Delta</td>
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<td>4. Camp Moremi</td>
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<td>5. Camp Nxaba</td>
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<td>6. Camp Okavango</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>7. Savuti Safari Lodge</td>
<td>Lodge</td>
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<td>Gametrackers</td>
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<td>13. Masame Camp</td>
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<td>27. Oddballs Camp</td>
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<td>29. Xugana Lodge</td>
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<td>30. Chitabe Camp</td>
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<td>31. Chitabe Trails</td>
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<td>32. Duba Plains Camp</td>
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<td>56. Nxamaseri Fishing Lodge</td>
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<td>61. Tamalakane Lodge</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>62. Xakanaxa - Moremi Safaris</td>
<td>Camp</td>
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<tr>
<td>63. Maun Lodge</td>
<td>Lodge</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
<td><strong>572</strong></td>
<td><strong>1068</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Note that camps and lodges occasionally change ownership as they are often bought or sold to different operators. The number of rooms and beds might also be bigger since some information on new camps is not recorded.*
Appendix C

(a) Questionnaire for Household

Date of interview ___________________ Name of Village ___________________

Background Information

1. Gender: Male, Female

2. Marital Status:
   (i) Single
   (ii) Married
   (iii) Widowed
   (iv) Divorced
   (v) Living together
   (vi) Other (Specify)

3. How old are you?

4. What is your ethnic background?
   (i) Moyei
   (ii) Mosubiya
   (iii) Motawana
   (iv) Mombukushu
   (v) Mosarwa
   (vi) Mokgalagadi
   (vii) Other (Specify)

5. What is your educational background?
   (i) None
   (ii) Non-Formal
   (iii) Primary
   (iv) Junior Certificate
   (v) O’Level
   (vi) Tertiary (Specify)
   (vii) Other (Specify)

Other Information

6. Is it necessary to have wildlife in the grasslands and woodlands around your villages and in the Okavango Delta to promote tourism? Yes, No. Explain your opinion

7. Do you think it necessary to encourage tourism in the Okavango Delta? Yes, No. Explain your opinion

8. Do you or any of your family members involved in craftwork of which products are sold to tourists? Yes, No. If yes, state the type of products that you produce.

9. Do you think infrastructure development and the provision of social services in Maun to be largely influenced by tourism development? Yes, No. Explain your opinion.

10. Is community-based tourism a good idea and need to be implemented in the Okavango Area? Yes, No. Explain your opinion.
11. Do you think there is a disturbance of the local culture as a result of the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of what you think are some of the negative cultural effects of tourism in the village. (*start with those you consider to be the most serious ones*). If no, explain your opinion.

12. Do you think there is racism in the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of what you consider to constitute racism in the area. If no, explain your opinion.

13. Do you think there are negative environmental or ecological impacts in the Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District resulting from tourism? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of what you consider to be negative environmental impacts resulting from tourism in the Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District?

Comments
(b) Questionnaire for Safari Companies

Date of interview ______________ Place of interview ______________

Name of safari company.

General Information

1. What is your position in this Company?

2. How old are you?

3. What is your marital Status:
   (i) Single
   (ii) Married
   (iii) Widowed
   (iv) Divorced
   (v) Living together
   (vi) Other (Specify)

4. What is your educational Background?
   (i) None
   (ii) Primary
   (iii) Junior
   (iv) Certificate
   (v) O'Level
   (vi) Tertiary (Specify)
   (vii) Other (specify)

Company /Business Background

5. When was this company/business established in Maun/Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District?

6. What is the status of this company?
   (i) Citizen owned
   (ii) Jointly owned
   (iii) Non-citizen owned
   (iv) Other (Specify)

If the company is jointly or non-citizen owned, state the country to which the partners or owners are citizens?

Safari clients and Packages

7. What is the total estimated costs paid by a single tourist for a safari package in the Okavango Delta? *(state either in United States Dollars, Botswana Pula, British Sterling or German Mark).*

8. How much (estimation) of this package is paid in Botswana? *(state either in United States Dollars, Botswana Pula, British Sterling or German Mark).* What did your package include?

Employment and Salary

11. How many people are employed in this company?
12. How many are: permanent, Seasonal.
13. How many workers are: Citizens of Botswana, Non-citizens of Botswana

14. State countries from which non-citizens of Botswana come from? Country and number of workers?

15. Please provide information on the number, type of job and salaries (estimation) for people employed in this company (salary should be given per month for an individual-preferably starting salary):

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
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Impressions

16. Do you think its necessary to encourage tourism development in the Okavango Delta? Yes, No.

17. What is your impression about the following services: (state whether not satisfactory (NS), satisfactory (S), and Very Good (VG) - put either NS, S, VG besides the alternatives provided. If not satisfactory, state why:

(i) Air Transport (Air Botswana)
(ii) Lodging facilities
(iii) Immigration
(iv) Customs
(v) Local transport
(vi) Health facilities (e.g. Maun General Hospital)
(vii) Botswana Power Corporation
(viii) Botswana Telecommunications
(ix) Banking facilities
(x) Other (specify)

Cultural and Ecological Impacts

18. Do you think there is a disturbance of the local culture as a result of the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta? Yes, No.

If yes, make a list of what you perceive to be the negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District? (start with the one you consider to be the most serious)

19. Do you think there is racism in the tourist industry in the Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of what you think constitutes racism in the area. If no, explain your opinion.

20. Do you think tourism has any negative environmental and ecological impacts in the Okavango delta/Ngamiland District? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of what you perceive to be the negative environmental impacts. (start with the one you consider to be the most serious)

Tourism Policy

21. What is your opinion about government tourism policy of high-cost, low-volume in the Okavango Delta? (put a tick besides the appropriate option).
   (i) Satisfactory
   (ii) Not Satisfactory
   (iii) Very Satisfactory
   (iv) No Idea

Explain your answer

Comments
(c) Questionnaire for tourism-related businesses Companies

Date of interview ___________  Place of interview ______________

Name of safari company

General Information

1. What is your position in this Company?

2. How old are you?

3. What is your marital Status:
   (i)  Single
   (ii) Married
   (iii) Widowed
   (iv) Divorced
   (v)  Living together
   (vi) Other (Specify)

4. What is your educational Background?:
   (i)  None
   (ii) Primary
   (iii) Junior Certificate
   (iv) O’Level
   (v)  Tertiary( Specify)
   (vi) Other (specify)

Company /Business Background

5. When was this company/business established in Maun/Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District?

6. What is the status of this company?
   (i)  Citizen owned
   (ii) Jointly owned
   (iii) Non-citizen owned
   (iv) Other (Specify)

If the company is jointly or non-citizen owned, state the country to which the partners or owners are citizens?

7. Is the expansion of businesses in Maun and Ngamiland District due to the influence of tourism development in the Okavango Delta? Yes, No.

8. Do you think infrastructure development and the provision of social services in Maun is influenced by tourism development in the Okavango Delta? Yes, No.

Employment and Revenue Generation

9. How many people are employed in this company?
11. How many are: Permanent, Seasonal

12. How many workers are: Citizens of Botswana, Non-citizens of Botswana
13. State countries from which non-citizens of Botswana come from and their numbers?

14. Please provide information on the number, type of job and salaries (estimation) for people employed in this company (salary should be given per month for an individual-preferably starting salary):

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Impressions

15. What is your impression about the following services: (state whether not satisfactory (NS), satisfactory (S), and Very Good (VG) - put either NS, S, VG besides the alternatives provided). If not satisfactory, state why?

(i) Air Transport (Air Botswana)
(ii) Lodging facilities
(iii) Immigration
(iv) Customs
(v) Local transport
(vi) Health facilities (e.g. Maun General Hospital)
(vii) Botswana Power Corporation
(viii) Botswana Telecommunications
(ix) Banking facilities
(x) Other (specify)

Cultural and Ecological Impacts
16. Do you think there is a disturbance of the local culture as a result of the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of what you perceive to be the negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism in the Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District? (start with the one you consider to be the most serious)

17. Do you think there is racism in the tourist industry in the Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of what you think constitutes racism in the area. If no, explain your opinion

18. Do you think tourism has any negative environmental and ecological impacts in the Okavango delta/Ngamiland District? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of what you perceive to be the negative environmental and ecological impacts resulting from tourism in the Okavango Delta? (start with the one you consider to be the most serious)

Tourism Policy

19. What is your opinion about government tourism policy of high-cost, low-volume in the Okavango Delta? (put a tick besides the appropriate option).

   (i)  Satisfactory
   (ii) Not Satisfactory
   (iii) Very Good

Explain your answer

Comments
(d) Questionnaire for Workers in Safari and Tourism related Jobs

Place of interview ________________  Date of interview ________________

Name of employer (company or business)

Background Information

1. Gender: Male, Female

2. Marital Status:
   (i) Single
   (ii) Married
   (iii) Widowed
   (iv) Divorced
   (v) Living together
   (vi) Other (Specify)

3. How old are you?

4. What is your ethnic background?
   (i) Moyei
   (ii) Mosubiyi
   (iii) Motawana
   (iv) Mombukushu
   (v) Mosarwa
   (vi) Mokgalagadi
   (vii) Other (Specify)

5. What is your educational background?
   (i) None
   (ii) Non-Formal
   (iii) Primary
   (iv) Junior Certificate
   (v) O'Level
   (vi) Tertiary (Specify)
   (vi) Other (Specify)

Employment

6. When were you employed in this company?

7. What is the job that you are employed to do (Job title)

8. Have you ever been promoted since you started working for this company? Yes, No. If yes, what is your current position?

9. Where you ever provided with a letter of appointment when you started working?

10. Since you started working, have you ever been sent for training? Yes, No. If yes, what was the course about? Where was training done?

11. What is your current salary?
Cultural and ecological or environmental impacts of tourism

12. Do you think there is a disturbance of the local culture as a result of the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of what you think are some of the negative cultural effects of tourism in the village. (start with those you consider to be the most serious ones). If no, explain your opinion.

13. Is there any racism in the development of tourism in the Okavango Delta? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of what you consider to constitute racism in the area. If no, explain your opinion.

14. Are you happy with your conditions of work? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of treatment or of your conditions of work you like most? If no, make a list of the kind of treatment or conditions of work you dislike.

Questions 18 to 23 are meant for workers in safari lodges/camps and other tourism facilities in the delta.

15. Do you think there are negative environmental impacts in the Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District resulting from tourism? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of what you consider to be negative environmental impacts resulting from tourism in the Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District?

16. Are you provided with accommodation while in the delta? Yes, No. If yes, what type of accommodation is it?
   (i) Tent
   (ii) Farm house
   (iii) Reed hut
   (iv) Other (Specify)
   If no, where do you stay while in the delta?

17. Are you happy with your accommodation? Yes, No. Explain your opinion.

18. How often do you visit Maun or any other place you want?
   (i) When I am off-duty
   (ii) During weekends
   (iii) After 1 month
   (iv) After 2 months
   (v) After 3 months
   (vi) Other (Specify)

Comments
(c) Questionnaire for Tourists

Date of interview ____________ Place of interview ________________

Demographic Information

1. What is your permanent country of residence?
2. How old are you?
3. Gender: Male, Female
4. Marital Status: (i) Single
   (ii) Married
   (iii) Widowed
   (iv) Divorced
   (v) Living together
   (vi) Other (Specify)
5. What is your occupation

Type of Tourists

6. What is the purpose of your visit to the Okavango Delta or Ngamiland District?
   (i) Hunting
   (ii) Photographic tourism
   (iii) Other (Specify)
7. Is your visit organised by a safari company? (i) Yes, No. If yes, what is the name of the safari company? How many days did you stay in the Okavango Delta?

Expenditure and Satisfaction

8. How much (estimation) did you spend in buying local souvenirs and craft materials while visiting the Okavango (state in your home/country currency).
9. How much did you spend on your trip while visiting the Okavango Delta?
10. How many days did you spend in the Okavango Delta during your visit to Botswana?
11. Do you consider your visit to the Okavango Delta valuable and that you are likely to come back in future? Yes, No.
12. Given the opportunity, will you visit the Okavango Delta again next time? Yes, No. If no, explain why.
13. What is your view about the service offered by the following? (rate your level of satisfaction either as Not Satisfactory (NS), Satisfactory (S), Very Satisfactory (VS) or No Idea (NI).
   (a) Department of Wildlife and National Parks
   (b) Camps and lodges
   (c) Tourist Guides
Impressions

14. What was your impression about the following: *(Write either 1, 2, 3 or 4 besides the options given. i.e. 1. Satisfactory  2. Not satisfactory  3. Very Good  4. Other.)*
   
   (i) Immigration  
   (ii) Customs  
   (iii) Banking services  
   (iv) Medical services  
   (v) Transport services  
   (vi) Hotel/lodge services  
   (vii) Souvenirs/Crafts  
   (viii) Other *(specify)*

15. What type of accommodation did you use during your visit to the Okavango Delta? *(make a tick besides the option you used)*
   
   (i) Hotel / lodge  
   (ii) Safari camp  
   (iii) Both hotel/lodge and safari camp  
   (iv) HATAB campsites  
   (v) Public campsite  
   (vi) Other *(specify)*

Cultural and environmental impacts

16. In case a conservation fee is introduced to promote the conservation of the Okavango Delta, will you be willing to pay such a fee? Yes, No.

17. What did you observe to be a negative cultural impact of tourism in the Okavango Delta/Ngamiland District? *(Write your opinions below)*

18. Do you think tourism has any negative environmental impacts in the Okavango Delta? Yes, No. If yes, make a list of what you consider to be the negative environmental impacts?

Comments