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TOURISM

A STRATEGIC INVESTMENT OPTION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOTSWANA

by

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DISSERTATION

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During the 1960's, spurred by Jumbo Jets, charter tours and the growing affluence of the middle classes in Western industrial nations, tourism erupted on a grand scale. Third World countries perceiving this as a new opportunity to secure foreign exchange and stimulate economic growth, attracted masses of tourists and resorts multiplied to meet the demand. The oil crisis and recession of 1974-75 brought a halt to the growth of the tourism industry and the end of the boom gave new urgency to existing concerns about whether tourism produced sufficient gains for developing countries to justify the investments required. Not only were there doubts about whether tourism yielded economic returns commensurate with its economic costs, but also as to the basic assumptions about the relation between development and economic growth. (de Kadt, 1979)

Travel and tourism, the world's largest industry generating more than US$3 trillion per annum or 5.5% of the total world output. It provides employment for 130 million people, accounts for 12% of consumer spending and provides 7.5% of worldwide capital investment amounting to US$400 billion a year. (Southern African Economist, 1992, p35)

Only 25 years ago, Botswana was a poor country, listed by the United Nations Organization as one of the poorest in Africa. When the independent state of Botswana emerged from the colonial incubus in 1966 it did so with a per capita income of just P70 ($35). President Quett Masire refers to this period as one during which there was no social or physical infrastructure: "Botswana was one of the poorest countries in the world, (but) we started from scratch and invested every available penny in development" (The Observer, 1991, p.7).

Today, Botswana is a very different place, with a per capita income estimated at more than P3200 ($1600), Botswana is seen in many quarters as one of the wealthiest developing countries
It was the discovery of diamonds that changed the whole picture, making Botswana one of the most progressive countries in Africa. Diamonds, copper-nickel, beef, textiles and now tourism are establishing foreign exchange assets which are the envy of many small countries and some not so small. Diamonds are providing revenues to Government to establish and improve infrastructure, facilities and water supplies. Beef brings money to the people and tourism is helping to increase rural employment opportunities.

Following the recently ended seven-year drought, the longest in living memory, funds set aside for development had to be diverted to drought relief. Now, with indications that the market, particularly diamonds, may have peaked, the government is looking to other sectors of the economy, such as tourism, to sustain the growth levels necessary for a rapidly growing population with steadily expanding expectations. This is no sudden development but rather the realization that the mineral bonanza may be at an end and that the economic base of the country should be broadened. Botswana is looking for a fresh inundation as the country gears up for a new era of development which the government hopes will finally move the economy off its narrow base of minerals and beef.
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CHAPTER ONE

DEVELOPMENT - A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

1.1 INTRODUCTION:

Current academic interest in development economics is a relatively recent phenomenon. The political and public concern with the poorer nations of the world is of equally recent origin; A. P. Thirwall so aptly describes this (1986:3) "... as in medicine, the perceived ills seem to multiply as the diagnosis deepens".

In the period preceding the Second World War there was little preoccupation with the economic and social problems of developing economies that we are concerned with today and the majority of national and international bodies which promote development, such as national development banks, the World Bank and its affiliates, the European Economic Community (EEC), agents of the United Nations and Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) had not been established. The attention of most people was focused on the depression and underemployment in developed countries while ignorantly neglecting deteriorating social and economic conditions in developing countries.

The situation today is very different. In the wake of the great depression and the aftermath of war there was a renewed interest among developed countries in the growth and development process and, as the poorer, developing countries became increasingly aware of their own backwardness, the natural desire for more rapid economic progress grew stronger. Considered by many as perhaps the most significant consequence was the growing recognition by all concerned of the mutual interdependence of the world economy.

On the economic front, the perception that the fortunes of countries, rich and poor, are locked up together through
trade and the balance of payments, dawned upon all. So did the understanding that there exists an interdependence in the world economy as such that the malfunctioning of one set of economies impairs the functioning of others.

1.2 DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS:

The ultimate purpose of development economics remains to enable us to understand Third World economies in order to help improve the material lives of three-quarters of the global population.

"The Third World with 77 percent of the world population, subsists on only 22 percent of the world income - and even this meagre income is so maldistributed internally as to leave the bulk of its population in abject poverty" (Todaro, 1989:3).

The scope of development economics is vast. In addition to being concerned with the efficient allocation of existing scarce or idle productive resources and with their sustained growth over time, it must also deal with the economic, political, social and institutional mechanisms, both public and private, necessary to bring about rapid and large-scale improvements in levels of living for the masses of poverty-stricken, malnourished and illiterate people. If these issues are not addressed the gap between aspiration and reality will continue to widen with each passing year. It is for this reason that the public sector has assumed a much broader and more determining role in development economics that is has done traditionally.

Unlike developed countries, in developing countries most resource and commodity markets are highly imperfect, consumers and producers have limited information, major structural changes are taking place in both the society and the economy, and disequilibrium situations often prevail. Economic calculations are often dominated by social and
political priorities, resolving tribal or ethnic conflicts or preserving religious and cultural traditions. At the individual level, family, tribal, religious and traditional considerations may take precedence over private, self-interested utility of profit maximizing calculations. Economics and economic systems in developing countries need to be analyzed within the context of the overall social system of a country and indeed within an international, global context as well. The social system refers to the interdependent relationships between so-called economic and non-economic factors. The latter include attitudes toward life, work and authority, public and private bureaucratic and administrative structures, cultural traditions, systems of land and tenure, the authority and integrity of government agencies, the degree of popular participation in development decisions and activities, and the flexibility of rigidity of economic and social classes.

Thirwall (1986:61) suggests that, occasionally economists make the mistake of confusing their theories with universal truths and mistakenly dismiss these non-economic variables as non-quantifiable and therefore dubious of importance. Yet often they play a critical role in the success or failure of the development effort. Economic development policies that seek to raise agricultural output, create employment, and eradicate poverty have often failed in the past because economists and other policy advisers neglected to view the economy as an interdependent social system where economic and non-economic forces are continually interacting, in ways that are at times self-reinforcing and at other times contradictory.

1.3 TRADITIONAL MEASURES OF DEVELOPMENT:

In strictly economic terms development has traditionally meant the capacity of a national economy, whose initial economic conditions has been more or less static for a long time, to generate and sustain an annual increase in its gross
national product at rates of 5 - 7% or more. An alternative common economic index of development has been the use of rates of growth per capita GNP to take into account the ability of a nation to expand its output at a rate faster than the growth rate of its population. Levels and rates of growth of "real" per capita GNP are normally used to measure in a broad sense the overall economic well-being of a population - that is, how much of real goods and services is available for consumption and investment for the average citizen.

Economic development in the past has also been typically seen in terms of the planned alteration of the structure of production and employment so that agriculture's share of both declines, whereas that of manufacturing and service industries increases. This of course, is the essence of theories of structural change. Development strategies, therefore, have usually focused on rapid industrialization, often at the expense of agriculture and rural development.

On the whole, development in the 1960's and 1970's was nearly always seen as an economic phenomenon, in which rapid gains in overall and per capita GNP growth would either trickle down to the masses in the form of jobs and other economic and social benefits of growth. Problems of poverty, unemployment and income distribution were of secondary importance to "getting the growth job done" (Todaro, 1989:87).

During the late 1970's economic development came to be redefined in terms of the reduction or elimination of poverty, inequality, and unemployment within the context of a growing economy. At the time developing countries that experienced relatively high rates of per capita income, but that showed little or no improvement or even actual decline in employment, equality and real incomes of the bottom 40% of the population, were by the earlier growth definition 'developing'. By the more recent poverty, equality and employment criteria, they were not. The situation worsened in the 1980's as GNP growth rates turned negative for many
Less Developed Countries (LDCs) and faced with mounting foreign debt problems, governments were forced to cut back on their already limited social and economical programmes.

It is justified therefore, that development must be conceived as a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of equality and the eradication of absolute poverty.

Third World development in the late 1980's and early 1990's has incorporated at least three basic components or core values as a conceptual basis for understanding the inner meaning of development; these values are life-sustenance, self-esteem and freedom, representing common goals sought by all individuals, societies and cultures.

1.4 THE POPULATION DEBATE:

As the decade of the 1980's came to an end, the world's population was estimated to be almost 5,3 billion people. Optimistic projections by the united Nations placed the figure at more than 6,1 billion by the end of the 20th century and 8,3 billion by the year 2025 (Thirwall, 1986:187). Over four fifths of that population will inhabit the developing world. But the problem of population growth is not simply a problem of numbers. It is a problem of human welfare and of development which will no doubt have a profound effect on not only levels of living, income, health and general well-being, but also on self-esteem, respect, dignity and the freedom to choose.

Population growth today is primarily the result of a rapid transition from a long historical era characterized by high birth and death rates to one in which death rates have fallen sharply whereas birthrates, especially in developing countries, are only just beginning to fall from their
historic high levels.

Population growth is, however not the primary cause of low levels of living, gross inequalities, or the limited freedom of choice that characterises much of the Third World. The fundamental causes of these problems must be sought, rather, in the 'dualistic' nature of the domestic and international economic and social order.

1.5 DUALISM:

A dual economy is one characterised by a difference in social customs between the subsistence and exchange sectors of an economy, a gap in the level of technology between the rural subsistence sector and the industrialised monetised sector, and possibly a gap in the levels of per capita income between regions of a country if the money economy and industrial development are geographically centred. It is not uncommon for geographic, social and technological dualism to occur together, with each type of dualism tending to reinforce the other.

The basic origin of dualism is the introduction of money into a subsistence barter economy and because development depends in the extension of the money economy, development must contend with the existence of dualism in all its aspects.

The existence of dualism poses a number of development problems for the economy which impede and retard development. As far as social dualism is concerned the lack of a modern exchange sector requires the provision of incentives in the subsistence sector and drawing the subsistence sector into the economy. The fact that the indigenous subsistence sector may be reluctant to alter its traditional way of life and to respond to incentives is not peculiar to a dual economy.

As with social dualism, technological dualism can be regarded
as an inevitable feature of the development process. If in the rural, or non-monetised, sector of the economy production processes are characterised by labour-intensive techniques and variable technical coefficients of production, while production processes in the industrial, technologically advanced sector are capital-intensive and possess relatively fixed technical coefficients, it is possible that the technology of the industrial sector may impede progress in the agricultural sector on which the rapid development of the total economy, in part, depends. Even a technology which is socially optimal in this sense may not be the technology which provides the soundest basis for sustained longterm growth.

1.6 TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT:

It may well be asked whether it is worth concentrating on the development of tourism as such, rather than analyzing development in general. Several factors justify a focus on tourism. Tourism is in one important respect different from other potential export activities: the ultimate consumer of the goods and services comes to the exporting country rather than having goods and services delivered to him at home. This creates an opportunity for consumer expenditure in associated industries in addition to the initial investment; usually rather less than two thirds of tourist expenditure being in the hotels and restaurants normally identified within the tourism sector. The effect of tourism on associated industries have at best been considered as afterthoughts by tourism planners.

Policy-makers are faced with a number of concerns which need to be evaluated in the wider context of development. Dominant development concerns have changed over the past three decades and earlier simple faith in the merits of tourism has given way to questions regarding not only the balance of growth but also the distribution of material benefits. According to de Kadt (1979:21) three broad areas
1.) The realization that the distribution of the material benefits of development among poor countries and population groups requires special attention as growth alone may not suffice to overcome poverty.

Uneven distribution of income and the ever increasing need of developing communities to participate in political decision making has called in question the contribution of the development of tourism, a major net earner of foreign exchange, to the broad goals of economic and social development and upliftment.

2.) The identification of the supposed causes of inequalities and the need for major institutional and structural adjustments in industrialized countries as to facilitate the achievement of development goals in developing countries.

As an export industry which does not significantly threaten employment in industrialized countries, tourism may find increasing favour in international circles as a national development tool.

3.) Given the threat of environmental deterioration and looming exhaustion of non-renewable resources, the pursuit of mass consumption will not be feasible for much longer. Consumption patterns of international tourism are a conspicuous example of the consumerism of the elites; way out of reach of the poor countries' masses.

The dangers of oversight of these broad issues in evaluating the real and perceived benefits of tourism are twofold:

- Such tourism as does take place may not be planned so as to generate a maximum effect on or function on a complimentary basis with development.
A pro- or anti-tourism stance might be taken up without any real evidence to support it.

In the past tourism development programmes have tended to emphasize benefits in terms of monetary receipts expected balanced against the costs associated with the program. What is needed however in addition to the above, is an assessment of effects of a social, cultural and distributional nature. It is accepted that low or negative social and cultural benefits may coexist with reasonable net benefits to the investor and that the reverse is also true (Pearce, 1981:54). Distributional considerations can be reflected by allocating different weights to the costs and benefits accruing to different income groups. Social changes which may not be reducible to monetary equivalents, as well as important material effects thereof on employment and income, are the main factors that determine whether the process of tourism development is perceived and judged good or bad by the people affected.

The tourism sector can not by itself correct or create conditions that are normally part and parcel of overall national social and economic policies. Government policy towards tourism and the degree of Government influence will be determined by a country's overall approach to social and economic issues and the role of the national Government in tackling them. Without active intervention, planning, implementation, monitoring and control the proportion of benefits accruing to the poor will be smaller than it need be, relative to the share which goes to better-off groups, international enterprises and the tourists themselves.

It is rare that the people in the local community, whether through existing structures of local government or through specially created organizations, are given a genuine chance to influence the course of events - though these events will have a profound effect on their lives.
1.7 DEVELOPMENT AND THE ENVIRONMENT:

The achievement of sustained and equitable development remains one of the greatest challenges facing the human race. Recent years have witnessed rising concern about whether environmental constraints will limit development and whether development will cause serious environmental damage - in turn impairing the quality of life of this and future generations.

Developed countries need to assist developing countries by curtailing their own excessive depletion of non-renewable world resources through programmes to cut back on the unnecessary consumption of products that intensively utilize such resources.

In this respect the recent "Earth Summit" held in Rio de Janeiro will break new ground in showing that economics and the environment can coexist. Tight environmental regulation has brought to the industrial North a rapid recovery of forests; today the United States has more trees standing than at the turn of the century. Since the Third World must balance preservation with development, this is exactly the kind of news it needs to hear.

Trade-offs between income growth and environmental protection require a careful assessment of the benefits and sorts of alternative policies as they affect not only today's population but also future generations. Evidence indicate that the gains from protecting the environment are often high and that costs in forgone income are often modest if appropriate policies are adopted (The Observer, 1992:14). Policies are most effective when they aim at underlying causes rather than symptoms, concentrate on addressing those problems which benefits of reform are the greatest use incentives rather than regulations where possible, and recognise administrative constraints.

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The most immediate environmental problems facing developing countries are different and more immediately life-threatening
than those associated with the affluence of rich countries. Industrial countries need to solve their own problems but also have a crucial role to play in helping to improve the environments of developing countries. Strong and growing evidence of the links between poverty reduction and environmental goals makes a compelling case for greater support for programmes to reduce poverty and population growth. The capacity of developing countries to enjoy sustained income growth will depend upon the approach adopted by industrialised countries; incorporating economic policies that will promote robust, environmentally responsible growth.

1.8 **Problem Statement:**

Policy reforms and institutional changes are required to bring about accelerated development and better environmental management. The obstacles are great as is the present time unprecedented in its potential for change. Growing recognition of the importance of environmental concerns, the rapid introduction of economic reform programmes around the world, and the trend toward democratisation and participation in the development process all point in the right direction.

Perhaps a fitting expression for the 1990’s would be that the world is like the human body: If one part aches, the rest will feel it; if many parts hurt, the whole will suffer. Third World nations constitute these 'many parts' of the global organism. The nature and character of their future development therefore should be a major concern of all nations irrespective of their political, ideological, or economic orientations. In the last decade of the 20th century and into the 21st century there can no longer be two futures - one for the few rich and the other for the very many poor.

The tourism sector cannot by itself correct or create conditions that are normally part and parcel of overall national social and economic policies. Government policy
toward tourism and the degree of Government influence will be determined by the country's overall approach to economic and social issues and the role of the government in tackling them. Without active intervention, and without planning and monitoring, the proportion of benefits of tourism development accruing the poor will continue being smaller than it need be.

Whether tourism is an appropriate activity for developing countries to encourage, has been the subject of controversy. Whilst the controversies have been particularly great on the non-economic consequences of tourism; unfortunately, the debate has tended to be superficial. Finding ways to take into account these concerns in decisionmaking and economic, social and cultural impacts of tourism growth and are but some of the issues which come to mind. The problems, special to tourism in developing countries, still need to be set in the wider context of development, and should fit in with the more general considerations of policymakers and development planners.

1.9 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

The main objective of this study is to examine and propose (through analytic, archival and individual opinion research), a structure for tourism development which could facilitate the interests of all stakeholders and contribute optimally to the achievement of the broader national development goals of a typical developing economy such as Botswana and, in support thereof to:

1.) To illustrate the history and process of economic development in Botswana as a Third World country and to identify challenges for future development. (See Chapter 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5; Chapter 2.1, 2.2, 2.3; Chapter 3.4 and Chapter 4.2)

2.) Confirm the importance of economic diversification in
shifting the economy off its present narrow base of diamonds and cattle. (See Chapter 1.5; Chapter 2.2.3 and Chapter 4.2)

3.) Identify the potential benefits and factors which justify an emphasis on development of the tourism sector in broadening the economic base of the Botswana economy. (See Chapter 1.6, 1.7; Chapter 3.2, 3.4 and Chapter 4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.2.4, 4.2.5)

4.) Assess the elements of management structure and to justify the decentralization of decisionmaking and tourism development. (See Chapter 3.4.3.2, 3.4.4.2, 3.4.6 and Chapter 4.2.1.1, 4.2.4, 4.2.5)

5.) Define the roles of Government, Private Sector and local communities in the process of the distribution of revenue generated by the tourism industry. (See Chapter 2.2.2, 2.2.3, 2.3; Chapter 3.3, 3.4 and Chapter 4.2.1, 4.2.4, 4.2.5)

6.) Explore the potential of the tourism sector as a strategic, private sector investment opportunity. (See Chapter 3.4 and Chapter 4.2)

7.) Emphasise the character and importance of external environmental constraints in the development of the tourism industry in Botswana. (See Chapter 2.2.1, 2.2.2, 2.2.3 and Chapter 3.4)

8.) Point out the importance of the adoption of a tourism and development policy which would minimise the impact on the environment whilst not negating sustainable utilization of natural resources. (See Chapter 1.5, 1.7; Chapter 2.2, 2.3.1; Chapter 3.2.2, 3.4.2, 3.4.3, 3.4.5 and Chapter 4.2.2, 4.2.3, 4.2.4, 4.2.5)

9.) Emphasize the significance of a regional perspective in the management of tourism and development activities.
10.) Explore the policy of Low Impact tourism as gist of the tourism development marketing strategy. (See Chapter 3.4.5 and Chapter 4.2.2, 4.2.3)

11.) Identify the causes of the inequalities in distribution of benefits received from tourism to date. (See Chapter 2.3; Chapter 3.2, 3.4 and Chapter 4.2)

12.) Examine and evaluate past and present methods of land use planning, policies and utilization. (See Chapter 2.2; Chapter 3.4.2 and Chapter 4.2)

Many sectors of the economy may have a claim on the limited resources available for economic growth and investment in a developing country. Their potential of earning foreign exchange and for bringing about increases in national income, employment, and regional development may be equal or greater than that of tourism. The logical place, therefore, for a country to begin development of the tourism sector is to determine how it fits into the national development plan and what priority tourism development is to receive.

Chapter 2 provides insight into Botswana’s long term development objectives as determined by the Government of Botswana and explores the domain of the economic, social, political and geographic environment within which development takes place. Tourism development objectives are mentioned and elaborated on in Chapter 3 which identifies and examines future development strategies and challenges. In Chapter 4 the institutionalizing of a number of strategic tourism development options is reviewed, preceding the conclusion.
TOURISM - A STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT OPTION:

CHAPTER 1
A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE
MISSION, PURPOSE & OBJECTIVES

CHAPTER 2
LONGTERM DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES
SUSTAINED DEVELOPMENT
RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH
ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE
SOCIAL JUSTICE

INTERNAL PROFILE
TOURISM IN BOTSWANA

EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENTAL ANALYSIS

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES
INCREASED FOREIGN EXCHANGE REVENUE
RURAL EMPLOYMENT GENERATION
PROMOTION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT
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CHAPTER 3
FUTURE STRATEGIES AND CHALLENGES
LANDUSE PLANNING, POLICIES AND UTILIZATION
WILDLIFE, CONSERVATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS
COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT
POLICY OF LOW IMPACT TOURISM
ROLES OF GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR
TAXATION OF THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

POLICIES
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY
TOURISM POLICY
CONSERVATION POLICY

CHAPTER 4
PICKING UP THE CHALLENGES
INSTITUTIONALIZING STRATEGY
WIDENING THE TOURISM AND ECONOMIC BASE
LIT AND NICHE TOURISM DEMAND
FUTURE STRATEGIES
CONCLUSION
CHAPTER TWO:

DEVELOPMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

2.1 INTRODUCTION:

About the same size as France or Texas, Botswana lies at the centre of the southern African plateau and covers 582,000 square kilometres, of which 69% is covered by the arid sands of the Kalahari desert. With a population of nearly one-and-a-half million, Botswana is one of the least densely populated countries in Africa.

As Bechuanaland, a British Protectorate, Botswana was considered a vast, parched scrubland with marginal farming territory teeming with migrating wildlife; altogether a hostile land, unsuitable for development.

Since Independence in 1966, through intelligent, farsighted leadership, Botswana has become one of the few multi-party democracies in Africa and is noted for its democratic traditions and political stability.

Botswana has also achieved one of the highest Gross Domestic Product per capita levels in Africa and has one of the fastest growing economies in the world. As the country prosper, so do its people. And in 25 years Botswana has transformed itself from a pastoral society to a land of technological development and economic stability.

The success of Botswana can be contributed, at least in part, to the effective formulation and implementation of strategies designed to achieve the economic and development objectives of the country. The National Development Plan for 1991-1997 is shown to involve longterm, future-oriented objectives and designed to strategically manage resources required to formulate and implement an environmentally opportunistic
plan.

However, in presenting his budget speech for 1991 to the National Assembly the Minister of Finance and Development Planning said that the events of the past year had made it clear that Botswana was entering a very difficult period at the outset of NDP7, characterised by forecasts of high rates of inflation, slower economic growth, the drawing down of accumulated national revenues and foreign exchange reserves and less favourable balance of payments outturns (Barclays Bank of Botswana, 1991:3).

Acknowledging these factors, The Government of Botswana has followed a holistic approach in incorporating a conscious policy of economic diversification and long term sustainable economic growth as the thrust of NDP7. It is hoped that this fundamental purpose, through continued investments in social and physical infrastructure, coupled with, a stable political climate and conducive industrial relations in regional and international markets, would afford Botswana even better prospects for the future.

2.2 GEOGRAPHIC, POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILE:

As indicated as an objective of this paper (Ref: 1.8, no 7:13), an accurate assessment of economic performance of Botswana should be done in consideration of environmental variables in both the remote and operational external environment. An awareness of these variables not only forms a valuable planning base, but also enables development planners to anticipate future business conditions and improve economic performance and profitability.

Despite Botswana's progress over the last 25 years, many people are still very poor, there are not enough jobs for those seeking work and there is a continuing large gap between urban and rural living standards. Much remains to be done, and it must be done in an uncertain international
environment, with continuing shortages of rainfall, and with the likelihood of a slower growth of mineral revenues.

2.2.1 GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES:

2.2.1.1 PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS:

Botswana is landlocked and borders with Zimbabwe, the Republic of South Africa, Namibia and Zambia.

Much of the country is flat, with gentle undulations and occasional rocky outcrops. In the north-west, the Okavango River drains inland from Angola to form the Okavango Delta; in the central north-east is a large area of calcrete plains bordering the Makgadikgadi pans. In the east, adjacent to the Limpopo drainage system, the land rises above 1200 metres, and the Limpopo Valley gradually descends from 900 metres in the south to 500 metres at its confluence with the Sashe River. This eastern region which straddles the North-South railway line, has a somewhat less harsh climate and more fertile soils than elsewhere; and it is here that most Batswana live.

The rest of Botswana is covered with the thick sand layers of the Kgalagadi Desert which accounts for more than two-thirds of Botswana's land area. Although the Kgalagadi supports a vegetation of scrub and grasses there is an almost complete absence of surface water.

2.2.1.2 CLIMATE:

Botswana is situated close to the subtropical high pressure belt of the southern hemisphere; as a result the country is largely arid or semi-arid. Mean annual rainfall ranges from over 650mm in the extreme north-east to less than 250mm in the extreme south-west. Almost all the rainfall occurs during the summer months, from October to April; whilst the
period from May to September is generally dry. Most of the rainfall occurs in localised showers and thunderstorms, and its incidence is highly variable both in time and space.

The temperature range is wide, with extremes from less than minus 5°C up to 43°C and evaporation rates ranging from 1.8 metres to over 2.2 metres annual for surface water. The six consecutive years of draught from 1981/82 to 1986/87 were the worst sequence since the early 1920s, but drought is a recurring hazard.

2.2.1.3 VEGETATION AND SOIL:

Vegetation is closely correlated with climate; away from the bush swampland of the Okavango Delta, the vegetation has to withstand long dry periods each season and often needs to cope with drought. Belts of indigenous forest and dense bush in the Chobe District in the north are sustained by the higher rainfall of the area whereas further south the Makgadikgadi pans are surrounded by treeless grass savanna. Low rainfall and poor soil result in grasses of low productivity, particularly in the Kgalagadi; but the rangeland supports livestock and wildlife, although at low densities. Overgrazing has caused prolonged deterioration of the veld, which is also vulnerable to fire during the long dry winter months.

2.2.1.4 NATURAL RESOURCES:

Botswana's main natural resources are range and arable land, abundant wildlife habitats supporting prolific animal populations, and a variety of known and promising occurrences of minerals. Arable land is estimated at less than 5% of Botswana's land area and unreliable rainfall makes arable agriculture volatile. The best arable land occurs in the freehold farming areas in the east. With the development of boreholes cattle ranching has pushed further west into the
Kgalagadi, exploiting more fragile rangeland. This increases the likelihood of livestock losses when drought recurs. Wildlife which occur in these areas have, on the other hand, to a large degree adapted to survive periods of drought.

Botswana has some of the last great populations of wild animals left in Africa; they constitute a tourist attraction that has yet to be fully exploited and which makes an important contribution to the subsistence economy of the country. Large areas of Botswana are designated as National Parks and Game Reserves but game is still found outside reserves. Of particular importance for Tourism are the Chobe National Park, which contain magnificent concentrations of game, and the Okavango Delta which, besides its outstanding natural beauty teems with wildlife. Livestock agriculture and game often represent competing uses of marginal land; careful management is required to ensure that such land is used to its best advantage.

2.2.2 SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FEATURES:

2.2.2.1 SOCIAL WELFARE:

Total GDP in 1989/90 was estimated at P5,850 million, equivalent to about P4,500 per capita (Central Statistics Office, 1991:5). However, this figure needs to be carefully qualified, as it includes incomes that accrue to non-citizens, earnings of expatriates resident in Botswana as well as the returns to foreign investment in Botswana, and may thus overstate the average welfare of Botswana.

Formal Sector employment has increased considerably during the last 25 years. At independence there were roughly 25,000 people employed in the formal sector of the economy with probably an equivalent number employed in the South African mines. Employment in the South African mines had decreased to about 18,000 by 1989, while domestic formal sector employment had increased to some 176,000. Thus, formal sector
employment growth has been averaging about 9% per annum since Independence, compared to a population growth of about 3.4% per annum over the same period.

For those Batswana not in formal sector employment, the rural economy is the major source of income. For rural households income sources in 1985/86 were cash earnings (34%), value of own produce consumed (23%), cash gifts (16%), business profits (12%) and the remaining 15%, income in kind. The low proportion value of own produce consumed is part a result of the drought; cash earnings would therefore include a proportion of funds received through the Drought Relief and Recovery Programmes which ended in 1990. Overall, average household monthly cash income as reported in a 1985/6 survey was P 254; P 140 and P 571 for rural and urban areas respectively. Cash income is unequally distributed, particularly in the rural areas. (Fowkes, 1985)

2.2.2.2 ETHNICITY:

Most of Botswana's citizens are members of Setswana speaking tribes or clans. The official languages are Setswana and English, the latter being the main language in Government. There are other groups including Bakalanga in the north-east, Basarwa and other semi-nomadic groups in remoter areas, and BaHerero in the west, as well as a small number of citizens of Azian and European origin.

2.2.2.3 PATTERNS OF SETTLEMENT:

The main features of the settlement pattern are heavy concentration in eastern Botswana where land and water resources are best, a predominantly rural population but rapidly growing urban centres and declining seasonal movement between villages, arable land and cattle posts.
2.2.2.4 FOOD AND ECONOMIC SECURITY:

A major challenge facing the country is to develop projects and programmes to address poverty and related problems like structural poverty, lack of employment opportunities and income and asset ownership disparities. Poverty causes increased vulnerability to drought, both because it is associated with dependence on sources of income affected by rainfall and because it is associated with lack of assets to act as a buffer during drought.

Government's response to the recent six year drought was to institute a wide ranging emergency drought relief and recovery programme which absorbed considerable manpower and financial resource, which had to be diverted from the normal development process. In 1990 the programmes were terminated and a total of P400 million spent over an eight year period. As a result of these programmes the prevalence of malnutrition has decreased and levelled of at 15% in 1990. Malnutrition rates do however remain particularly high in remote areas, small villages, lands and cattle posts.

2.2.3 ECONOMIC FEATURES:

The history and process of economic development in Botswana as a Third World country (Ref: 1.8, no 1:12) and objective, in terms of industrial development, of diversification away from cattle and diamonds (Ref: 1.8, no 2:12) can briefly be illustrated as follows.

2.2.3.1 THE ECONOMY:

At independence Botswana was one of the poorest countries in Africa, with an overwhelmingly rural population depending mainly on agriculture for a livelihood. Beef production was the mainstay of the economy in terms of output and export earnings, but both arable and livestock agriculture had been
ravaged by a prolonged and severe drought. Infrastructure and communications was barely developed and prospects for rapid development of the economy seemed bleak. The Government was highly dependent on foreign aid, not only for its investment projects but also to finance its recurrent expenditures.

The 25 years since independence have seen a remarkable economic transformation. GDP growth has in real terms averaged around 13% per annum over the entire post-Independence period and real GDP per capita was about eight times higher in 1988/89 than in 1966. (NDP7, 1991:137)

At present the Botswana economy seems in part to be the victim of the troubles in the diamond industry. Export of uncut diamonds account for over half of the country's foreign exchange earnings. Other contributing factors are the worldwide recession, the drought in the region which has seriously affected agricultural production problems in the building and construction industry. The textile industry, on which much hope has been placed in the drive for economic diversification has suffered from the rapid fall of the value of the Zimbabwean dollar.

2.2.3.2 MINING:

The mining sector has without doubt had the most dramatic impact on the economy. The country's diamond mines are amongst the world's richest and have helped to bring unexpected wealth to Botswana, suddenly capitulating national revenue to an extraordinary level and making possible exciting developments.

A series of mining projects since the late 1960's - the Orapa and Letlhakane diamond mines, the Selebi-Phikwe copper-nickel mine, and, most recently the diamond mine at Jwaneng, not only expanded production in the minerals sector, but also stimulated the development of infrastructure and financed the expansion of Government services. The provision of a broad range of services has raised living standards for the whole
population and have increased access to water, road, health and education facilities.

Both exports and imports have risen over the last 25 years. The growth is commensurate with the expansion of the economy. Within exports the shift in relative importance from beef to minerals has been particularly striking. Diamonds alone accounted for about 77% of the total export value in 1989 and an estimated 90% of GNP in 1990 (Central Statistics Office, 1991:8).

Government revenues have been greatly strengthened by inflows of aid funds, negotiations of mining agreements which resulted Botswana a fair return from mineral projects, and the renegotiation of the Southern Africa Custom Union Agreement (SACUA) in 1969.

### 2.2.3.3 AGRICULTURE AND CATTLE POLITICS:

In Botswana, the accumulation of cattle is traditionally considered a measure of wealth and, as such, cattle are rarely consumed or sold. Cattle represent an individual’s status within the community. For Botswana’s politicians, the size of cattle herds enhances their standing among the traditional communities and large herds are a source of wealth they rely on to supplement their pay as civil servants.

Twenty five years ago the only sector of the economy creating revenue was cattle ranching. When the colonial era drew to a close it was natural for Khama, the first president, to select a cabinet made up of rural entrepreneurs intent on developing the livestock sector. These cattle entrepreneurs now make up one of the most exclusive governing elites in Africa.

Primarily, the World Bank and the European Community have been responsible for extensive loans and subsidies that
enable a select few to access funds for borehole drilling, pump equipment, veterinary services, extended lines of credit and export subsidies. In August 1987, the World Bank reported that every one of the commercial ranchers they financed defaulted on their loans (Lomba, 1992:3). This meant, that not only did the elite benefit personally from these foreign loans, but they passed debts onto the Botswana taxpayer.

Over the years, foreign subsidization has been justified by citing traditional livestock owners as the primary beneficiaries of these funds, implying that all Botswana citizens are aspiring cattle ranchers, whilst in actual fact less than 50% of the nation’s rural households own cattle.

During drought years, massive die-offs regularly occur. The small herd owners are the worst hit. During the last drought cycle, in the eighties, one third of the national herd perished and 90% of the rural population depended on food aid.

Deteriorating rangelands have led to increasing numbers of refugees fleeing to towns to escape environmental degradation synonymous with overgrazing and desertification. The reason for this degradation is cattle. They are totally unsuited and ill-equipped to survive in Botswana’s arid ecosystems (Lomba, 1992:12) as they evolved in more temperate climates in areas of high rainfall where grass and water are plentiful. Under Botswana’s harsh, arid conditions, cattle quickly overgraze the fragile rangeland as they cluster around the limited drinking points. The result is overgrazing and trampling and as the land collapses, new areas must be opened up to sustain the herds.

In spite of repeated warnings from the international conservation community, the EC continues to finance this non-sustainable venture. Not only does the EC pay 60% above world market prices for Botswana’s beef, it also has a 720,000 ton beef surplus of its own. Botswana’s contribution
to this surplus is 19,000 tons per annum which represents one day's consumption of beef in Europe. (Okavango Wildlife Society, 1992:4.)

2.2.3.4 INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

The years since Independence have also seen considerable institutional development; parastatals have been established, primarily in the form of public utilities and other public enterprises filling gaps in private sector provision, included are the Botswana Meat Commission, the Botswana Development Corporation, the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board, the National Development Bank and the Botswana Livestock Development Corporation.

A major development was the establishment of the Bank of Botswana (BOB) in 1975, and the issue of a national currency, the Pula, in the following year to replace the South African Rand. The creation of the BOB and the introduction of the national currency gave a strong boost to the development of the financial sector in Botswana. The Botswana Development Corporation provided both loan and equity finance for a variety of projects designed to create employment opportunities, utilize local materials and facilitate foreign investment. In addition, continuation of the rapid development of the mining sector strengthened the financial performance of the economy and the Government's ability to implement independent financial and monetary policies. (NDP7, 1991:232)

2.3 DEVELOPMENT PLANNING - A LONGTERM PERSPECTIVE:

The Government of Botswana has addressed development challenges through NDP7, which recognises that the establishment of policies and planning of activities, projects with long gestation periods, whose effects on development mature slowly, cannot be done in the absence of
a long term view of future needs. As many of these policies are interrelated, plans for their implementation is better coordinated if all of them are developed on the basis of a similar long term perspective.

The nation's long-term development objectives seek to improve the well-being of both internal and external stakeholders, and must be seen in the broader context of political and social welfare as embodied in Botswana's national principles (NDP7, 1991:25):

- Democracy
- Development
- Self-reliance
- Unity

Development, the primary focus of planning must be pursued in ways consistent with the remaining principals, derived from the traditional culture of Botswana. In planning national development, Government is guided by four objectives (NDP7, 1991:26) within the broader philosophy or fundamental purpose:

- Sustained Development,
- Rapid Economic Growth,
- Economic Independence, and
- Social Justice.

Successful development must involve progress toward all of these objectives and, although it may be uneven in the short run, development should become more evenly balanced when viewed in a longer time frame.

It is not uncommon for conflicts to arise among these objectives; pursuing what appears to be a rapid rate of economic growth in the short term, for example, may jeopardise the sustainability of long-term development, increase dependence on particular markets, and worsen income distribution and social justice. Consequently, careful
planning and defining of priorities is essential.

Progress towards the four objectives has thusfar been uneven; the discovery and production of diamonds has stimulated rapid growth as measured by the nation's GDP, but the reinvestment of the diamond proceeds in domestic productive activities, which translate into income-earning opportunities for those seeking work, has proceeded less rapidly. The diversification of the economy, necessary for the promotion of social justice, economic independence and sustained development has proved an issue to further explore. In the long term the stimulus for growth should come increasingly from non-mining activities in the private sector. The creation of income-earning opportunities will lead to the direct participation of more Batswana (or citizens of Botswana) in the development process, a wider sharing of benefits and greater self-reliance of households.

2.3.1 SUSTAINED DEVELOPMENT:

NDP7 appears to focus on the objective of the achievement of sustained development and states that: "As to ensure the future prosperity of Botswana the wealth derived from the exploitation of diamonds and other non-renewable minerals, should be invested in viable, productive activities which can take over from mining as leading economic growth sectors" (NDP7, 1991:24).

A sustainable development path also incorporates the maintenance and adequate care of the environment so that the various natural resources, such as wildlife, forests, land, water and livestock, can all thrive whilst being utilized in a mutually supporting way. Furthermore, sustained development will increase the country's ability to cope with whatever contingencies may arise; e.g. natural calamities such as drought, outbreaks of human and livestock epidemics, and unfavourable developments in international markets.
Sustainable growth also depends on a continuation of Botswana’s economic strategy, policies, and programmes, which have supported such growth in the past. This includes reduction of the rate of population growth, provision of employment opportunities, stringent management of external debt, to maintain sufficient foreign exchange reserves to cope with contingencies and to retain the confidence of both foreign and local investors.

Employment associated with extraction, e.g. mining, can only be sustained until the resource being exploited is physically or economically exhausted. This further underscores the critical link between diversification and long term sustainability.

Sustainable development implies the conservation of the nations natural resources for subsequent use by future generations. If however, the population was to double over the next 25 years as projected, the pressures on the nations limited supply or arable land, forests, wildlife and water will mount. Hence, policies for both rural and urban development must be framed in the context of conservation, and efforts must continue to align private economic interests more closely with the national interest in the conservation of natural resources. (Bushcall Annual, 1991:33)

Population pressures will be divided unequally between urban and rural areas. The sectors that are expected to grow most rapidly are industry and services, and most of that growth will take place in urban centres or urban settlements which will spring up around such development activities. Industrialization will create a demand for labour and, given limited opportunities in the rural areas, workers and their families will flow into the urban areas seeking work. Given an annual population growth rate in urban areas of 4.4% and 1.2% in rural areas, by 2016 the urban population is expected to total 1.7 million compared to 1 million people in rural areas (NDP7, 1991:26). While pressure on land and water in the rural areas will not grow as rapidly as the
national growth rate might suggest, the need to create more income-earning opportunities in these areas and to redirect rural development towards a more drought-resistant pattern, remains a major challenge.

2.3.2 RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH:

Rapid economic growth in the past has been fuelled largely by the development of the mineral sector, diamond exports and the reinvestment of those revenues in the diversification of the economy. It is unlikely that diamond mining will be an equally strong source of growth in the future. To have the same relative impact on the rate of growth now as the earlier diamond discoveries had then, a new diamond discovery would need to yield nearly five times the revenue generated by the earlier one. While the Government will ensure that existing mines produce at optimum levels and will continue to encourage further exploration and development, the impact of diamond mining on the growth of the economy is likely to be less in the future than it has been in the past. Hence, for GDP to grow more rapidly than in the mining sector, other sectors of the economy must grow at even higher rates.

Comparing GDP figures for Botswana with similar figures for other countries is misleading because asset sales, mainly diamonds, are a much larger proportion of GDP in Botswana than in most other countries. Unfortunately it is the GDP per capita measure that is employed by numerous international agencies to determine eligibility for loans and grants.

There is growing international dissatisfaction with the GDP measure of output and a number of international initiatives are being considered by the UN and others to take into account such things as asset sales, depreciation, environmental degradation and the related cost of preventions and correction, and social indicators of the quality of life. (University of Botswana Economic Digest, 1992:11). But the measure of future economic growth is considerably
less important than the actions likely to be required to bring it about. The principal long term issue is how to continue to transform the nation's mineral wealth into productive domestic capital formation. The need for this transformation is pressing and can be accomplished by the following means (NDP7, 1991:63):

- Direct investment by Government in physical and social infrastructure, and human resources;
- Loan and equity investments of Government in the private sector and in parastatals; and
- Credit for productive activities extended by the banking and financial system.

Principal assumptions made about sectoral growth rates for the long term scenario reflect realistic appraisals of future prospects for agriculture, mining and Government, namely relatively low growth of agriculture and mining, average growth for Government and higher growth for the industrial and services sector.

2.3.3 ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE:

The continuing dependence in foreign trade reflects the small size of the domestic market, the limited resource base of the country, the need to focus production of those goods and services in which a comparative advantage exists or can be developed, and the related need to acquire from abroad the goods demanded by domestic consumers and investors that cannot be produced sufficiently locally. Economic independence for Botswana should take forms other than a reduction in international trade.

The objective of economic independence means a reduction in the vulnerability of the economy to unfavourable external events. The principal means of achieving this objective are (NDP7, 1991:74):
• Reducing the risk that any single product or market will collapse; and
• diversifying production and markets so that the relative impact of any single product or market failure on the domestic economy is reduced.

Botswana is a country with high transport costs to countries other than its immediate neighbours. Trade and the exchange of labour with those neighbours will continue to be major features of economic development in Botswana. It is therefore in the interest of, not only Botswana, but also its neighbours, to diversify its external markets and to work towards reducing the risk of disruptions in regional trade and movement of labour.

Diversification may take many forms. It means diversifying the nation's exports, its import and export markets, the means of transport and communication, the technologies used in production, the use of domestic inputs, its sources of foreign investment, and the skill composition of the labour force. Diversification may intensify regional and international involvement, but at the same time reduce Botswana's vulnerability to policy decisions taken by any single trading partner.

Over the longer term diversification should be carried much further. The prospective slower growth of diamond production and exports makes it necessary for other exports to grow more rapidly if the balance of trade is to remain favourable and GDP is to grow at over twice the rate of diamond value added (The Observer, 1992:9). Given the fragility of Botswana's soils and rangelands and unreliable rainfall, exceptional growth cannot be expected in either arable agriculture or livestock production. Other sectors, like tourism, must move to the forefront of development. Technologies must be adapted to the production of a wider range of agricultural and industrial products; the comparative advantages so developed must be utilized; and a greater variety of goods and services should be sold in diversified export markets.
Over the next 25 years the composition of the nation's output is bound to undergo certain significant changes; the share of agriculture should be roughly a third of what it is today and that of mining about half of its current share. The growth in GDP will be maintained largely because of industrial growth, which should be sufficient enough to double its share by the end of the period. Thus, the projected diversification will alter the structure of the economy considerably.

2.3.4 SOCIAL JUSTICE:

Intrinsic in the concept of social justice are a democratic way of life, the protection of human rights, provision for basic needs, and equal access to economic opportunities. The ultimate aim of economic development should therefore be to improve the quality of life for all Batswana. The pursuit of social justice also require that every group and region in the country enjoys a fair share of the nation's wealth and income. Government seeks to improve the distribution of income through creating income earning opportunities, encouraging improved productivity, developing entrepreneurial talents and initiative, providing education and training facilities, and by encouraging competitions and limiting monopoly elements.

Social justice lies at the heart of the process of development and spreads the benefits of development as widely as possible while at the same time compensating for some observed inequities. In the longer term this objective is important in ensuring peace, tranquillity and the political and economical stability needed to attain all of the other development objectives.

2.4 SUMMARY:

Botswana is a small market, any viable long-term development
strategy must be outward looking emphasising, among other things, promotion of exports and the tourism sector.

The key to successful and sustained development in Botswana lies in increased diversification, which can be achieved through creating interdependencies amongst the various economic sectors and strengthening existing linkages. Diversification has to be understood in the broad sense of utilising more productive technologies, widening the product base, expanding markets for both Botswana’s exports and imports, and extending the utilization of local inputs. (Ref: 1.8, no 2:12)

President Masisi describes this process as follows: "Our policy now is to manage the transition from an economy which is mineral led, to one who’s growth is led by other sectors, notably manufacturing, agriculture and others with the potential for development which we have not hitherto given much attention and encouragement, sectors such as tourism" (The Observer, 1991:8). Commerce and Industry Minister Mouplakgola Nwako refers to tourism as one area he feels particularly confident about; partly because of a steady improvement in transportation and tourist accommodation facilities, partly because the richness of Botswana’s wildlife resources is just beginning to gain international recognition. (The Observer, 1991)

The potential of the industry is growing at a rapid rate (Ref: 8.1, no 3:13), so much so that it is now regarded by many as a possible generator of significant economic activity in many parts of the country. In terms of government policies and priorities, the tourism industry has not been given due prominence in the past; clearly Batswana are not likely to benefit from realization of the potential, unless a framework of policy exists.

The realization that tourism in Botswana has the potential to contribute substantially not only to diversification but also to the economic welfare of particularly those living in rural
and remote areas, gave rise to the draft paper Tourism Policy in Botswana (1989) called for under the National Development Policy no 6 and more recently the Government Paper no. 2 (1990) formulating the first official Tourism Policy for Botswana.

To a large extent, the potential economic benefits of tourism to Botswana have in the past been notably misappreciated and are far from being realised.
TOURISM - A STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT OPTION:

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CHAPTER THREE:

TOURISM

3.1 INTRODUCTION - TOURISM, A BROAD PERSPECTIVE:

Several trends have emerged in the Tourism sector over the last few years. Growth in international travel has accelerated, with some African countries achieving the status of interesting destinations, particularly for high income tourists. At the same time Tourism in Botswana has benefited from public investment in transportation and communications, and private investment in high quality tourist accommodation.

According to the World Tourism Organization SADCC's tourism trade grew by 64% in just five years, in global terms however, the region's share of trade is insignificant. Of the total global tourism trade Southern Africa's current market share represents only a fraction, but shows high growth potential. These 'question mark' businesses have considerable appeal as their high growth rate represents debatable profit potential because of low market share (Pearce & Robinson, 1988:284). To gain enough market share to become a market leader, money should be taken from more mature industries, such as diamonds and beef which move along the decline stage of their lifecycle, and spent on the 'question mark' tourism industry.

In 1990 SADCC countries earned US$270 million from Tourism, an increase of US$45 million over the previous year. But, although these figures prove that Tourism is a growing industry in the region, they again emphasize how little of the total market SADCC is capturing at present. The Tourism
coordinating sector of SADCC estimate that the industry could increase earnings by US$400 million a year if member states rehabilitated their infrastructure and marketed themselves effectively. (Southern African Economist, 1992:36)

The current marketing strategy whereby SADCC countries market themselves individually has resulted in their failure to attract large numbers of tourists. As individual countries they do not have the resources to market themselves globally and what they offer individually in the way of tourist attractions is not enough to lure tourists from afar, especially when the long distances and high airfares are taken into consideration.

If however SADCC were to market itself as a region (Ref: 1.8, no.9:13) it could be able to offer a most attractive diversified package: the sunny climates and sandy beaches of Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and Tanzania; the exotic cultures and unparalleled abundance of wildlife of Botswana, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Zambia; the spectacular Victoria Falls of Zimbabwe and Zambia, Mount Kilimanjaro of Tanzania; the mountain scenery of Lesotho; the beautiful Lake Malawi and the colourful traditional villages of Swaziland. SADCC's Tourism sector has realised the need to market the region as a package and has completed extensive market research in Northern America as well as feasibility studies on the establishment of a joint Tourism Information Centre.

Marketing apart, SADCC countries need to plan their Tourism industries in a more systematic way. The potential economic benefits of a regional perspective in the planning and management of tourism activities (Ref: 1.8, no.9:13) therefore justifies that tourism development strategies and policies should be drawn-up on a national and regional basis incorporating both national and regional concerns.

It should be recognised that, in the development of the tourism industry in Botswana, much can be learnt from countries like Kenya and Zimbabwe which have long since
established tourism as a major economic growth factor and foreign exchange generator. According to Mr. David Chapman, chairman of the Zimbabwe Tourism Council uncoordinated development could be harmful to the industry; "In developing Tourism, countries in the region should never forget that our Tourism industry is eco-based and any development which is not sensitive to the environment will be suicidal" (Ref: 1.8, no.8:13). He added that poor planning has resulted in a tendency to overdevelop some tourist resorts in order to capitalize on earnings. (Southern African Economist, 1992: 35).

Tourism worldwide has a potential self-destruct mechanism, most developing countries are aware of it and guard against going that particular road. New developments should be carefully scrutinized and overdevelopment discouraged as to prevent unrepairable harm; sustainable development becomes exceedingly important especially where Tourism is inextricably linked with the ecology.

When evaluated in terms of business strength and industry attractiveness factors, both the Botswana and Southern African regional tourist market display substantial potential. Although, in the case of Botswana, certain business strength factors like market share, competitive position and customer and market knowledge are not as yet sufficient, other factors including profit margin and competitive ability rate as strengths in the existing tourism industry. Market growth, industry profitability, economies of scale, technology and social/environmental/human factors all enhance the current attractiveness of the Botswana tourism industry. The recent inclusion of tourism as a growth sector in the industry portfolio of the Government of Botswana (NDP7, 1991) reflects the awareness of policy-and decisionmakers of the strategic value of the tourism industry.
3.2 THE NATURE OF THE TOURISM INDUSTRY:

Like other industries, Tourism can be described and analyzed in strictly economic terms: it transforms inputs of local and imported resources into service outputs and thereby potentially generates incomes and employment for residents. The greater the actual contribution made by the Tourism industry to the creation of domestic incomes and employment and to public revenues, the better the material well-being of the country and its people. Other factors remaining constant, the higher the rate of growth of Botswana's Tourism industry the greater the diversification of the economy and the smaller its vulnerability to changing economic conditions elsewhere.

3.2.1 THE PRESENT STATUS OF TOURISM IN BOTSWANA:

Botswana has a resource base that is unparalleled, particularly with respect to the abundance and variety of its wildlife and scenic beauty. Over 17% of its area has been dedicated to national parks and reserves and in addition generous provision has been made for so-called 'buffer zones' or wildlife management areas. Aside from the massive contribution made through the designations of vast areas of Botswana as National Parks and Game Reserves, the involvement of Government in the Tourism industry has been minimal. Government's investments in airports, landing strips, roads and similar infrastructure created primarily to serve the Tourism industry has been modest. To a large extent what is available to the tourist is what the unregulated private sector supplies. (Government Paper No.2, 1990.)

The geographical distribution of employment in the Tourism industry is in keeping with objectives of the Government pertaining to rural and remote areas. Nearly 70% of employees are located 'up-country' and nearly 40% of all jobs in the north can be contributed to tourism.
Botswana's Tourism is focused on wildlife. Indeed, one of the most important forms of wildlife utilization is game viewing tourism. This is based around lodges and a number of camps and mobile safari operations. Many of these camps and lodges are located in the north and west of Botswana, in the Okavango swamps and Chobe area.

Safari hunting tourism is undertaken by several operators. Concessions are delineated on the basis of controlled hunting boundaries, and are situated mostly on tribal land.

Domestically produced goods and services purchased by tourists including accommodation, food and beverages, transportation and 'extras', have been a relatively small but certainly not an insignificant component of the national economy. Estimates of the Bank of Botswana suggest that, in 1991, Tourism may have accounted for some 3.4% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), or approximately P 125 million (The Observer, 1991:42). This compares favourably with the share of GDP attributed to agriculture (3.6%) and manufacturing (4.2%) (Statistical Bulletin, 1991:6).

One of the major issues that Botswana's Tourism policy must address is to shift the mix of tourists away from those who are casual campers towards those who occupy permanent accommodation. Encouraging the latter while discouraging the former through targeted marketing and the imposition of higher fees for the use of public facilities would alleviate pressure on the environment and increase revenue earned.

3.2.2. THE SYNERGISTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOURISM, ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS AND CONSERVATION:

Hancock (1990:3) refers to the existence of a definite synergistic relationship between conservation, environmental factors and tourism (Ref: 1.8, no.8:13). These factors, acting in concert, are self-enhancing, each interacting with the other in a positive way in small reserves. Synergy thus
defined as a situation where the combined effect of various factors exceed the sum of their individual effects.

During recent years it has become clear that a new framework of Tourism policy is required. The 'mix' of tourists coming to the country was heavily weighted in favour of those who came by road, bringing with them their own camping equipment, their own food and other supplies. The benefits to the country from this forms of Tourism were limited, despite the relatively high environmental impact thereof.

The fees charged to enter National Parks and Game Reserves and for the use of their facilities were too low even to meet the operating costs of the Wildlife Service. Rents charged to tourist operators for land concessions in some of the most interesting and attractive areas of Africa were also uneconomical. In addition, it proved difficult to prevent tourism operators evading company taxes and the rules governing foreign exchange. These, and other financially related problems, were compounded by the failure of some tourist operators to provide Batswana with adequate opportunities to participate in the industry as investors, managers and employees (Ref: 1.8, no.11:13).

Accordingly, Government undertook a major project to review the Tourism sector and following wide consultation, a Tourism Policy was approved by Parliament in 1990.

3.3 TOURISM POLICY

The objective of Tourism policy is to obtain from the Tourism resources of the country, on a sustainable basis, the greatest possible net social and economic benefits for Batswana. Among the secondary objectives, three stand out (Government Paper No.2, 1990):

- To shift the mix of tourists away from those who are casual campers towards those who occupy permanent
accommodation (Ref: 1.8, no.10:14);

- To increase substantially the financial returns from Tourism to the people of Botswana, especially those living in the local communities where wildlife abide (Ref: 1.8, no.11:14); and
- to ensure that tourist activity is carried out in an ecologically sustainable way (Ref: 1.8, no.8:13).

The Tourism Policy (1990) further addressed the following specific issues:

1.) Regulation of the Industry:

Although Tourism activities are largely privately managed, Government encourages activities that clearly benefit both the nation and the local communities. Under the provision for a new 'Tourism Act', operators will be expected to meet a number of standards designed to ensure among other things:

- That they are well qualified and equipped and have adequate financial resources, given the nature of their activities;
- That they are in a position to provide a quality of accommodation and service that meets a known standard at a known price;
- That they provide Batswana with opportunities for investment and employment in jobs with favourable career prospects;
- That they operate as companies that are incorporated and registered in Botswana; and
- that they maintain records, including audited financial statements by auditors resident in Botswana, designed to permit the Government, if need be, to monitor their performance for adherence to the laws and regulations of Botswana.

2.) Land Concessions:

In order to encourage greater development of land leased to
tourism operators, the terms and conditions could be made more flexible. At the same time, the system should be reorganised to ensure that individual concessions are of more appropriate size and attract higher rents.

3.) Taxation:

The sales tax could be applied to the Tourism industry. Although there will be no change in corporate income tax as a result of the new Tourism policy, Government has made known that it intends to take steps to ensure that Tourism operators pay the full tax for which they are liable (Government Paper No. 2, 1990:9).

The issue of tax concessions, which is seen by many as a means of 'subsidising' activities in the Tourism industry, subject to certain criteria, has to date not been addressed. In contrast with a heavily subsidised agricultural sector, both Tourism and wildlife has to date received little corresponding assistance from Government.

4.) Localization:

The process of licensing will establish localization standards for each tourism operator. In addition, financial assistance will be made available for training tourism skills and an incentive package will be considered to facilitate the financing of tourism ventures by Batswana.

5.) Government Organization Structure:

As mentioned previously, responsibility for Tourism policy will continue to rest with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Implementation of the Tourism policy will require development of more specific action programmes and strategic objectives for DWNP, as well as the upgrading of the Tourism Unit to departmental level.

At regional level, because of stiff competition worldwide,
the SADCC countries will benefit greatly from joint marketing of their tourism products. Instead of SADCC member states competing against each other, their tourism products should be sold as a package, such that they complement each other.

6.) General:

The Tourism policy goes far to guide future developments of an industry which offers so much towards rural development. The Policy which encourages high-cost low-density Tourism (Ref: 1.8, no.10:13), carefully graded facilities, protection of the environment (Ref: 1.8, no.8:13) and participation by local communities (Ref: 1.8, no.5/no.11:13) will benefit all Batswana.

3.4 TOURISM IN BOTSWANA – THE CHALLENGE

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION:

There appears to be a large and growing market for Botswana Tourism. But, unless the mix of tourists can be substantially changed, with the proportion of tourists occupying relatively permanent accommodation increased and the proportion of tourists who are casual campers reduced, and the public revenues derived from wildlife lands utilised by tourists substantially increased, expansion to exploit that large and growing market would be inadvisable. Assuming, however, that the policies needed to effect these changes can be put in place, and can be supported by an effective promotional campaign aimed largely at high-income countries, the pay-off for Botswana within a few years should be significant. In this regard the following goals should be pursued (Government Paper No.2, 1990 & Powkes, 1985):

1.) To increase foreign exchange earnings and government revenues;
2.) To generate employment, mainly in rural areas;
3.) To raise incomes in rural areas in order to reduce urban drift;
4.) Generally to promote rural development and to stimulate the provision of other services in remote areas of the country;
5.) To improve the quality of national life by providing educational and recreational opportunities;
6.) To encourage citizen participation in Tourism; and
7.) to develop rural areas; by assisting in the improvement of infrastructure as well as the establishment of associated industries.

In addition to these objectives the roles of Government and the private sector should be defined (Ref: 1.8, no.5:13) and Tourism policy designed to ensure that tourist activity is carried out on an ecologically sustainable basis (Ref: 1.8, no.8:13). Because our environment is fragile and subject to erratic climatic conditions, action must be taken to enhance its sustainability by means of a national conservation strategy which will encourage development of natural resources on the basis of environmentally sound strategies.

An analysis of the major environmental threats and substantial internal strengths of the Botswana economy supports a diversification strategy which will not only improve profit potential but also more responsible and effective resource utilization.

In line with both Tourism policy and Conservation Strategy, the following challenges should be addressed and evaluated in terms of the future strategic impact on the Botswana and regional economic arena:

1.) Landuse planning, policies and utilization (Ref: 1.8, no.8/no.12:13);
2.) Wildlife, conservation and environmental concerns (Ref: 1.8, no.7/no.8/no.9:13);
3.) Community involvement; (Ref: 1.8, no.5/no.11:13/14);
4.) The policy of Low Impact Tourism (LIT) (Ref: 1.8 no.9/no.10:13/14);
5.) Establishing the roles of Government and Private sector (Ref: 1.8, no.4/no.5/no.6:13); and
6.) Taxation of the Tourism industry. (Ref: 1.8, no.4/no.5/no.6:13).

3.4.2 LANDUSE PLANNING, POLICIES AND UTILIZATION:

3.4.2.1 INTRODUCTION:

What is generally considered to be Southern Africa's most valuable natural resource is fast becoming a scarce commodity. Growing populations and the continual changes in its distribution has caused many countries to see their arable land shrink at an alarming rate. Who should own and control land in Southern Africa has been and will become an increasingly explosive issue.

In Botswana urban growth has resulted in the loss of arable farming land, a trend which experts warn will exacerbate as urban centres continue to spread. Gaborone, the capital, initially designed to accommodate 20,000 now has a population of over 120,000. (NDP7, 1991:74)

3.4.2.2 LANDUSE SYSTEMS AND POLICIES:

The land tenure system - whereby land in the region is divided into state, traditional, individual or title deed - has been a major drawback to agricultural development. The recent disclosure of certain 'grab for land schemes' by top officials in Botswana, as well as rapid urbanisation and pressure on agricultural land, especially for grazing, has placed the current system of land use and ownership under close scrutiny (Southern African Economist, 1992:44). The country has an unusual pattern of land settlement with many rural families having three households - one in a larger town
area, the second in the ploughing area where people move to during the agricultural season and a third being a cattle-post for families who own cattle.

Land is held under leasehold or through traditional rights. There are three main categories of land: freehold, communal land and state land. State land covers about 25% of the country, comprising national parks and game reserves, forest reserves and wildlife management areas.

Land Boards, created in 1970 to take over responsibility from the chiefs for land matters, allocate leasehold title and traditional rights in the district. Although in theory a-political, they are rarely free of political manoeuvrings, especially as the route of appeal is to the minister of local government and lands, himself a politician.

Ordinarily traditional rights are transferred by negotiation from one landholder to another. But in the case of valuable tribal land near urban areas, it can be bought with an 'under-the-table' fee (Southern African Economist, 1992:35). The new owner can then apply for a transfer from traditional rights to leasehold and is free to develop the property. Through this method, a large share of urban land has come into the hands of a few wealthy individuals and syndicates of elites. The high price of land in Gaborone, the capital, sent urban buyers scurrying into the surrounding tribal lands and villages, thereby putting increasing pressure on the land boards. When the sale of land in these areas was frozen a commission of enquiry uncovered damning evidence that a number of influential people had acquired land illegally to develop high-cost properties. (Southern African Economist, 1992)

One of the main land issues in the country is commercial ranching which is inextricably linked with cattle. Despite the saying that 'every Motswana is at heart a cattleman' about 38% of households have no cattle and cattle ownership is skewed in favour of a relatively small number owning large
herds.

The Tribal Grazing Lands Policy, introduced 15 years ago, has resulted in dual grazing, a situation where cattle owners have access to communal grazing and to leasehold ranch land. Large cattle owners graze communal land to the point of depletion and then return to farms where they have exclusive rights. This is a disadvantage to the smaller, poorer herders, and rather than easing overgrazing in communal lands, the policy has caused an increase in cattle and given to those with leasehold land more access to grazing resources.

3.4.2.3 LANDUSE PLANNING:

The Government of Botswana has laid out new policies in the six year National Development Plan No 7 (1991 - 1997), recently approved by Parliament, to correct the incongruities of its past land policies. The plan calls for the revival of the National Settlements Policy which will create a framework for the distribution of investments in a way that reflects each settlement's level of development, population size, conservation needs, economic potential, level of infrastructure, economic base and linkages to surrounding rural areas and other settlements. The first priority will be the upgrading of major villages, so that these settlements become towns by the year 2001. (NDP7, 1991:257)

The call for individual title to land has been supported by the World Bank, especially in countries that are implementing structural adjustment programmes. Not only is this a good move to boost production, but as the bank points out in its 1992 world development report, private ownership of land lessens environmental degradation: "...land is less likely to be overused if its owners have a clear legal title; people who have secure rights to the land they cultivate are more likely to take the long view in managing the soil..." (Southern African Economist, 1992:5).
3.4.2.4. LAND UTILIZATION:

Botswana is not alone in dealing with problems regarding the use of its land. White farmers in South Africa control 70% of the land; yet only 15% of farmers produce 85% of the food. Thus, 85% of farmers are unproductive (Bushcall, 1991:21). The situation in Botswana is much the same. However, whilst only six percent of South Africa's land is designated for wildlife and forestry reserves, well below the minimum 10% required by the World Conservation Strategy, in Botswana 17% of the country has been allocated to National Parks and Game Reserves and a further 21% to Wildlife Management Areas (WMA).

The global trend in agriculture is to move away from monocultures. In Southern Africa we have seen our own maize crops severely reduced by drought, flood and disease. Monocultures are high yield, but high risk crops which are highly susceptible to existing and new varieties of plant disease and pest infestations. The trend is now towards farming with as much diversity of crops as possible. Rotating crops often and combating pests biologically, using natural predators, are ways of recreating diversity - which is what nature provided in the first place before the monoculture mania was implemented. (Bushcall Annual, 1991)

It is now a matter of controversial wisdom that in the low rainfall areas of Africa, wildlife, with its ability to use the full spectrum of flora and its resistance to most diseases, offers a better way of utilizing the land than does domestic stock. Overgrazing by domestic stock promotes desertification and Southern Africa is well-supplied with living examples of man-made deserts. The rapidly increasing number of game ranches in South Africa is due at least in part to the number of cattle farms going bankrupt.
3.4.2.5 SUMMARY:

There are no easy solutions to the land question, but what is clear is the need for every country to devise sustainable land use strategies within a context of intense population pressure and resource scarcity (Ref: 1.8, no.12:14). Southern African countries must develop land policies linked to sustainable development, and which promote a healthy environment to ensure that available land is used for activities which fuel economic development.

The land issue is no longer just political; environmental, population and economic factors must come to the fore and play an important role in the development of land policies in the region. There is not enough land to go around and what governments do with what is left must be based on sound policies which balance the needs of the people, as well as the need for greater economic development, based on incentives for people to use the land productively.

John Varty, leading environmentalist relates that, on a recent chat show discussing Southern Africa in the nineties, a representative from the Pan-Africanist Congress phoned in and told Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert that the first thing whites must do is to give back the land. To this Dr. Slabbert replied: "... it is not so much who owns the land, but what we do with it" (Rhino and Elephant Foundation Journal, 1991:16). He has highlighted the critical issue.

3.4.3 WILDLIFE, CONSERVATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS:

3.4.3.1 INTRODUCTION:

Underlying potential for growth of Tourism in Botswana, are the wilderness experience and the wildlife resources of the country, considered by many to be among the best on the Africa continent.
Wildlife is the potentially most profitable and renewable resource that Botswana will ever have. Currently, wildlife-based Tourism, which is still in its infancy, represents over 3% of the GNP. This sector has thrived without donor finance and it takes place on a mere 8% of the land. By comparison 80% of Botswana's land has been utilized by cattle even though the cattle industry represents less than 3.7% of the GNP (Lomba, 1992:7). In spite of land degradation and loss of game, the country's wildlife potential in economic terms is far greater than that of cattle. Wildlife evolved here to withstand constant droughts over millions of years. Those species that could not adapt to these ecosystems have become extinct. Not surprisingly, the only places where wildlife managed to survive have been in areas inaccessible to cattle. These are the last ecologically intact wildlife strongholds (Bushcall Annual, 1991:23).

3.4.3.2 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK:

The Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry is responsible for wildlife policy formulation and administration in Botswana. The objectives of the DWNP are (National Conservation Strategy, 1990:6):

1.) To play an effective leadership and coordinating role at national level on all matters concerning wildlife and national parks;
2.) To conserve, manage and promote, and use productively the national wildlife resources and the country's protected areas, such as national parks, game reserves and sanctuaries; and
3.) to ensure the maintenance of a sustainable ecological balance in national parks, game reserves and other wildlife areas.

It is important that the value of private sector and non-government organizations' (NGO's) involvement in developing
the Tourism and wildlife industry be recognised (Ref: 1.8, no.4:13). To date Tourism in Botswana has developed largely through private sector initiatives in marketing and retailing.

The private sector is involved at almost all levels of the Tourism industry, including ownership of hotels, air charters, car rentals, tour operations and hunting safaris. Government plays a supportive role by promoting Tourism at the aggregate level i.e. advertising the attractions offered by Botswana as a whole, but recognises that marketing of specific tour packages is more appropriately handled by the Tourism sector. Government further assists the private sector through the Botswana Development Corporation (BDC), which provides equity and loans for hotel development and tourism operations in general.

In the late 1970’s, the safari companies formed the Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB) and the Botswana Professional Hunters Association (BOPHA). These associations represent Tourism operators in various national activities. In 1990, there were about 50 tour operators based in Botswana, with a few more outside the country.

NGO’s actively participate in the sector and in general aim to:

- Promote knowledge of Botswana’s wildlife resources and its environment through education and publicity;
- To encourage, and in some instances finance, research into issues affecting these resources and their conservation; and
- to promote and support policies of conservation towards wildlife and their habitats.

It is obvious that these organizations play a vital role in preserving the natural resources and in particular the wildlife of Botswana. As previously mentioned, the Tourism industry relies heavily on providing the tourist with a
unique wildlife experience. Wildlife, to the Tourism industry represents not only a crucial part of the marketing strategy, but is in fact their livelihood. Tourism industry should, in their own interest, lend support to the NGO’s in the following ways:

- By creating an awareness amongst tourists of the aims and objectives of the NGO’s, this could be achieved by ecological slide-shows, talks and presentations;
- Through assisting in promoting NGO membership subscriptions to the tourist, subscription forms could either be placed in guests’ rooms or be displayed in the reception area of the Lodge, Hotel or Camp; and
- by contributing, financially or otherwise to NGO projects, etc. The establishment of a waterhole or the sinking of a borehole would for example not only serve to achieve the goals of the NGO but could also contribute to enrich the wildlife experience for the tourist.

3.4.3.3 THE RESOURCE:

The wildlife resource of Botswana is one of the most significant in Africa. There are important populations of a wide variety of free-ranging ungulates and associated predators. Less than 150 years ago Botswana was the home of countless herds and huge varieties of wild animals. Early travellers all described magnificent trees and permanent springs; the open plains and the endless herds of animals. Within 150 years only a few remnant species remain, mostly on freehold land, and most of the large trees are no more. As human population increases and even greater pressures are brought to bear on the land, so resources will continue to disappear. (Kalahari Conservation Society, 1990)

Despite these terrible losses, there still a great diversity of trees and animals in eastern and northern Botswana. Careful land use planning and the will to rectify the
situation could, see the trees grow tall again and wild animals spread back into areas where they have not been seen for 50 years or more.

Studies in which areal count data was collected by DWNP (1990) suggest that, in certain areas, wildlife numbers have declined during the past ten years, mainly as a result of drought, indiscriminate or uncontrolled hunting practices, the constructions of cattle fences, bad planning and decision making and the lack of environmental impact assessments. In the north of the country where the most valuable wildlife populations occur, the presence of permanent water and floodplain conditions appear to have reduced the effects of the drought on animal densities.

The wildlife resource is concentrated in national parks and game reserves, which occupy some 17% of Botswana. National Parks are areas of state land in which all resources as protected, whereas game reserves are areas of state of other land in which the animal populations are protected, but not the habitat. Surrounding these are 11 designated Wildlife Management areas, where it is intended that the main form of land use will be wildlife utilisation. Although wildlife also occurs outside these areas, numbers are drastically in decline. The country is divided into 159 Controlled Hunting Areas (CHA), which are presently being replanned and which are designed to assist in management of the licensed hunting system.

The wildlife habitat of Botswana can be divided into four main regions (IUCN, 1990:18):

1.) The Makgadikgadi Pans

This is predominantly a habitat for Zebra and wildebeest which migrate from the north during the dry season. The 3900 square kilometre Makgadikgadi Pans Game Reserve is the main centre of tourist attraction. It is rather undeveloped, with few signposts and very limited facilities. It is attractive
to the do-it-yourself type of tourist. The present mining activity in the area has caused some anxiety about the future of a number of bird species such as flamingoes and pelicans. Wind-sailing along the smooth pan surface is one of the activities promoted by a local entrepreneur.

Nxai Pan (40 square kilometres) consists of extensive grasslands, plains and baobab trees.

2.) Northern Botswana

This region includes the Okavango and the Chobe ecosystems. The Chobe National Park (11000 square kilometres) dominates the region, together with the 3,000 square kilometre Moremi Game Reserve. A wide variety of habitats are found. These range from swamp, forest, dry savanna woodland to riparian woodland and mopane forest. Due to the wide diversity of habitats, a variety of animal life is found.

Perennial water sources attract migrating wildlife during the wet and dry season. The north is full of bird life and is therefore an attractive venue for bird watches. Aquatic vegetation creates a colourful environment and when at the Delta many tourists look forward to a 'mokoro' trip along the many channels between reed-choked river courses.

Northern Botswana has the country's most developed tourist facilities and subsequently the greatest amount of tourist pressure.

3.) The Central Kalahari

The Kalahari ecosystem includes the 2,500 square kilometre Kutse Game Reserve and the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (approximately 60,000 square kilometres). The latter is the largest game reserve in Botswana and has been the centre of controversy over settlement rights for some indigenous populations. Tourist facilities in this area are undeveloped.
4.) The Southern Kalahari

This area includes the Gemsbok National Park (1,000 square kilometres), which is shared with South Africa, and the Mabuasehube (1,800 square kilometres).

Other noteworthy areas include the Tuli block in eastern Botswana, the Mashatu Game Reserve (405 square kilometres) and a number of private game farms. Lastly, the Gaborone Game Reserve (5 square kilometres) located in the capital city, has recently been established as an educational and recreational centre.

3.4.3.4 STAFFING LEVELS:

At present a known shortage of staff exists to effectively patrol most of Botswana's protected areas. Compared to other African states, Botswana's staffing resources in national parks and reserves are very low. As a result activities within certain areas are mainly uncontrolled and most left to the tour operators to police. This not only leaves these areas open to environmental disturbance, but also to the risk of loss of amenity.

Whilst staffing levels of African National Parks in countries like Tanzania, Kenya and Zaire average 8.81 per 1,000 square kilometres, that of Botswana is only 0.47 per 1,000 square kilometres, and obviously inadequate to effectively perform tasks such as anti-poaching.

Further areas of concern include unsatisfactory recruitment of staff, the absence of a career path in the Departments involved, low productivity and motivation levels and the lack of training. These general problems are currently being addressed by a group of external consultants as part the Chobe National Park Management Plan project commissioned by the DWNP.
3.4.3.5 UTILIZATION:

Currently wildlife utilization in Botswana takes place within the following areas:

- Game viewing tourism;
- Safari hunting tourism;
- Subsistence and licensed hunting;
- Commercial wildlife production (game farming and ranching); and
- Secondary trade and processing of wildlife products.

Attempts have been made to quantify the contribution of wildlife utilization to the economy. Value added in the sector was estimated at P37, in 1985 (Fowkes, 1985). However, the impact on rural households is probably larger than this figure suggests, because wildlife utilization is an important part of the income of rural households, particularly those in very remote areas.

Hunting is largely based on special; game licences issued to subsistence hunters, and single game licences issued to citizens and residents for both subsistence and recreational purposes - although there is also a certain amount of illegal hunting. Hunting and gathering accounts for a significant percentage of the income of some remote area dwellers. Nomadic hunter-gatherers are permitted to hunt in some of the game parks. This has a minimal effect on the animal populations, but is important in enabling the hunter-gatherers to retain their way of life. Altogether, this results in a significant consumption of game meat, although the amounts have apparently declined since the 1970’s, largely because of reduced game stocks in much of the country. The result has been reduced quotas and reduced hunter success.

Commercial wildlife production includes harvesting, ranching and farming. Presently it includes wildlife cropping and capture of tribal and state land, and supplementary use or
production of wildlife on leased or freehold land. Secondary trade and processing of wildlife products has been long established in Botswana. It originally centred around buying and processing of trophies from licensed hunters and safari hunters, but now includes a wider range of operations, including production of leather goods and export of game meat. Botswana Game Industries, a leader in such operations, was one of the first companies to issue shares of the Botswana stock exchange.

At present, markets for wildlife products are poorly developed. Botswana had a small internal market but several important export markets exist for the wildlife sector. Markets in Western Europe and the United States are particularly important for high value products, with preferential access to the EEC market provided under the Lome Convention. However, in both Europe and America, demand for consumptive wildlife products (furs, skins, ornaments, etc.) seem to be declining. What needs to be done is to establish ways whereby this market can participate in sustainable utilization of wildlife e.g. controlled participation in cropping programmes as a form of trophy hunting. (Kalahari Conservation Society, 1990)

On a regional basis, the South African market is the largest in the immediate region but has a limited market for high-income tourism, luxury hides, skins and crafts, and a larger market for biltong and live game. In addition the SADCC region represents a potentially significant market. A major obstacle to the development of export markets for consumptive products is the existence of disease-based import restrictions.

Financial assistance for viable wildlife utilization enterprises is available in the form of grants under the Financial Assistance Policy. In addition, development loans for approved undertakings involving wildlife use are available from National Development Bank (NDB). The Botswana Development Corporations (BDC) has also assisted in some
developments involving wildlife use by providing equity in joint ventures in fields such as game farming.

3.4.3.6 CONSERVATION POLICY:

In July 1986, the Wildlife Conservation Policy, which sets out the framework for the sustainable utilization of the wildlife resource of Botswana, was approved. Its specific objectives are:

- To develop the full potential of the wildlife resource;
- To develop a commercial wildlife industry in order to create economic opportunities, jobs and incomes for the rural dwellers; and
- to increase the supply of game meat for commercial subsistence consumption, and so contribute to the nutritional requirements of households.

The Wildlife Conservation Policy provides a sound basis for the development of wildlife utilization in Botswana. The Tourism Policy, strengthens the implementation of the Wildlife Conservation Policy and in addition a National Conservation Strategy for Botswana was approved in 1990.

The Wildlife, Tourism and Environment Project, a component of the Wildlife Conservation Policy, began in 1986 and included assistance with infrastructure, equipment and technical matters. In particular an aerial monitoring programme was mounted, water was provided for wildlife within the National Parks and the Botswana Wildlife Training Institute in Maun was developed.

A study and review of wildlife utilization in Botswana (Kalahari Conservation Society, 1990) has identified a number of areas for specific promotion, including the promotion of medium to large scale enterprises in game viewing tourism, safari hunting tourism and game cropping, investigation into methods of enterprise support in the wildlife sector, and an
investigation into the contribution of the wildlife sector to the economy. Analysis of the potential for development of wildlife utilization in the WMAs has resulted in the preparation of plans for community-based wildlife utilization projects.

3.4.3.7 ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF TOURISM:

Although it is accepted that tourism activity and development has, to a large extent, a non-consumptive effect on the environment, the following issues often need to be evaluated, managed and controlled:

1.) Noise Pollution:

Noise cause disturbance to wildlife. With increased Tourism activity at the peak if the tourist season, frequent takeoff and landing of aircraft is a serious noise pollution factor. Moreover, when airborne for game viewing, the aircraft fly very low and bank frequently to give the tourists 'their money's worth'. Before landing, aircraft 'buzz' over the airstrips to check for and scare off any wildlife which could be a risk during landing. (Bushcall Annual, 1991)

2.) Degradation of Vegetation:

Camps need fuelwood for cooking, heating water, roasting meat and for bonfires. Two environmental issues arise. Firstly, the wood harvesting destroys the habitat upon which the industry depends. The aggregate effect of many caps over a long period of time will be significant.

Secondly, unlimited clearing of sites for the construction of camps bring environmental alterations. Carelessness may cause veldfires which would alter the vegetation and cause faunal changes through dispersal or death. In cases where campsites have facilities the risk of accidental fires is minimised, as compared to campsites with no facilities. It
is therefore in the interest of environmental protection to provide as many equipped campsites as possible (Mpotokwane, 1990:8).

3.) Artificial Illumination:

Artificial lights from the campsites is believed to have an impact of aquatic life. An ecological study at the Daylan Resort Project in Turkey, showed that turtles strayed off the sea at night towards the direction of the lit up area, thus being susceptible to increased predation which endangered their survival (Turnbull, 1987:9).

4.) Environmental Damage due to Vehicles:

Transportation is one obvious requirement for tourists. Combustion efficiency of vehicles, motorboat and aircraft engines is an important determinant of air pollution from hydrocarbons. Low efficiency leads to emissions of unburnt fuels into the air.

The amount of dust caused by vehicles is a function of the speed of the vehicle, the dryness of the soil and the number of wheels the vehicles have. Lack of control may lead to damage of vegetation, increase in soil susceptibility to erosion and cause loss of amenity. Vehicular traffic causes far greater damage to the flora than may be apparent. (Mpotokwane, 1990:9)

4.) Poaching:

Poaching does exist in Botswana as much as in other African countries. Due to its illicit nature, whatever documentary evidence exists only refers to known cases; this may only be the tip of the iceberg. Sheller (1990) argues that for every animal legally killed, 3 animals are poached.

Artzen and Veenendaal (1986) show that about 49 percent of the Controlled Hunting Areas are used by safari companies
whether as a concession or rented annually. They further show that recreational hunters, most of whom are tourists, prefer rare species, such as lions. To get the desired trophies they may even illegally kill conserved species. Illegal baiting of predators such as leopard occur in areas bordering on National Parks or Game Reserves, luring the animals away from safety.

Non-resident hunters have a higher success rate as opposed to resident hunters, and a bigger revenue is generated from non-resident hunting licences (Sheller, 1990). Sheller (ibid) feels that through computerisation of hunting licences the illegal killing of wildlife will be more effectively controlled. It is important to note that it is not the concept of hunting which is being questioned but rather the ethics and management thereof.

5.) Pollution:

Pollution is a growing problem in this country (Segosebe, 1990). One of the most common sources of pollution is littering. Plastics, cans, bottles, and other substances, most of which may not be biodegradable, are often discarded carelessly, often from moving vehicles. Where there is a high volume of tourists, the amount of litter to be found might be quite high.

With a number of hotels set up along the waterfronts of Botswana, ground seepage and contamination from sewerage systems could occur. Such contamination would lead to eutrophication of the water.

Lead compounds from petrol, in heavily patronised tourist areas, may accumulate in quantities large enough to be toxic to aquatic life (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Worse still, when slightly contaminated fish are eaten by man, or any other animal, they accumulate the toxic matter in their digestive system in doses which are toxic.
The effect of Tourism on the environment is, however, often more positive:

1.) Tourism provides the incentive, and hopefully the money, to conserve nature:

It places a value on wildlife which is beyond its meat value. People learn that a well-kept environment can be financially rewarding, in a sustainable way. Where the benefits accrue to the local society, the people are motivated to do their best to conserve nature.

The environmental impact of Tourism is not always easily identifiable. There are a number of factors which complicate the identification of change and degradation. The environment has some time lag before it reaches its tolerance limit. At the point where the impact is noticed one might not be aware of the cause of impact.

The seasonality of Tourism complicates the ability to discern impact easily. This is because the rest periods are intermittent and temporary recovery may seem to offset the cumulative stress on the environment (Mpotokwane, 1990:12). This is further compounded by the problem of different recovery rates and the fact that resilience often differ. This calls for a vigilant monitoring system to ensure that we do not notice the degradation and destruction when it is too late.

2.) Tourism and Wildlife Development Programmes:

It is expected that private sector investment in the Tourism and Wildlife sector could increase at about 12% per annum over the period 1991 - 1997 (NDP7, 1991:176). Whilst encouraging this rate of growth of private investment will be an important objective, a number of development programmes such as conservation education, research, promotion of utilization of wildlife, etc. will be undertaken by Government.
3.) Tourism as a form of Non-Consumptive Utilization of Wildlife:

Passive and benign non-consumptive Tourism is the only universal and socially approved 'use' to which wild animals can be put today. Yet, in many parts of the Third World especially in under-developed Africa - tourism based on game viewing in national parks is massively under-subscribed; and, as a much vaunted solution to the dark continent's wildlife conservation problems, it has patently failed to achieve desirable lasting results. (Thompson, 1992:74)

Although Tourism has not been thriving in all African game Reserves, destinations like Kenya and South Africa serve as examples of areas where wildlife based tourism is regarded as a major foreign currency earner. Botswana now stands at the start of an incredible learning curve with regards to the above and need to steer clear of many of the mistakes made by these countries. In Kenya, the ordinary rural people - who have to live with the negative aspects of large and dangerous wild animals in their neighbourhoods - normally receive no significant or tangible benefits from their country's foreign visitors.

It should no doubt be stressed that Tourism should at no time be viewed as a substitute for wildlife, animal population or general natural resource management (Thompson, 1992). Non-consumptive Tourism is not an alternative means of utilizing wildlife; the alternative, that is, to wild animal population management. Game-viewing tourism - or allowing the public to enjoy a wilderness experience - does not obviate a wildlife agency's responsibility to manage the wild animal populations that live in a national park; or to manage the habitats in which those animals live.

Wildlife conservation activities such as the restriction and abolition of poaching plays an important part in protecting the interests of the Tourism industry. Richard Leakey, the
Kenyan government minister responsible for wildlife affairs, has called his country's serious poaching problem 'economic sabotage' (Thompson, 1992:30), due to the negative effect thereof on the country's Tourism industry. In Kenya subsistence poachers who have been prevented from harvesting game in the areas where they live, often being in Game Reserves, or surrounded areas, have since turned to killing and robbing tourists. This scenario could very well repeat itself in countries like Zimbabwe and Botswana where people are experiencing the effects of a severe drought and therefore turning to poaching in an often desperate attempts to survive.

There are a number of complicated but real reasons for Africa's poaching pandemic. These are the poaching 'causes' which both First and Third World societies will have to address squarely and honestly if it really wants to do something constructive about saving Africa's wildlife. Thompson (1992:38), stresses the importance of identifying poverty as real cause of the poaching problem; "Poverty is the principal reason why the people of Africa poach". By solving the poverty problem - even if only in those small areas adjacent to the big game reserves and national parks - up to ninety percent of the poaching problem will disappear.

The Botswana Tourism industry, based in these areas can assist by not only creating employment opportunities, but also in establishing and financing community development and educational projects.

3.4.3.8 THE 'CAMPFIRE' PROJECT:

At the end of 1989 twenty six tribal communities in Zimbabwe were using several species of wild animals for the benefit of their rural people. They are doing this on a sustainable yield basis, and under a quota system which is fully controlled by the countries wildlife department. The financial flagship of this project, called CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources), is the
elephant. (Rhino and Elephant Foundation Journal, 1992)

Tribal wildlife communities if the CAMPFIRE project obtain substantial revenues from their elephants by selling some hunting rights to hunting safari companies; and by legally selling ivory and elephant hide from humanely culled animals. In rough terms, each elephant killed provides the equivalent of US$ 5,000 profit to each community – and the project provides valuable employment in remote rural areas. What is important to understand is that each overseas hunter-tourist who comes to shoot an elephant enriches the country as a whole by some US$ 26,000 in foreign currency which includes payments in respect of hotel accommodation, transport fares, hunting licences, professional hunters fees, etc.

There has been much debate on the topic of culling a portion of Botswana's elephant population, estimated by some at between 45,000 - 60,000. Perhaps this could serve as a pilot project for implementing the principles of the CAMPFIRE project in Botswana.

Furthermore, the meat from all animals killed in the tribal areas goes directly towards feeding the local people – which is a very important addition to their normally protein deficient diet. This is particularly important in tsetse fly and drought stricken areas where domestic stock can not survive.

3.4.3.9 SUMMARY:

Peer pressure is a very powerful force in African society. Once the people are assured of tangible benefits from their wildlife, for example, they impress upon the known poachers in their communities that it is not right that they should steal their own people’s wild animals for personal gain.

Ron Thompson refers to this concept as follows: "There is probably no conceivably better way of transferring money from
rich people in the First World, and to place it directly into the pockets of poor people in the Third World, than to involve the rural people in these underdeveloped countries in the controlled legal harvesting of their valuable wild products of the land" (1992:46).

Thompson (1992:46) adds that this is also a legitimate way of earning critically important foreign currency for the governments of these countries, without the need for expensive financial foreign aid, to develop money generating projects such as the Tourism industry. Even if the governments do not benefit from all the profits from such wildlife utilization programmes, they will gain all the foreign currency that enters the country through tourism and related industries.

In Botswana the general perception about wildlife is slowly changing; it is being recognised as an important indigenous export commodity.

If profitable, legal, and sustainable wildlife management strategies can be employed to take advantage of the many opportunities inherent in the sometimes incredible commercial values of wild animals they would immediately become a permanent part of the life support systems of the people who benefit there from. This principle should apply wherever harvestable wildlife resources exist, in First and Third World countries; and irrespective of the standards of living of the people involved.

Even wealthy farmers, perhaps especially so as they are imbued with the entrepreneurial spirit, would look after their wildlife better if by doing so they could improve their bank balances.

This syndrome becomes a much more vital imperative, of course, when the people involved are very low down on the hierarchical needs scale. Nevertheless, what is abundantly clear is that whosoever is allowed to personally benefit from
the harvest of valuable wild animal resources, those people will become the principal protectors of those particular resources.

Thompson refers to this trail of thought as "... the reality of human nature" (1992:46) and "...if society truly wants to do what is right for wildlife, therefore, intelligent and responsible people need to think the commercial alternative through very carefully" (1992:83).

It thus becomes more and more obvious that the alternative to commercializing wildlife will eventually mean the extinction of species or the conversion of pristine wildlife habitats into croplands or grazing lands for domestic animals. This will no doubt have a devastating effect on the future of Tourism in Botswana.

3.4.4 COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT:

3.4.4.1 INTRODUCTION:

Surrounding the parks of Southern Africa and locked into the same ecosystems are fast-expanding Third World populations often 'aggressive' towards the park lands as they gaze across at affluent tourists, green grass, firewood and food which has long since disappeared in areas immediately outside these parks. It is therefore inevitable that planning within the boundaries of these parks and wildlife management areas be done in consideration of and deliberation with the communities and situations outside the parks. Parks or reserves surrounded by a devastated wasteland of donga erosion, desertification due to overgrazing, silted rivers, unemployed or impoverished people, and poor living conditions, represent a scenario not conducive to longterm survival of any area. (Bushcall Annual, 1991)

It has been recognised that tourism has an important role to play in rural communities, who can indeed benefit more
directly if tourism is developed in an appropriate manner.

Tourism is one of the many Government policies which are being implemented to achieve development and to improve the livelihood of Batswana. Batswana are primarily an agricultural people; they depend mainly on livestock and arable agriculture. In the competition for land, one wins over another if it can justify itself as economically viable and beneficial to the people. As the mainstay of Batswana's life, agriculture has won an indisputable place in the hearts of Batswana. Hence it is always the number one priority in the developmental objectives of any district.

Tourism on the other hand is a new policy that us not understood by most Batswana. It is also seen as a domain for expatriates, and its benefits are not understood by many Batswana (Machacha, 1990:2). For Communities that are in tourist areas, tourism denotes to them:

1.) Wildlife Utilization:

Wildlife has been singled out as the most important tourist attraction. The tourists come to see, photograph or hunt wildlife, local people benefit in a number of ways. They can act as guides, act as co-hunters, skinners and cooks, and get meat readily with which to supplement their diet.

The presence of wildlife in their communities allows them to easily exploit it during hunting seasons, as spill-overs from parks ensure easy access to animals. Safari companies provide a service to the communities as they can sell their licences to them or hire them to shoot for them.

2.) Crafts Selling:

Most communities which have tourists passing through their
villages have ready markets for local crafts like basketry, carving and other handwork. The tourist would purchase these items at high prices and so-doing bring income to these communities.

For tourism to gain a place in the development programmes of the Government, districts or communities, it has to succeed as a viable development strategy. For communities to accept tourism, they must get direct benefit from it; they have to participate in it; they have to run their own community tourist-related projects.

At present few Batswana have the right/entrepreneurship to run successful tourist operations and need to be trained before they can run their own companies. It should however be noted that as long as Batswana cannot enter this industry its economic potential to them will not be realised. At present the net economic benefits of tourism to the local community are very much potential rather than actual.

3.4.4.2 INTERACTION BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY, GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR:

Private sector provides employment for a significant number of people in these communities in lodges, camps, hotels, mobile operations and related industries. The tourism policy states that tourism is the second largest employer in the country, following agriculture (Government Paper No.2, 1990:54).

What should however be noted is the need for government to decentralize control and delegate authority over its natural and wildlife resources. Community development and projects of this nature will only be successful if the community
involved is allowed to manage their resources without any direct government interference. For those who would doubt the rational and economic decision making ability of these people, one could suggest the establishment of a broad and acceptable legal framework within which all such activity should take place. The decision of whether a certain area will be utilized as a hunting area or photographic safari and game-viewing area should lie with the local community and landowners. The decision to allow hunting of a lion or marketing the photographic value thereof should be made by the community. It should be their decision whether to accept a 'once-off' payment in the case of trophy hunting or whether to, over a period of time accumulate funds from game viewing activities.

It should thus be their decision whether to protect their animals against poaching or whether to allow it. Only then, when these people are determining their own future and own destiny will they develop the need to conserve, because through doing so the resources which they control will become their livelihood. Without given the incentive to do so, there is very little chance of changing the age-old the perception of wildlife of the Botswana people.

3.4.4.3 COMMUNITY PROPOSED OPTIONS:

Although some view the development of community proposed options as a boon to Botswana's tourist industry, others question the wisdom of placing so much emphasis on containing development in these, often remote, locations. Presented below are some broad options for natural resource use which were identified by the communities involved, during a recent survey; mention is also made of the constraints that may be encountered in each instance:
1.) Village Tourism:

The Construction of a Village Guest House is a feasible option and one that encourages further debate under a policy of Low Impact Tourism. Construction of the Guest House, using local labour and material, in keeping with the style and structure of local housing could be undertaken by villages in existing tourism destinations.

Such a facility would be of interest to tourists who may wish to experience village life and local culture, it would improve the marketing potential of local craft work and may encourage villagers to cultivate vegetable produce for sale to overnight guests.

The problems foreseen include the lack of marketing and management experience as well as the fact that the breakeven period my extend over up to two tourism seasons. In this regard private sector involvement, through existing tour companies, should be encouraged in view of joint venture or management options.

2.) Community Hunting:

Communities could, through the DWNP acquire a greater proportion of the annual hunting quota. A game harvesting projected could be incorporated in a scheme whereby a proportion of the village hunting quota is ‘sold’ to tourist hunters. This would also assist in establishing a market for the sale of animal products.

Depending on the size and complexity of such a scheme it is advisable that existing hunting operations be consulted for management expertise.
3.) Fish farming:

Communities have suggested the construction of fishponds to provide fish for local consumption and to offer for sale to visitors. Although this suggestion has merit, it is not workable under the current situation as many areas do not hold permanent water and livestock would be watering at the ponds. Problems with regard to the maintenance and management of these ponds would also need to be addressed.

A number of potential project options which could be of benefit to these local communities, by providing income and employment, is suggested in the Concluding chapter of this study. Many of these options will also provide indirect benefits to the community through increased commercial activity, and the development of subsidiary industries usually associated with tourism.

3.4.4.4 SUMMARY:

It is evident that local communities have little knowledge of Government processes, grants or assistance that would enable them to structure projects. An essential component in the design and implementation of community development programmes is increased involvement by private sector and NGO's. These organizations need to work with communities and local authorities, to facilitate planning and the decision-making processes of local institutions, as they select the best option for development, assess potential impacts on community members, and address issues of distribution benefits.

It is expected that the capacity and capability of the local institutions for self-determination and management could be expanded, and strengthened, through involvement in the design
and implementation of community based natural resource utilization projects. The Policy of Low Impact Tourism lends itself to such activity as is explained at length in the following section.

3.4.5 THE POLICY OF LOW IMPACT TOURISM:

3.4.5.1 DEFINING LOW IMPACT TOURISM:

The concept of Low Impact Tourism (LIT), relatively new to the developing community, refers to an in-country tourism policy and infrastructure that intrinsically and legally finance natural resource management coupled with village economic development through the private tourism sector. Malcolm and Lydia Lillywhite (1990:5) defines the concept as follows: "LIT is supply driven in contrast with eco-tourism which is a variety of traditional tourism and seen as demand driven". Supply driven tourism is concerned explicitly with the social impact, economic development and natural resource management of the supplier country and destination sites.

LIT puts control and regulation of tourism development in the hands of the destination country, not the demand side travel agents and tour operators. To accomplish this, it requires full commitment of the local suppliers, and an infrastructure for the equitable distribution of revenues and profits to investors, tour operators, governments and villagers or rural area dwellers. LIT infrastructures are ethnic (lodges or camps), safe and modest (low impact on both society and the environment) and LIT is a process that is capable of generating income to pay for these infrastructures as well as for management of protected areas and parks by local people.

The potential increased foreign exchange currency income and reduced recurrent costs for village development from LIT also
provides leverage for tourism policy reforms that are an essential prerequisite for the establishment of LIT programmes and for indigenous and government natural resource management cooperation. (Lillywhite & Lillywhite, 1990)

Establishing LIT infrastructure is a very subtle process. Subtle processes are, in general better implemented by indigenous or international Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) or Non Government Organizations (NGOs) with assistance from development agencies. To establish LIT, PVO and NGOs should work hand in hand with the private tourism sector. It is important that LIT should not degrade the cultures they are involved with and that mechanisms for minimising the risk or this be introduced.

3.4.5.2 TOURIST PROFILE:

Fowkes (1985:34) distinguishes between three types of tourists who visit Botswana, on the basis of by the price they choose to pay for their holiday. The first type is the person who chooses to stay at a permanent camp. The client is flown into either Maun or Kasane and transported directly to the camp. This type of tourist has been termed the high cost client by the industry, meaning a high price is usually paid for the package in advance, and they are generally confined to camps owned by the company from which they bought their package.

The second type of tourist is the mobile safari tourist. This type of safari is generally less costly than a permanent camp, however, in several cases it is comparable. The tourist is flown into Maun or Kasane and departs from there on a specialised trip into the 'bush' of Botswana.

This third type of tourist is the independent traveller,
defined as a tourist 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. The distinguishing feature is that they usually do not pay a 'packaged price' before entering Botswana, and they generally use public facilities (park campsites) run by the DWNP, thought some use privately owned campsites. This type of tourist has been termed the 'low cost' tourist, because of the assumed low expenditures.

The majority of travellers to Botswana are from continental Europe (28% excluding the U.K.), the United States (21%) and the Republic of South Africa (20%) (Botswana Central Statistics Office, Statistical Bulletin, 1991:72).

Estimates of tourist numbers distinguishing between permanent, camp or mobile safari (high cost) visitors and independent (low cost) tourists are lacking. Snowy Mountains Engineering Corporation (1989) estimated that tourists occupying permanent campsites (PC) totalled 47,000 bed nights in 1988. These estimates were for the Okavango Delta (Ngamiland) region only; however it was assumed that the proportions for the whole of Northern Botswana were the same. Independent tourists (IT) were estimated at 32,000 bednights in 1988 with a ratio of 1.47 (PC) to 1.0 (IT) (Snowy Mountain Engineering Corporation, 1989). The same ratio for PC/IT could be applied to the estimated 64,000 future tourists.

Occupations of the tourists varied. 26% were professionals (doctor, teacher, lawyer), 23% executives, managers or public officials, and 21% retired of self-employed. The average annual income was $47,377 for 79% of the respondents. Most of the tourists had been on non-guided tours.

Safari companies' reported revenue was approximately P35,022,240 (Botswana Central Statistics Office, Tourist
Statistics, 1989:63). An unknown percentage of this revenue is not spent directly in Botswana; however, the revenue that is likely to stay in the country includes payments for government fees, taxes, park fees, rent and labour.

Businesses associated with tourism received a total revenue of P46,542,432 in 1989. As before, an unknown percentage of this is spent outside Botswana, however expenses such as government fees and taxes, rent and labour are spent directly in the region. All three groups (tourists, safari companies and associated businesses) paid a total of P8,571,744 to the Government of Botswana in fees, Taxes and park fees in 1989. (Botswana Central Statistics Office, Tourist Statistics, 1989:65)

Park permit data (Botswana Central Statistics Office, Tourist Statistics, 1989:66) showed that the Government of Botswana received P718,777 from two national parks in the northern region for eleven months in 1989. This was a considerable increase from the 1987 estimate of P266,857 (Hill, 1989). This increase was due solely to the July 1, 1989 increase in park entry fees, because the number of visitors in 1987 (29,972) was greater than the number of visitors in 1989 (23,158). This represents an expenditure per person of P31-04 in 1989 as opposed to only P8-90 in 1987, an increase of almost 250%.

3.4.5.5 PROJECTIONS FOR BOTSWANA:

Fowkes (1985; 1990) made the following projections with regards the increase of tourism and travel to Botswana. He assumed Africa as a destination to capture an additional one percent of each of the major world markets in 1992: the United States, England, West Germany and Japan. This means an additional 35,000 U.S. travellers, 47,000 English, 112,000
West Germans and 59,000 Japanese, for a total of 253,000 new travellers.

The Japanese travel growth rate to Africa is expected to be eleven percent per year through the end of the century. The majority United States clients would participate in packaged tours, which accounts for 94,000 packaged tours from these two markets in 1992. Approximately 55 percent of English travel and 30 percent of German travel is packaged tours. This would make a total of 153,450 packaged tours at US $4,000 - $5,000 each for the in-country portion of the package. The assumption is that each tourist would spend 15 days in-country at a cost of $250 per day and would spend $350 on optional expenses excluding air travel expenses. The balance of the tour sale price is retained by the retail agency. This would increase travel industry revenues in Africa by $537 million. Botswana, with appropriate marketing, could conservatively capture 14 percent of this projected travel increase to Africa. (Fowkes, 1990)

At present a small number of retail travel agencies in Botswana provide a limited travel portfolio, consisting mainly of packaged travel within Botswana. It should be noted that, through extending their services to include the marketing of Botswana-based tourism on a regional basis, not only would they attract a greater volume of business, but valuable foreign exchange income which at present remains with the retail agents in the country where the reservation is made (in the form of travel agents commission), would be earned by the host country, Botswana. Since tourism receipts are prepaid in countries of origin, the Botswana government and the private sector must restructure its tour pricing policy, payment method and redistribution of tourism revenues through clearly enforceable regulations, principles and internal business agreements.
Because of Botswana’s strong reputation as a stable African country and because of its wilderness and wildlife resource, it is projected to be the second major wildlife viewing destination with American adventure tour companies, following Kenya. Botswana is also well positioned to capture a portion of the Kenyan tourist market (approximately 850,000 in 1989), should a decline occur (Lillywhite & Lillywhite, 1990:13).

Domestic Technology International (DTI) (1990) has assumed that 25% of the projected packaged tours spend one half of their time in Botswana and one half in neighbouring countries. This would result in an additional tourism income of $67 million for Botswana from LIT in 1992. These projections show that an additional 253,000 ‘high end’ tourists would be travelling in Africa and about 36,000 travellers with a FEC value of $145 million could be captured by the Botswana market in 1994.

The critical question which arises is whether the infrastructure of Botswana could support 75,000 high end tourists by 1995.

3.4.5.3 GOALS, CHARACTERISTICS AND PROJECTED BENEFITS:

In 1990 an United Stated Agency for International Development (USAID) project was contracted to Domestic Technology International Inc. and undertook by Malcolm and Lydia Lillywhite; the objective being to establish the feasibility of LIT in Botswana. Preliminary information published in 1990 revealed the following goals, characteristics and projected benefits of LIT (Lillywhite & Lillywhite, 1990):

1.) Goals:

- To stimulate the rural economy of tourist destination
sites;
- To improve village living standards in tour destination areas;
- To increase foreign exchange currency;
- To return profit to investors, host county businesses and villages;
- To fund parks development and management and foster indigenous natural resource management of protected and unprotected areas;
- To establish, coordinate and mutually support conservation and tourism policy; and
- to promote cross-cultural understanding through marketing in the tourism trade.

2.) Characteristics:

- It is locally managed;
- It integrates development and conservation;
- It provides a quality travel product and tourist experience;
- It is dependent on natural and cultural resources;
- It values culture; and
- it has a training emphasis.

3.) Projected Benefits:

- The supply side nature of LIT means that the impact on the local natural resource base is more easily controlled than is the case with demand side tourism. The dangers of overload and of cultural submersion and tourists exceeding biological carrying capacities may thus be minimised.

- Private investment and tourism revenues pay for the needed infrastructure as well as for the development and training costs. The infrastructures of LIT are in
general 'appropriate' rather than luxurious. Investors' profits are dependent of villages being properly prepared to supply the quality tourist product they market. Therefore international and local travel companies have a vested interest in sustaining village improvements and indigenous natural resource management.

- LIT can generate income while not diminishing, degrading or destroying the natural or cultural resource base. LIT can foster and finance protection of watersheds and bio-diversity of natural forests and increase human and agricultural productivity.

- Through economic incentives, LIT provides the potential of indigenous management of unprotected natural resource areas that would otherwise be endangered.

- LIT is capable of putting hard currency value on natural resources which may be valuable data in political and economic negotiations, in determining the nature and extent of environmental degradation and establishing natural resource management, land tenure and tourism policies.

- Villagers can obtain equity in a travel or safaris corporation using their own natural and cultural resource base without cash investments rather than being paid a pittance for the use of these resources. This process is conducive to indigenous and sustained conservation management.

3.4.5.4 DEMAND MARKET ANALYSIS:

Africa has been the destination for a very small percentage of the global tourism demand market. Its market share ranges
from 2 percent of long haul traffic to being included in the 1 to 4 percent of 'other destinations' category of international rankings. However, African tourism has begun to and will continue to increase for the next five to ten years without any major marketing effort for two reasons (Southern African Economist, 1992:35):

- The rapid growing world-wide consciousness of diminishing wildlife and traditional cultures has whet the appetites of many who desire to see the 'last tiger', or the 'last authentic mud hut' and has raised the interests of those concerned about the global environment. Since Africa is a major resource for this interest, world-wide concerns for environmental conditions give travel to Africa a great deal of free advertising, which could be utilized to the advantage of Botswana be means of low impact tourism policy.

- The number of long haul tourists from major demand markets is increasing very rapidly, particularly in countries which are thriving economically - the Far East, Asia and the European common market countries. In a number of these countries, governments are encouraging travel as a way of balancing international trade that has gone too far in their favour and which is having negative worldwide impact. In Japan, for example, the government is currently instituting programmes in an attempt to increase the money spent on tourism imports by 25% in the next few years to a total of 19 billion US dollars by 1995. In West Germany, economic well-being resulted in a doubling of the percentage of long-haul tourism between 1986 and 1989. Even if the 'other destinations' category remains one to four percent for Africa, there is a continuing significant increase in the actual number of tourists that will visit the continent.
New efforts are called for to make this naturally occurring upswing in African tourism benefit Botswana and its villages and to finance its natural resource management. Lillywhite & Lillywhite (1990:23) suggest that comprehensive plans are needed to provide a quality travel experience for the tourist - this depends on an infrastructure that can provide the critical ingredients associated with 'niches' in the international tourism market such as endangered wildlife viewing and experiencing traditional village life.

Extensive advertising by the Government, demand market travel agencies and investors will be needed to direct tourists to existing and new market 'niches' in Botswana. It should be noted that the most successful tour operators in the United States combine two to four countries to form a regional niche for their major wildlife and natural history tours (Tourism Policy, 1990).

The long-haul travel client interested in this type of regional travel, expects to pay six to seven thousand US dollars for the tour package. More adventurous, independent travellers who make their own way and whose expectations of the infrastructure are minimal, expect to pay about three to four thousand dollars for a self-made tour.

LIT must focus on high cost tours to maximise the revenues, minimise the number of tourists and subsequently limit the impact on the environment. The best upper-end demand market in the category of packaged tours to Africa is the United States where the middle class still plans a year in advance for a major three week vacation and likes travelling with a group. By 1995 the primary upper-end demand market for Botswana is projected to be in the Pacific Rim area, led by Japan, if the specific Asian needs and expectations can be met by an expanded and improved tourism infrastructure (Southern African Economist, 1992:40).
Client perception of personal safety, related to unstable governments, terrorism, disease, poor hygiene and cleanliness can be a major drawback where the Asian traveller is concerned. Personal safety is critical to the American and Japanese individual and packaged tour traveller. It is this perception that presently limits the Japanese market in Southern Africa. Japan is a Xenophobic country that is just starting to venture into travelling beyond other oriental cultures. The market demand is predominantly for urban pleasures such as amusement or theme parks. Japanese travellers are used to the costs of travel in other oriental cultures where travel is not seen as an activity which justifies major expenditure.

The high incidence of Japanese travel to the U.S. is strongly related to budget packaged tours. Japan, at present, does have a small exclusive niche or demand market which has high African market potential. This niche promotes travel to exotic cultures with participatory cultural adventures and possibly exclusive safari hunting. The market would be attracted to "Raj" style wildlife expeditions, mixed with special cultural events, travel to several sites by balloon or small boats and camps with a very active social environment. Lillywhite & Lillywhite (1990) suggest that, if this market could be tapped, whether through corporate packaged tour agreements or conservation oriented groups, it would result in more tourist dollars to Botswana than all other tourism combined by 1995.

3.4.5.5 PERCEIVED BENEFITS OF AND POSSIBLE OBSTACLES TO LIT IN BOTSWANA:

Fowkes (1985) estimated that by 1992 the Government of Botswana could see an 82% increase of its potential revenues from tourism and rural Botswana could realise at least a
ten-fold increase in tourist revenues that would accrue from a regulated industry based on the LIT model.

In keeping with the Draft Tourism Policy, LIT is centred around wildlife management and is viewed as a wildlife management tool funded by the private sector. LIT should fit into a balance between consumptive and non-consumptive wildlife utilization, the relationship between LIT and other wildlife management models illustrated in Figure 1 as follows:

**FIGURE 1**

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LIT AND OTHER WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT MODELS.

(Based on Lillywhite & Lillywhite, 1990:21)

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<tr>
<th>CONSUMPTIVE</th>
<th>NON-CONSUMPTIVE</th>
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<tr>
<td>SAFARI HUNTING</td>
<td>PHOTOGRAPHIC SAFARI</td>
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<td>CROPPING</td>
<td>CULTURE TOURISM</td>
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<td>TRADITIONAL/CITIZEN HUNTING</td>
<td>WILDLIFE SALES</td>
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<td>GAME RANCHING - PRIVATE</td>
<td>VILLAGE ECONOMIC UNIT</td>
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<td>POACHING</td>
<td>OBSERVATION SAFARI</td>
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The LIT model suggested by Lillywhite & Lillywhite (1990) proposes that tourism revenues should be distributed using the LIT approach for developing Botswana's future tourism industry. Revenues that pass through the Government of Botswana are made available to villagers through a revolving fund with payments proportional to the number of tourists that visit their region.
The private sector revenues reach tourist destination villages through:

- The village economic unit that operates the inns or lodges (or village businesses);
- Direct collection of 'users' fees;
- Investment;
- Direct sales of crafts, food or services and profit sharing.

These issues are elaborated on in the concluding chapter which suggests methods for creating niche tourism demand implementing LIT in Botswana.

The LIT model represents a rather different tourism economic picture that presently exists in Botswana. It establishes minimum 'high-end' daily rates for all foreign tourists, requires reporting on these tourists by safari operators and discourages low cost tourism by foreigners.

The effect is dispersed tourism growth of high-end foreign tourists resulting in foreign exchange and village revenues that are of magnitude higher than they are at present in Botswana.

The LIT model further employs and funds PVO's to assist villages in the formation of hunters guilds. The hunters guilds would be responsible for hunting of wild game for the village and to provide game meat for the tourist menus. These should be the only hunters, with the possible exception of safari hunters, in the region. In turn, guild members should be responsible for the well-being and management of animals in this region in cooperation with DWNP.

This approach provides economic incentives, with monitoring by DWNP, of indigenous wildlife management. Each of these
sub-sections of tourism and wildlife and park management must be woven into a congruent policy. For existing private operators, what it amounts to is sharing revenues and profit with villages in exchange for more and higher paying tourists which the Government helps to bring into the country by using tax revenues to improve the infrastructure and to market internationally. It can be seen from these projections that only 15% of tourist revenues will come from hunting and the remaining 85% will come from non-consumptive tourism, which contributes more to the costs of wildlife management and park operation.

A broker, commission or board may be needed as a linage between RAD communities, villages, land boards, etc. and tour operators and/or investors to affect LIT development. Although it may not be appropriate for the Government of Botswana to facilitate this private sector startup or joint venture matching process, Government participation though the Department of Tourism is considered essential to the successful implementation of LIT. Government can further contribute by ensuring that the Department of Tourism is not only strengthened but also better financed to spearhead major conservation-tourism development and investment programmes.

Two potential barriers in implementing a conservation-tourism industry development plan come to mind. Firstly, the capacity to adopt and enforce or implement a strong LIT tourism policy needs to be clearly established and secondly, the roles, relationship and necessary linkage between the Department of Tourism and DWNP need to be clearly defined. The situation presents an opportunity to simultaneously strengthen the Department of Tourism while creating a tourism industry commission to self-regulate the industry with oversight by the Department of Tourism and DWNP.

Although the potential benefit to Botswana of a policy of LIT
is obvious, a number of issues need to be addressed prior to the implementation thereof:

1.) Unless LIT development is preceded by detailed anthropological and sociological studies, there is the possibility of developing a programme around a village only to find, for example, that other traditional rights there which have not been taken into account supersede village rights. The social background of a tourist destination site must be very well known.

2.) There is a danger that the development of a village-based cash and income generating business could attract other rural people to the area, causing increased pressure on the natural resource base, social disruption and urban migration near tour site villages.

3.) Conservation and tourism policies have to be in place in the host country before projects begin and investment in villages is made and the two policies have to be consistent and congruent.

4.) There is a danger through cultural tourism that natural processes of cultural change and development will be frozen.

5.) There is the demand market risk factor. Tourism can be a fickle trade dependent on disposable income and media coverage. Phenomena such as AIDS, high levels of crime, etc. can all have and unpredictable effect on the tourist trade. LIT development plans can thus be severely compromised if political disruption or disease epidemics are reported in the news media. If the village has become dependent on the tourist trade for income, the cessation of exporting tourism services could have serious social and economic effects.
6.) There is the possibility that increasing tourism might encourage the sale of non-desirable artifacts such as ivory and rhino horn and thus tend to deplete the natural resource base. However in some parts of southern Africa, the non-consumptive use of wildlife resources in village-based wildlife projects was so successful that consumptive uses had not been a problem.

7.) There are possible problems associated with tourism revenue distribution. Money must go equitably into people's pockets right down to grass roots level. But this can be socially disruptive if people are brought from subsisting into a cash economy. Cash payments or women's salaries can also be socially divisive within the family structure. To avoid this, a casual link must be established between villagers' activities and the money they receive, or these payments might become like a welfare cheque. This can occur by developing two avenues for delivering tourism revenues to villages; Government redistribution through village institutions and private sector/joint venture business relationships with villages. In this way LIT can be a focus for bringing together rural development and conservation or natural resource management activities via the private sector.

3.4.5.6 SUMMARY:

LIT represents a potential technical innovation rather than an established technique. It involves policy decisions in both the preparation and implementation phases and the policy issues can be both far-reaching and broad in scope, involving private sector and rural economic development. The appropriate policies have to be in place by the host government before LIT programmes based on investment can
begin (Government Paper No.2, 1990). This is a potentially serious conservation and investment constraint and therefore tourism policy development should be done in co-operation with the travel industry, potential international investors, PVOs and villages.

LIT is an extremely valuable tool for natural resource management and creates an opportunity for foreign and in-country investment and for equity swaps by governments and villages. Moreover, LIT establishes a common point where Government, conservationists, the development community and the private sector come together.

3.4.6 THE ROLES OF GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR:

3.4.6.1 INTRODUCTION:

The proposed Government organisational structure for the development of, as set out in the Draft Tourism Policy Paper (1990), is highly centralised and will probably be unworkable in practice. The power is to remain with officials who live and work far from the tourist areas. They can have little idea of what local public opinion is and what is actually going on in the business they are meant to be helping. (Enger, 1990:2)

The Tourism Development Unit of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, soon to be the Department of Tourism, have a staff of only sixteen to handle tourism both at home and abroad. The unit is based in Gaborone and has no decentralised capacity. To date it has concentrated on promoting the country’s attractions outside Botswana’s borders, at trade fairs and international exhibitions. Meanwhile, tourist development inside Botswana is left to the Department of Wildlife and National Parks which is a regulatory and
conservation-orientated department. It has some limited national park management capacity and has shown no interest in developing such revenue-earning tourist amenities as campsites, hotels, restaurants, curio-shops, boat rentals, etc. Furthermore, neither the Tourism Development Unit nor DWNP is seen to have demonstrated the intention of developing tourism in non-wildlife areas.

3.4.6.2 DECENTRALIZATION OF DECISIONMAKING:

Because of the past bias to centralised decision-making tourist development in the form of capital intensive hotels, camps, lodges, etc., run by local and foreign investors, has led to the views of articulate, large-scale business people taking priority over those of the local people who own the natural resources. The intention is not to discard or condemn large scale investment, but rather to realize the real need of an alternative reinforcing tourism industry consisting of a number of small enterprises operating mainly in the informal sector.

These enterprises could offer a vast portfolio of attractions outside Chobe and the Okavango; traditional music and dancing, art, basket weaving, thatching, national and other historical and archaeological sites, bird watching and fishing, traditional construction and architecture, etc. It is accepted that these alternatives are not comparable to existing wildlife tourism, but are a part of real life, whereas much now on offer is not. The alternative approach to devising a genuine locally based tourism development policy acknowledges the fact that in the rest of the world most of the income and employment from tourism is captured directly by the 'small man' (Pearce, 1981:91).

From a financial point of view the development of these
supplementary tourist facilities fall well within the medium and small scale limits of the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP) of the Government of Botswana. It is not the finance that is hard to obtain, but rather the policy that is lacking.

Enger (1990) suggests that, even without using finance at all, local councils and bodies with insight to local potential, could do much to promote increased local participation if the industry. Independent tourguides with local knowledge and cheaper accommodation are but two of the commodities needed. These services could be provided by local residents who would register with the local council who would in turn supply information regarding these services to the independent tourist. Not all tourists want to ride in four-wheel drive vehicles; donkey cart, ox-wagon or camel rides could prove a fascinating and culturally educational experience for the tourist. Fisherman can earn more by selling bait for a day’s boat hire than they can make in a week’s fishing. Again the cost of a purpose built boat for taking tourists out is well inside the FAP limits.

Decentralisation of tourism development controlled by elected local authorities will, before long, prove to be the only politically and economically acceptable way forward. No indigenous tourism industry can be developed without involving local people, traditional leaders, elected representatives, and their collective pride in their own localities and cultural heritage. Centralisation is not only undemocratic in its context; it is highly inefficient and have caused more problems than it can solve (Hermans & Stone, 1990:14).

It is often stated that Tourism is an industry with untapped revenue-generating and employment generating potential. If small-scale tourism development were to become a council
function, the councils would be able to create jobs and income for the people of their areas. The councils themselves would be able to derive revenues from such new sources as airport taxes, hotel bed taxes, guiding and campsite licence fees, and even from the operation of council-owned campsites, franchise and concession fees and entry fees to national monuments, road tolls, etc. Stone (1990) concludes that it would be better, by far, for the elected councils to handle these matters.

Central Government politicians and civil servants do not easily let go of power, and might therefore certify that councils do not have the capacity to administer tourism. But at present central Government does not have that capacity either, so the only question should be whether the new capacity to be created should be under central or local control.

Enger (1990:5) addresses this question as follows: "The proper role and challenge to tourism development planners is not to follow Parkinson's Law by building up a centrally controlled cadre to cover all the districts, but to continue to expand its promotional and conservation activities, to provide support and training, and to enable the councils to make the most of their opportunities."

3.4.6.3 PAST AND PRESENT EXPERIENCE:

There is a general acceptance that tourism is one of the fastest growing industries in the world, one which many of the world's developing countries now regard as an important and integral aspect of their development strategies (Jenkins, 1985). Tourism is a potential source of foreign exchange earnings for LDC's which does not require export expertise as the 'product' is consumed in the host country. Tourism can
be one of the major factors in harnessing these natural resources to contribute to the economic well-being of the country.

The natural resource base is sustainable on a long term basis. Sound management can lead to a non-consumptive use of the product, as opposed to the consumptive nature of other export products, for instance mining and minerals. Much of the wildlife based tourism activity take place in rural areas, creating both formal and informal work opportunities for local communities close to their homes. LDC's frequently cite rural job creation as a goal in National Development Plans. Tourism development would seem, therefore, to offer excellent opportunities for the attainment of several objectives for LDC's, namely foreign exchange generation, diversification of the economic base and rural job creation.

A major obstacles to tourism development is the lack of government funds available to develop and market their tourist attractions or the infrastructure necessary to serve a tourist industry. It may also be politically unacceptable for a host government to spend large sums of money on tourist infrastructure when the country is in need of housing, education and basic health care. This is particularly the case where tourists are perceived as wealthy strangers who belong to a different language, religious or racial group.

The importance of conserving wilderness areas and natural habitats is no longer disputed. Conservation is essential for the maintenance of the biosphere's life support systems, for the retention of the gene pool which may have value to mankind in the future, for the continuing productivity of natural systems, for scientific research and monitor, and for the aesthetic, cultural and spiritual well-being of all people (Fowkes & Fowkes, 1990:4).
Although national parks are held on behalf of the nation as a national heritage, many are under threat from, for instance, population increases leading to demands for more land, poaching activities as wildlife products increase in value, or from a lack of management skills to enable parks to be properly maintained or further developed (Lewis, 1989). This threat is further compounded in areas where national parks are resented by the local population when, for instance, access to traditional hunting or grazing lands have been denied by the creation of a park and no perceived replacement benefit has been seen to flow to the community.

3.4.6.4 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND RESPONSIBILITY:

Bell (1989:34) maintains that the institutional nature of nature conservation was established during the colonial period; it has strong paternalistic and racist elements to it, and is itself a large part of the problem. What has happened is that control of natural resources has been progressively been taken away from rural communities by central government bureaucracies, and the benefits flowing from them have also been progressively concentrated in national treasuries. In effect, a wall has been erected between rural communities and the resources among which they live. (Bell, 1989)

Historical colonial attitudes to conservation areas as being exclusive, fenced-off zones with minimum human involvement are now changing. Recently there has been a trend to pursue conservation through the concept of rational and renewable use of natural resources (Erskine, 1990; Lewis, 1989). Fowkes (1990) suggests that, as few governments can afford the financial or political luxury of maintaining large conservation areas on ethical grounds alone, in future, conservation must contribute to pay its own way. This is a
point of view which is at variance with the conservation ethos of the First World but one which recognises the very real problems which confront LDC governments when faced with increasing populations who must be housed, educated and employed.

This is a view which is supported by Odendal (1986) and Lewis (1989) among others. Mokgoko goes even further, in saying: "There is little room for the largely urbanised and sentimental First World perception of nature conservation. The African philosophy must be a pragmatic philosophy which involves the people of the country or it will fail to meet its obligations in the long term" (Mokgoko, 1986:45). Conservation based tourism is one way in which conservation areas can have an economic benefit and not be a drain on national funds.

Government conservation authorities tend to be staffed by persons selected for their scientific and wildlife management skills, not for their business acumen. To such persons the maintenance of wildlife areas is an ethical and moral responsibility about which there should be no questions. Money 'must be found' to meet that responsibility. Where this money is found is not seen by conservationists as their responsibility, however; theirs is the task of maintaining the natural areas in a pristine state. Conservationists tend to view business entrepreneurs as 'money grabbing exploiters' and point to the desolation of natural areas by developers worldwide. Given this attitude, tension seems inevitable between those who seek to expand the economic contribution of conserved areas and those who seek to maintain the status quo. Any debate between these parties can become emotional and acrimonious, rather than inviting involvement in a rational, unemotional manner.
3.4.6.5 ECONOMIC CATEGORIES OF NATIONAL CONSERVATION AREAS:

Fowkes (1990) suggests that the nature of responsibility is a function of the economic categories of national conservation areas.

Economists distinguish between four major categories of goods and services as far as national conservation areas are concerned. In Figure 2 Savas (1987) summarises the properties of these goods firstly on the basis of exclusion, i.e. if acquisition of a good or service can be readily denied by the supplier, and secondly on the basis of goods being characterised by either joint or individual consumption.

**FIGURE 2**

**TYPES OF GOODS IN TERMS OF THEIR INTRINSIC CHARACTERISTICS**

*(Based on Savas, 1987:56)*

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<th>EASY TO DENY ACCESS</th>
<th>DIFFICULT TO DENY ACCESS</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>INDIVIDUAL CONSUMPTION</strong></td>
<td>1.) PRIVATE GOODS</td>
<td>4.) COMMON POOL GOODS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COLLECTIVE CONSUMPTION</strong></td>
<td>2.) TOLL GOODS</td>
<td>3.) COLLECTIVE GOODS</td>
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In terms of the characteristics of the four categories literature suggests that:

- Common pool goods can not be privatised;
- Collective goods should not be privatised; but
- toll and private goods should be in private hands.

National conservation lands, particularly those used as water
catchments for protection of endangered species or habitats, as part of the wealth of the nation would thus be classified as a collective good, i.e. something held on behalf of the nation for which an individual benefit cannot be identified. State-owned conservation areas can, however, have a dual nature as both a collective good and as toll goods. In their capacity as collective goods or services state-owned conservation areas should not be transferred to the private sector. But in their capacity as a recreation area, access to the use of that area and its facilities can become a toll good.

There is, nonetheless a continuum between collective goods and toll goods. Toll goods are used collectively, but the individual benefit of the use of the good can be identified and charged for. Those who do not pay can be excluded from enjoying the use of that good. The more difficult of costly it is to exclude a consumer from the use of a toll good, the more like a collective good it becomes.

When a conservation area is totally fenced and has controlled access points, access to and enjoyment of that area would be an individual pastime for which a charge can be made. Such access and use would be considered a toll good - an item which is individually consumed, where that consumption can be charged for, but where the use of the area does not deplete the goods. Where an area is unfenced and there are no controls - so that people may come and go freely - then access to the area becomes a collective good, i.e. a benefit for which an individual charge cannot be levied. (Fowkes & Fowkes, 1990)

3.4.6.6 DESIRABLE AND POTENTIAL ROLES OF GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR:

Although the issue of decentralization and privatisation of the management of Botswana's natural resources, economic goods and services, has until recently not received much
attention, it is at present viewed by many as a feasible and practical alternative to the present management structure.

FIGURE 3
FRAMEWORK OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE MAIN COMPONENTS OF, AND ACTIVITIES WITHIN, A CONSERVATION AREA AND VARIOUS FORMS OF INVOLVEMENT IN THOSE ACTIVITIES
(Based on Fowkes, 1990:10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROLES</th>
<th>COMPONENTS OF, AND ACTIVITIES WITHIN, A CONSERVATION AREA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OWN</td>
<td>A.  B.  C.  D.  E.  F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEASE</td>
<td>7      8      9      10     11     12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANAGE</td>
<td>13     14     15     16     17     18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAINTAIN</td>
<td>19     20     21     22     23     24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCESS</td>
<td>25     26     27     28     29     30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARKET</td>
<td>31     32     33     34     35     36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONSTRUCT</td>
<td>37     38     39     40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROCESS</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Tracts of Land          B. Products of the Land
C. Infrastructure          D. Buildings and surroundings
E. Retail activities       F. Support Services

(Definitions of the words and terms used are presented in Appendix 1. Figures in the Framework refer to Appendix 2 where the relationship represented in each intersect is defined. Hatched cells are those which have no relevance.)

1.) Potential Roles of Government in Conservation Areas:

Having defined the economic nature of the goods and services
represented in conservation areas, the roles of the government and the private sector should be examined against the background of that classification. In his study Fowkes does so by use of a framework (Figure 3) which explores two areas in particular (Fowkes, 1990:9):

- The components of, and activities within a conservation area; and
- the various forms of involvement in those activities.

If, as proposed by economists, collective goods should not be privatised, then the title to national conservation areas, as a collective good should not be passed from the state to private ownership. If ownership of conservation lands should not be alienated by a government, then option 1 of the framework is not an appropriate area for private sector involvement.

It is worth noting, in this context, that ownership of most land in many African countries is, indeed, vested in the State, usually through tribal authorities. Private ownership of land is frequently contrary to custom and tradition.

As in most legal systems, ownership of buildings and infrastructure attaches to the land on which they are built, then, if ownership of the land should not be passed into private hands, ownership of any buildings or infrastructure on that land should not be alienated. From this follows this that options 2, 3 and 4 are also not appropriate as ownership of the products of the land, the infrastructure and any buildings will attach to that land.

In terms of the analysis of the nature of economic goods, set out earlier, private sector involvement then becomes acceptable, but not necessarily desirable, from option 5 onwards. In fact private sector involvement may not only be acceptable but also necessary in some areas.

If one considers option 40, the construction of support
services, conservation bodies would not be expected to develop and construct telephones, photocopiers, etc. nor necessarily have the facilities to lay down hard surfaced roads, option 37. Private sector involvement would be necessary in these activities.

2.) Desirable roles for Private Sector:

Should government decide to explore private sector involvement in conservation areas, it is unlikely that any government would with, or contractually be enabled, to dismiss its core of conservation expertise in pursuit of privatisation. Given the potential lack of business skills amongst conservation authorities and their suspicion of the private sector, those options which:

- Do not threaten the control function of those responsible for the conservation of the natural resource;
- Involve the least amount of monitoring responsibility; and
- cause the least amount of disruption and conflict would appear most desirable in the short term if the continuity of conservation management is to be maintained whilst a policy of private sector involvement is explored.

When considering this framework, the complexity of the implications of private sector development diminish as one moves from top left to bottom right of the framework. The demands upon any monitoring body are reduced as complexity diminishes.

If it is desirable that minimum disruption is caused and conflict avoided, as suggested above, then private sector involvement in activities towards the right of the framework would be those which were recommended as the first stages of private sector involvement.
3.) Alternate Roles for the Government Conservation Body:

Three alternate roles may be performed by a government body: that of a regulatory body, that of an implementing body or a combination of the two. As moves towards private sector involvement occur, so a conservation body would become more and more a regulatory body and progressively less the implementing agency. (National Conservation Strategy, 1990)

In any developing country, it would be expected that sectors of the community would have neither the economic power of the knowledge to enjoy tourist participation in conservation areas. In these circumstances it can be anticipated that governments will wish to protect the rights of these groups and avoid the potential exclusion of their participation which could occur if a total free-market economy was allowed.

With these conservation responsibilities in mind then, the management of the land and its products should, in keeping with the overall responsibility for the management of a national asset (collective good), stay under government control if a competent adequately staffed and equipped government conservation authority exists. Lease of conservation land, option 7, management of the land, option 13, and maintenance of the land, option 13, and maintenance of the land, option 19, together with the lease, management and maintenance of the products of the land, options 8, 14, 20, and access to the land, options 25 should therefore remain in the hands of the conservation authority, i.e. it is not desirable that these options should be in private sector hands. It should be noted that the term "access" is used in this instance in the context of changing the character of the land, e.g. from conservation to farming or forestry. Access to the visual beauty or to animal viewing or hunting falls under access to the products of the land. Access to the land, option 25 i.e. the right to change the character of the land, is not acceptable in terms of government responsibility to protect a collective good.
Figure 4 represents areas in which private sector can play a role in the development of tourist facilities in conservation areas.

**FIGURE 4**

FRAMEWORK OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE MAIN COMPONENTS OF, OR ACTIVITIES WITHIN, A CONSERVATION AREA, AND VARIOUS FORMS OF PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT IN THOSE ACTIVITIES.

*(Based on Fowkes, 1990:14)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROLES</th>
<th>A. Tracts of Land</th>
<th>B. Products of the Land</th>
<th>C. Infrastructure</th>
<th>D. Buildings and surroundings</th>
<th>E. Retail activities</th>
<th>F. Support Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OWN</td>
<td>1 N/A</td>
<td>2 N/A</td>
<td>3 N/A</td>
<td>4 N/A</td>
<td>5 N/A</td>
<td>6 P/S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEASE</td>
<td>7 N/D</td>
<td>8 N/D</td>
<td>9 N/D</td>
<td>10 P/S</td>
<td>11 P/S</td>
<td>12 P/S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANAGE</td>
<td>13 N/D</td>
<td>14 N/D</td>
<td>15 P/S</td>
<td>16 P/S</td>
<td>17 P/S</td>
<td>18 P/S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAINTAIN</td>
<td>19 N/D</td>
<td>20 N/D</td>
<td>21 P/S</td>
<td>22 P/S</td>
<td>23 P/S</td>
<td>24 P/S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCESS</td>
<td>25 N/D</td>
<td>26 N/D</td>
<td>27 P/S</td>
<td>28 P/S</td>
<td>29 P/S</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARKET</td>
<td>31 P/S</td>
<td>32 P/S</td>
<td>33 P/S</td>
<td>34 P/S</td>
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<td>CONSTRUCT</td>
<td>37 P/S</td>
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<td>39 P/S</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROCESS</td>
<td>41 P/S</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Note: N/A = Not Applicable, N/D = Not Defined, P/S = Private Sector*
N/A - Indicates that it is Not Appropriate for the private sector to have this involvement;
N/D - indicates that it is Not Desirable for the private sector to perform this function;
P/S - indicates areas appropriate for Private Sector involvement.

(Definitions of the words and terms used are presented in Appendix 1. Figures in the Framework refer to Appendix 2 where the relationship represented in each intersect is defined. Hatched cells are those which have no relevance.)

It can be seen that it becomes appropriate to encourage private sector involvement in the leasing and management of buildings and surrounds which are used for tourist purposes, together with their supporting infrastructure. Incorporated in such a lease or management agreement would be responsibility for maintenance of those buildings and surrounds. It is also appropriate to involve the private sector in the provision of retail facilities e.g. restaurants, car hire, etc. and in the provision of support services, e.g. telecommunications equipment, office services, photocopying facilities etc.

Together with responsibility for the lease, management and maintenance of tourist facilities would be assumed a right for the private sector to have access to the use of the products of the conservation area (game viewing etc.) and an active role in the marketing of the facility, under the control of the conservation authority.

Through craft markets, trophy preparation, etc., the private sector, particularly local people, could be involved in processing the surplus products of the conservation area which are created by conservation management activities such as game cropping operations, reaping of thatching grass, bush clearing operations, etc.
4.) The role of the conservation body when private sector involvement occurs:

A point made very forcibly in the literature on privatisation is that as privatisation takes place the role of the government body changes (Bellush, 1985; Westerhoff, 1985; Ravera, 1986; Cloete, 1986). If privatisation is to be successful, it becomes essential that the government body be capable of monitoring the activities of the private sector company that has assumed responsibility for the particular service. There is, therefore, a need within the public body for access to legal, financial and business management skills.

This is particularly relevant when one is dealing with conservation areas where those who currently carry responsibility - government employees employed in national parks etc. - are likely to have been appointed for their scientific knowledge and not their business knowledge. These people may become threatened by the perceived potential loss of control that they see implicit in private sector involvement.

Whilst conservationist may view business entrepreneurs as 'exploiters', this is seldom the case in reality. Responsible private sector entrepreneurs would be very short-sighted if, having invested substantial capital sums in creating a tourism infrastructure, a hotel or game lodge, they then proceed to destroy the very resource upon which the success of their venture is based. Experience suggests, however, that the conservationists' suspicion of the motives of the private sector is very deep-rooted (Campbell, 1990).

3.4.6.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS:

The development of tourist facilities in state controlled conservation areas in LDC's is one method by which a government may create opportunities for employment, tax
income and generation of foreign exchange. Tourism is seen as a growth industry, one which can particularly assist in the economic development of LDC's.

As the governments of many LDC's may find it financially or politically impractical to undertake tourism development, it is desirable that both the financial resources and skills of the private sector be involved.

Private sector funding thus becomes necessary if development is to be pursued. LDC tourism is frequently based on wildlife and scenic beauty. Conservation bodies responsible for the management of these wildlife areas suspect the private sector of potential 'rape of the land' (Enger 1990), and expect them to exploit natural resources for short term profit. Conservation bodies therefore tend to resist private sector involvement in the development of conservation areas.

It has nonetheless been established that the need exists for evaluating activities in which private sector participation should be encouraged in the economic development of tourism in conservation areas. Conservation areas, and their use, should be evaluated as goods which would potentially be classified and developed in the current worldwide move to privatisation of the public sector.

3.4.7 TAXATION OF THE TOURISM INDUSTRY:

3.4.7.1 INTRODUCTION:

Although tourism is vitally important source of income and employment in many developing countries, the subject of taxation of tourism has been much neglected. The reason is straightforward; it is not an easy matter to correctly access. There are both conceptual and statistical difficulties. (Hartle, 1990:5)

Conceptually, one can look upon tourism as a peculiar type of
export industry. It is an export industry in the sense that it is a source of foreign exchange to the host nation. It is peculiar in that the product is consumed in the host country rather than in the buyers country and usually is dependent upon a renewable resource. In Botswana's case the 'tourism endowment' or resource is wildlife and its habitat; which should be carefully managed if a sustainable return to the nations to be secured. The fact that wildlife is a State resource but occurs on both state and tribal land compounds the complexity of the situation.

Statistical difficulties arise from the lack of comparable, reliable data concerning the tourism industry. It is difficult to obtain consistent statistical information about tourism in any one country over time, much less data that allow valid comparison among countries.

Available evidence suggest that there is substantial variability of tourist demand in response to changes in prices (Fowkes, 1990). In the case of Botswana, it is unlikely that tourists from North America and Europe are price sensitive. Increases in taxes of any reasonable magnitude are unlikely to deter them. However, it is unlikely to be true of regional tourism. Tourists from South Africa or Zimbabwe are likely to be deterred from vacationing in Botswana if the costs of such a vacation rise. While not wishing to appear to disparage them, it is generally accepted that these tourists contribute virtually nothing to the economy of Botswana while degenerating the environment and crowding the facilities. It is the view of some that deterring such tourism through higher park entrance fees would therefore be in public interest.

The other end of the spectrum, wealthy overseas tourists who stay in resorts or go on hunting of photographic safaris are considered low volume-high cost tourists who offer the greatest potential benefit to Botswana. Unfortunately this potential is not yet being realised.
Although high cost tourists pay a great deal for their Botswana wildlife experience, their contribution to the national income of Botswana has been relatively low. First of all, much of their expense goes to paying for transportation from the United States or Europe. Botswana receives no benefit from these transportation costs. Secondly, these well-to-do tourists generally make their reservations with overseas travel agents. These funds are then deposited in the foreign accounts of Botswana tour operators who often do not patriate them. A third factor which influences the amount of foreign exchange revenue accrued to Botswana by the tourist is the fact that the traveller would in most instances pre-pay in advance in part or in full, to the travel agent in the foreign country.

The travel agent not only claims commission of on average between 15% - 20% of the gross package, but is also able to invest the money pre-paid by the tourist in lucrative interest-earning savings accounts until such time as it is passed on to the Lodge, Camp or Hotel rendering the service. This clearly illustrates the need for Botswana-based travel agents to increase their international marketing drive and attempt to capture a greater share of the international travel reservations market, thereby enhancing the foreign exchange earnings of the host country. (Southern African Economist, 1992)

3.4.7.2 FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS:

1.) Competition:

Each nation has what might be thought of as a tourism endowment, consisting of some unique characteristics which are a mixture of history, culture, climate, habitat and wildlife. The object is therefore to utilise the resource in such a way as to secure the largest possible benefit on a sustainable basis for the local people who own the resource. Attempts by national governments to obtain more than a
competitive return, bearing in mind that there are many alternative tourism destinations in the world, is likely to result in reduced benefits from tourism through lower land rents, taxes and fees (National Development Plan, 1991:85).

On the other hand, a failure to secure a competitive return from the tourism resource, which is returned to the local people who bear the cost, is almost certain to result in local indifference to the safe-guarding of the resource. In this sense, poaching may be thought of as a way in which local people secure a return from the resource which they are not obtaining through legitimate channels. A competitive return to a nation's tourism endowment would be what informed tour operators would offer for the use of the resource in a fair and open auction of longterm leases.

2.) Tax Neutrality:

Every nation had a tax system which usually consists of a personal and business income tax and a complex mixture of sales and excise taxes and users fees. Hartle (1990:12) states that ideally, the integrity of the system will be maintained through the universal application of the provisions of the system. This is to say, the system will respect the principles of the horizontal and vertical equity where the former means that equals are treated equally and the latter means that only 'appropriate' differences are recognised among different forms of business organisation, different sectors of the economy, different income levels and different types of transactions.

What is to be avoided are tax provisions that subject certain industries, types of businesses, occupations or transactions for adverse or favourable treatment on grounds which are not justified on social, economic or administrative grounds (NDP7, 1991:173). This means that the tourism industry and tour operators should, in principle, be taxed no more or less stringently than other businesses operating in Botswana.
This is more easily said than done, because small businesses are more difficult to tax than big businesses and businesses that have off-shore earnings are more difficult to tax than businesses that receive most of their earnings from domestic sources (Hartle, 1990). The tourism industry is characterised by both these phenomena.

3.) User Fees:

The maintenance of the tourism resource utilises public money in the form of budget of the Department of Wildlife and national Parks, the budget of the Department of Tourism of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the extra costs incurred by Government for providing transportation and communication networks. The user should be required to pay the full cost of these services, such as park and reserve entrance fees, campsite fees, hunting licences and airport departure taxes. Like-wise, government is expected to divert and appropriate funds to villages or communities where these fees where earned.

Hancock (1990) expresses the view that until these user charges cover the full cost of maintaining tourism services, and until Government redirects these benefits to the local communities involved rather than accumulating users fees in central government coffers, the tourism resource of Botswana will not provide an optimum benefit to the people of Botswana.

User charges also have a role to play in reducing the over-crowding of parks and reserves, which damages the environment and leads to criticisms about the quality of amenities provided.

4.) Land Rents:

Tour operators in Botswana rent their lands from either the State, in the case of resorts located in national parks or reserves, or from tribal authorities, in the case of safari
operators. In the past these rents have been extraordinarily low by almost any standard.

Not only has this reduced Government if tribal land Revenues, but is had also encouraged individuals to lease tracts of land and use these properties as private reserves. That is to say the lessees have not actively sought commercial clients on a significant scale, a practice which is considered contrary to the interest of the people of Botswana. It is tantamount to giving a proportion of Botswana’s tourism endowment away.

Land allocation for tourism purposes should be carried out by an orderly bidding process and bidders must be informed in advance about the length if the leases, the rights to renewal, restrictions if any on the construction of permanent structures on the leased lands, the future tax regime, the salient features of the system that will be used to allocate hunting quotas and the basis for determining the fees for entry to game parks and reserves. In short, the leasing policy should attempt to some as close to being a well advertised open auction among qualified bidders.

5.) Taxation and Control:

Collecting business taxes from small businesses and businesses with foreign source income poses some serious evasion and avoidance difficulties for tax administrators. However, this does not justify exempting the tourism industry, and its investors and managers from the same taxes others are due to pay. Hartle (1990) suggests that a far more acceptable and potentially feasible option would be to establish a system whereby a substantial proportion of taxes paid by operators, lodges etc. in a certain area would be ploughed back into that area for a variety development purposes. It might even be necessary to levy a low rate of tax, e.g. 2% on turnover for all companies in the tourism industry, this would however essentially be a form of sales tax. These funds could, as perviously suggested, be
administered by an independent body, and invested in consultation with all concerned parties.

Tax administration in Botswana would be greatly assisted in ensuring the integrity of the system if:

- Every tourist operator in Botswana should require a licence;
- One of the conditions for obtaining a licence would be the Botswana incorporation of the tour operator’s firm; and
- the accounts of each licensee would be required to be maintained in Botswana and audited annually by a Botswana registered accounting firm.

These changes would ensure that the Tax Department’s auditors would always have access to the taxpayers’ books and could take to court accountants who knowingly certified false or misleading financial statements for their clients. At present neither circumstances exists.

3.5 SUMMARY:

The unprecedented rate of growth of the Botswana economy since Independence is unlikely to continue in the next decade. This has to do with the prospects of mining and agriculture and the high rate of population increase.

If this assertion of bleak days ahead is accepted, it follows that every potential avenue for job creation, foreign exchange generation and national income enhancement must be pursued. Some of the obvious strategy alternatives do not look very promising when closer examined. As increased rates of foreign investments, for example will be hampered by the high transportation costs for imports of raw materials and for the export of manufactured goods. Low labour productivity in Botswana is another restraining factor, as is limited water resources.
All of this would suggest that every effort should be made to obtain the maximum net benefit for the people of Botswana from the nation’s magnificent wildlife and habitat endowment through tourism in all its forms.

The pace of change in Botswana since Independence has been so rapid that it is not surprising that the attention of policy makers has been focused on mining, agriculture and manufacturing and the provision of infrastructure, health services and education. The service sector, including the tourism industry, has tended to be treated with benign neglect.

Tourism provides an important strategic opportunity for enhancing the economy but must be pursued cautiously. The policy and marketing of Botswana as a regional, Low Impact Tourism (LIT) destination would minimize the effects on the environment while maximizing foreign exchange revenue. LIT further facilitates increased private sector involvement, commensurate with the worldwide trend of privatization of the public sector.

Furthermore, it is implausible that one would expect the citizens of Botswana to promote their wildlife and scenic resources unless they receive, and realise they are receiving, a much greater benefit from these resources than is at present the case. Not only must Government obtain greatly enhanced revenues from tourism through taxes and user fees, but a significant part of those revenues must be disbursed to provide tangible benefits to the local people, including local governments and tribal authorities whose land is the ultimate resource in the tourism industry.
CHAPTER FOUR:

PICKING UP THE CHALLENGES

4.1 INTRODUCTION:

In Botswana, tourism has always tended to be linked with wildlife, whether through hunting, photography or viewing. More rarely, tourism has been linked with both wildlife and its natural environment. Prime reasons for this stem from the fact that hunting was the major attraction during the 1950's and 1960's when tourism was in its infancy. Even into the 1970's Government recognised hunting revenues as the major benefit from tourism, and has until recently 'discriminated' against a Department of Tourism in favour of that of Wildlife and National Parks.

Hunting emphasises a diversity of trophy animals rather than the environment in which they occur. It was this diversity, coupled with almost unlimited and cheap hunting, which attracted the first safari companies in 1961. As a tourist area Botswana gained recognition through hunting rather than through any other of its attractions.

Formerly Government expressed little interest in tourism. Generally, it did not feature in Annual Reports until 1964 when that year's report stated, "It is Government's policy... to develop a tourist industry in Bechuanaland based on the country's main tourist asset, which is an abundance of all types of Central and Southern African game animals" (IUCN, 1990:17). National Development Plans have continued to stress wildlife as the attraction, although natural environment and other assets have gained some recognition. Even today this is recognised by the Draft Tourism Policy paper (1990:54), which states that: "There is no doubt that, in Botswana, wildlife represents the principal tourist attraction".
Responsibility for tourism lies with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, as does that for Wildlife and National Parks; other aspects of Tourism fall under other ministries, and are virtually ignored in the Policy Paper.

It is possible that the drawing up of The Draft Tourism Policy paper by the Government of Botswana could be perceived as the start of an era in which tourism will gain recognition as a feasible development option. Disappointing performance in other sectors like diamonds, beef and manufacturing has brought renewed interest to widening the tourism base and decreasing the risk and strong dependence of the economy on non-renewable resources.

4.2 WIDENING THE TOURISM BASE:

Implicit in Government's objectives is a substantial widening of the tourism base, particularly to create rural development and employment.

Currently, the Okavango Region is threatened by an ever-increasing number of tourists and tour operators who are beginning to destroy the area's exclusive atmosphere, and to turn it into any other over-crowded wildlife area.

Foreigners visit Botswana as tourists, and residents take their holidays within the country for many reasons (Campbell, 1990):

- Remoteness from main tourist circuits producing an air of exclusiveness;
- Natural environment, little of untouched by human hands;
- The wilderness;
- Broad spectrum of wildlife species, often concentrated in scenic, undeveloped areas;
- Diversity of habitats ranging from dune to delta;
- Unique Geological Formations including Okavango Delta, Makgadikgadi Depression, Kalahari Desert, Gewihahe
Caverns, Tsodilo Hills;

- Prehistoric and historic remains, including rock art, ruins of structures of the Zimbabwe State, ancient mines, early mission sites, stonewall villages;
- Friendly and developing nation embracing traditional and modern lifestyles, with unique town-villages and diversity of cultures;
- Botswana baskets and handicrafts; and
- Basic established tourist industry (accommodation, tours, communications, supplies and services) with a reasonable track record.

While these are the attractions carrying the greatest weight, or potential weight, in influencing tourist destination, other aspects must not be omitted, for example the peaceful nature of the country, ease of obtaining visas or entry, no dress and few currency restrictions, the lack of bribery, a positive economy with good currency exchange rates, well stocked shops and adequate fuel supplies.

The National Development Plan (1991) sets out the objectives of tourism which include:

- Increased foreign exchange and revenue earnings;
- Generation of employment, mainly in rural areas;
- Promotion of rural development; and
- Provision of educational and recreational opportunities to improve the quality of national life.

Opportunities for job creation in many remote areas are few. Tourism which can employ people with little education but considerable environmental skills, offer many an opportunity. Pristine nature offers only one side of the national heritage; the human side is also important both to foreigners and to Batswana since for the former it portrays human development under different conditions, and for the latter provides cultural roots and national pride.
4.2.1 POTENTIAL FOR EXPANSION:

Many tourist facilities, at one level or another of development, already exist. There is an air transport system, improving road network, accommodation and servicing through garages, supermarkets and restaurants; however, they are not evenly dispersed, with many areas almost totally lacking a tourism infrastructure.

To ensure greatest economic benefits throughout the country, opportunities should be sought to provide for all forms of tourism, not just nature viewing. To achieve this, all components of the industry need to be engaged as effectively as possible.

It must be accepted that Botswana is surrounded by spectacular attractions: sunny beaches, lakes mountains, the Victoria Falls, numerous wildlife parks, Great Zimbabwe and other magnificent ruins. a wealth of easily accessible rock are, and cities like Johannesburg, Cape Town, Windhoek and Harare. At this level, all Botswana has to offer is the Okavango Delta; one it might have offered the Kalahari, but the vast herds of wildlife are gone. Obviously there is still some room in the North for increased tourism as many areas are yet to be used to their best advantage. In this respect, the Department of Wildlife and National Parks have commenced to refine the system of Controlled Hunting Areas and concessions which will relieve some existing pressures.

Campbell (1990:9) points out that an expansion of the industry must give careful consideration to:

1.) The role of Government in tourism development;
2.) Areas currently little of unused for nature viewing;
3.) Increasing the volume of citizen tourism;
4.) Length and peaks of existing season; and
5.) other attractions such as archaeological and historical sites, culture and specialist activities, which would assist in preventing unnecessary pressure
4.2.1.1 THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT:

In the past, Government’s role, the part it has actually played in development of the industry, has not been too easy to define. The Tourism Division has been too small and lacking in finances either to give guidance to the industry or to actively promote it. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks has developed hunting and some tourist facilities in parks and reserves, and has undertaken licensing of professional guides and hunters. The Ministry, advised by the Tourism Advisory Committee has, to a very small extent, attempted to co-ordinate the industry, but without a fixed policy and firm links with the private sector, achieved only limited success.

Governments role must be to create a climate of confidence within which the tourist industry can develop (Ref: 1.8, no. 5:13). Government should prepare a development programme outlining national objectives and guidelines to achieve these. With guidance, the private sector should undertake the commercial side of tourism.

Using this framework, Government could assist in expanding the tourism base by:

- Recognising the possible importance of assets other than just wildlife and by concerting a new approach to development by bringing together all departments involved with tourism assets and the planning process;
- Making more funding available for the development of other assets such as monuments, geological formations, etc.;
- Prepare a detailed national inventory of tourism assets which should include plans and levels for development;
- Set up an organisation for obtaining realistic statistics which can be used for detailed planning;
• Prepare and distribute publicity material which focuses on all aspects of tourism;
• Attract operators in under-utilised areas through incentive packages;
• Devise better links with the private sector, offering it a larger say in the planning and controlling process.

4.2.1.2 LENGTHS AND PEAKS OF EXISTING SEASONS:

Excluding hunting, for many operators the current season lasts approximately from April to October with most independent tourists visiting between Easter and mid-September. The rainy season, November to March when it is hottest and some tracks impassable is seen as the slack season. (Government Statistics, 1991)

It should be possible to lengthen the season, to reduce tourist numbers in prime areas at peak times like Easter and August, and to spread them more evenly through the year. The DWNP have already made known the fact that they are considering a centralised reservation system in order to limit the number of people in National Parks during these times. This should lead to increased employment opportunities and maintenance of exclusiveness in the North and spread tourism into other areas of the country.

Introduction of more flexible permits and fees could alter volumes of tourist traffic and spread tourists through wider areas. Fees for over-used areas could involve a fee which starts low, but which doubles for every subsequent day’s stay as well as higher fees for prime times. Substantially reduced fees could be charged in little used areas.

4.2.1.3 AREAS LITTLE USED FOR NATURE VIEWING:

These areas include mainly remote parts of parks and reserves, but also involve some of the proposed wildlife
management areas.

Careful consideration should be given to the best ways to use the natural areas. Tour operators should be given incentives to use areas outside the North. Incentives could include free rights to erect semi-permanent camps in specified areas and possibly drill boreholes, rights to conduct walking safaris, rights to visit places in these areas denied to other tourists, and certification by Government into some specialised category of operators.

Such areas could be formed into circuits and operator offered options of paying only annual fees per vehicle or type of party irrespective of the number of visits. Operators should be encouraged to form agreements with local communities in such areas. Agreements would involve services offered by communities and rights for operators to undertake various activities in their areas. (Hancock, 1990:15)

Campbell (1990:15) mentions one possibility for increasing tourism in the Kalahari as bow-and-arrow hunting, particularly of springbok. Countless hunters would pay substantially to be able to say they had been bow-and-arrow hunting with the Bushmen. Quite extensive and expensive safaris should in this way be built around the hunting of a common species. The San would gain, since it would be their expertise in a traditional art which would bring them money and fame.

4.2.1.4 CULTURAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SITES:

There are numerous archaeological and historic sites, many of them located close to roads in eastern Botswana. These include rock art in the form of both paintings and engravings, geological formations, Stone Age and Early Iron Age sites, stonewall village remains, mission sites, graves, historic baobabs, and so on.
Modern cultures and traditional life have much to offer the tourist, particularly those who come from cities of industrialised countries. These tourists want to see how other people live, to taste their food, to see their dances and to hear their music. With its wide range of cultures Botswana had much to offer, its pastoral system, basket fishing and traditional iron-smithing in the Okavango Delta, its San-speaking people and its music.

Finally there are many opportunities for specialised activities which can include horse, camel and canoe safaris, walking in natural areas, sand-yachting on Ntwetwe Pan, adventure safaris for children, rock-climbing, ornithological, lapidary, botanical, entomological, archaeological and mission and military history safaris.

Currently little information has been published about many easily accessible sites. One reason for this is that the sites are unprepared for tourist and unprotected against possible vandalism. There is a need to promote written material about archaeological, historic and natural sites as well as the cultures of Botswana if the background information on which all tourism is based is to be available. This could be affected through subsidies to publishers or the commissioning of such work by Government. (Hancock, 1990:17)

Many people visiting this country are anxious to meet Batswana and to enjoy a little of their varied cultures. Many people have voiced objections to the use of Batswana as ‘attractions’; they believe visitors are amused by ‘primitive’ lifestyles and poverty. In fact, most tourists are genuinely interested in meeting Batswana and are not derisive of lifestyles different to their own. In addition, rural Batswana who have come into contact with tourism accept it, recognising its value in terms of money for services and handicrafts. Provided tour operators themselves understand and are sensitive to local cultures, such visits can be beneficial to all without any degradation of the people’s pride in themselves and their culture.
Encouragement should be given to specialised safaris which concentrate on ornithology, mission history and modern cultures. However, encouragement must be seen to emanate from Government which must promote such aspects, by raising the general image of cultural tourism, by promoting traditional music, food, dancing and other activities, and by offering major incentives.

4.2.1.5 INCREASING THE VOLUME OF CITIZEN TOURISM:

There is an urgent need to increase the volume of citizen tourism, and this should not be related either to making more revenues for Government or increasing jobs, although such increase would affect these aspects. The main aims would be to improve the quality of national life, to make people proud of their heritage, both cultural and natural, to instil an understanding of tourism and its general benefits at all population levels, and to inculcate a real desire to preserve natural and cultural resources.

4.2.1.6 SUMMARY:

It is clear that a partnership is needed between Government, private sector industry and communities, in which Government sets the scene and provides the encouragement, and the private sector - supported by the local communities - operates the business, while strong links bind the three together (Ref: 1.8, no.5:13). Such a partnership would require some major rethinking on the part of Government. It must decide whether, as a single Ministry with two departments, one of Tourism and the other of Wildlife and National Parks, is best equipped to develop commercial operations; or whether this would be best performed through a parastatal organisation answering to the Ministry.

Government must be prepared to invest much more in tourism, Such investment need not necessarily involve only money, but
can also involve incentives to operators in the form of new rights and concessions, more flexibility in controls and by sponsoring and enhanced tourism atmosphere throughout the country.

At the same time the industry itself must make real efforts to expand out of just pristine nature viewing and endeavour to spread its efforts into new areas and new activities. To do this, a first requirement is that they ensure that their staff and guides are really equipped to take visitors into remote areas, to interpret their attractions and to ensure that both visitors and local communities enjoy the experience of meeting each other. The achievement of this will depend very much on Government providing considerable guidance and, if necessary, enforcing controls in the North which will curb any further unplanned expansion, and by offering very attractive incentives to those operators prepared to shift some of their emphasis outside the North, or to new operators setting up in less attractive areas.

4.2.2 CREATING A TOURISM NICHE DEMAND:

4.2.2.1 INTRODUCTION:

Creating a demand for niche LIT in Botswana will require a comprehensive staged development plan which gives the opportunity for implementation in villages and the international market place without losing control of tourism growth (National Development Plan, 1991:431). The type of environmental destruction and cultural disruption that occurred in Kenya was in part due to the rapid escalation of tourism without appropriate policies and infrastructure in place. This must be avoided in Botswana by having a coordinated low impact tourism (supply market) development plan and an eco-tourism (demand market) plan that complement each other (Ref: 1.8, no.10:14).
4.2.2.2 STAGES IN DEVELOPMENT:

1.) Stage 1 - Existing carrying capacity:

The first stage in development is concerned with making the best use of resources and existing demand for those resources while extending the market's appeal and establishing the LIT infrastructure. This approach offers a way to reduce the abuse of a tourist product and not lose income.

One possible solution to over-use of natural resources in the short term is by spreading tourism options to other areas of interest (Ref. 1.8 no.8:13). In this way income can be increased without additional pressure on wildlife in a single area and it allows time for long term tourism and Natural Resource Management (NRM) to be implemented.

Combination staged tours could blend, for instance, wildlife viewing in Moremi Reserve with cultural activities in Ghanzi or Tshane and wildlife tourism could still remain the focus of marketing.

Combining new and established destinations is the most realistic way to extend appeals to a demand market because it offers something new but is achieved mainly through advertising rather than by infrastructure development and restructuring.

2.) STAGE 2 - Regional marketing:

Regional Tours which combine with neighbouring countries (Zimbabwe, Zambia and Namibia) provide extended market appeal, increase tourism revenues and reduce environmental or infrastructure pressures on natural resources and village destinations (Ref: 1.8, no.9:13). Through developments of this nature LIT regional tour marketing could lead to a high return rate of tourists in following years.
3.) STAGE 3 - Developing new destinations:

Developing new village based camps or lodges which fill a niche identified by the demand market analysis requires the longest lead time. Time would be needed to develop LIT infrastructure that more precisely responds to the needs if the Japanese and American market where personal safety and hygiene are the first concerns of many travellers. The process of developing a new destination is as follows:

1.) Identify and negotiate agreements with villages in new geographical areas where village involvement can be depended on;

2.) Design and market high cost tours and destinations where the quality of service and the experience will command a high price;

3.) Train villagers to construct and manage tourist lodges or inns; and

4.) begin marketing to the niche markets that have endured (i.e. wildlife viewing) but add specialised interests such as art festivals, pan African music festivals, traditional and undiscovered gourmet cuisine and archaeological ruins.

Because of the tremendous impact of strategic decisions, the above stages in development of a strategic development plan should incorporate not only a proactive search for new opportunities, but also reactive solutions to existing problems.

4.2.3 IMPLEMENTING LOW IMPACT TOURISM (LIT) IN BOTSWANA:

4.2.3.1 INTRODUCTION:

The implementation of LIT in Botswana will involve undertaking several new strategic projects, including decentralization of decisionmaking and increased private sector and community involvement, that represents part of
what needs to be done if overall strategy is to be accomplished.

The findings of the demand market analysis and in-country visits by DTI support the feasibility of the LIT concept operated by the private sector in Botswana (Lillywhite & Lillywhite, 1990). However, the policy and business agreements and conditions identified must be adhered to and a 'generalised' Botswana model indicative of LIT business operation be drafted. The following is a brief summary of such a proposed model and relies strongly upon the preliminary findings of the USAID/DTI 1990 study:

Data showed that village-based, low impact tourism can be profitable for foreign and national investors, travel agencies, tourist operators and villages if high-end tourist sales are maintained.

Further findings demonstrated that conservation of natural resources and park development in tourist destinations can be financed by the private sector at a higher level than is presently being done anywhere in the developing world.

It also demonstrated that the LIT process can be initiated and maintained, including research and monitoring by PVO's, with very little financial help from the development community and with almost no recurrent cost to the government. Perhaps the most important conclusion is that villages can participate with equity in the process rather than with casual employment and odd jobs.

4.2.3.2 VILLAGE EQUITY:

The LIT project has created a viable method for tour destination villages to gain equity in a travel agency of safari operation without investment capital (Ref: 1.8, no.11:14). The village economic unit, through the appropriate village governing body, e.g. village development
committee, uses exclusive access to the culture, village environment and adjoining natural resource and historical attractions in exchange for a percentage of ownership in the travel agency or safari company. The village also negotiates into the business agreement guaranteed jobs, training, technical assistance and investment from the corporation to build and equip a lodge or camp, which becomes the centrepiece of the village economic unit.

PVO's and government extension workers are trained to assist villages in the process through donor and government coordinated efforts. At present, villagers or Remote Area Dwellers (RADs) receive only part time or low paying jobs in exchange for this access and there are no guarantees even for that minimal economic development.

Despite being a new and untested idea, the concept of village equity has several benefits and economic incentives that makes its likelihood of success high. In addition, the investment community has accepted this model as viable and investment worthy and the financial analysis shows that these village investments are reasonable expenses. (Lillywhite & Lillywhite, 1990)

There are a number of potential village internal problems which might occur in the transition form village life to a village structure more dependent on tourism revenue. However, the ability to solve these problems will become part of the tour site selection criteria, and minimum payments by the travel corporation and the Government will have to be guaranteed to the villages, to ensure stability within the new village economic framework.

4.2.3.3 VILLAGE INVESTMENT SCENARIO:

According to Fowkes (1990) the sequence of events that needs to transpire for investment financed LIT to be established are:
1.) Demand market analysis;
2.) Evaluation of supply tourism infrastructure, resource base, village destinations, policy, transportation, hotels, capacity;
3.) Supply market analysis;
4.) Negotiation of government, private sector and village agreements;
5.) Feasibility study, followed by a decision to either embark on or abort a project;
6.) Submission of the Business plan to investors;
7.) Design and construction of facilities;
8.) Training of in-country staff, villagers and PVO's;
9.) Marketing of exclusive access to village destinations; and
10.) Maintenance of a high quality tour product in villages.

The last investment consideration concerns the requirement for policies which make the possible striking of the necessary agreements to allow and to monitor international private sector involvement in the establishment of a LIT industry.

While capital, technical assistance, training, technology and marketing is provided by a local or international investing travel corporation, the in-country travel agency business partner together with participating villages must provide access to natural and cultural resources, management of facilities, staff, fiscal management and operation of tours.

The agreements necessary to make this a business reality include an exclusive access to use agreement between the two parties, tours and operator pricing and cost agreements and an enforcement agreement in the event that all parties do not meet their obligations. In addition, the government must establish policy which supports private sector conservation tourism and which manages the natural resources that are the primary basis for long term investment in rural areas (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1989). Policies must also allow villages broadly monitored latitude over
management of their natural resources and allow for collection of debts and payment of bills on a timely basis.

The initial stages of low impact conservation tourism must therefore be financed by donors, PVO's and the government in order to set the stage for outside or local investment which can then be directed both profitability and maximising benefit to the natural resource base and the people who live in tourist destination areas or buffer zones (Lillywhite & Lillywhite, 1990). Establishing all of these agreements and policies is truly a formidable task and investors are unlikely to participate until these policies are in place.

4.2.3.4 THE ROLE OF DRAFT TOURISM POLICY IN LIT:

The Draft Tourism Policy (DTP) is a big step towards supply side regulation of tourism and lays a sound foundation for establishing a LIT industry in Botswana. LIT development in response to the DTP could assist in the formulation of a self-sustaining wildlife management component of the National Conservation Policy.

Coupling the tourism policy and the introduction of LIT in Botswana confronts a number of issues in both conservation and rural development. The Tribal Gazing Act of 1968 transferred the traditional trusteeship and allocation of land from the tribal chiefs to a network of 77 provincial Land Boards. These Land Boards presumably have custody of natural resources that villages would need for an equity swop with investors because the Land Boards presently manage land leases to safari operators. Out of this practice has grown a cadre of District Officers of Lands to assist Land Boards in land use planning. Each district constituted a Land Use Planning Advisory Group.

The natural resource (primarily wildlife) based land use map for Botswana developed by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks and Ministry of Commerce and Industry, defines
where different types of tourism can occur. This would obviously have a profound impact on the development of LIT.

4.2.4 COMMUNITY PROPOSED OPTIONS:

4.2.4.1 INTRODUCTION:

If development is to take place and becomes self-sustaining through greater involvement in the tourism industry, it will have to start in rural areas. It is here that the core problems of widespread poverty, growing inequality, rapid population growth, and rising unemployment all find their origins in the stagnation and often retrogression of economic life.

Both Government and private sector should become progressively involved in restoring a proper balance between urban and rural economic opportunities and by creating the conditions for broad popular participation in development efforts and rewards; Botswana will have taken a giant step towards the realization of the true meaning of development. What is encouraging, however, is the realization by communities in these areas, that far from playing a passive, supporting role in the economic process of development, the rural economy needs to be a dynamic and leading element in any overall strategy; possibly by means of their own involvement in the tourism industry.

The following consumptive and non-consumptive community proposed options could benefit local communities by providing income, employment and indirect benefits through subsidiary industries commensurate with the National Development objectives of the Government of Botswana.

4.2.4.2 TOURISM - THE NON-CONSUMPTIVE OPTION:

At present photographic safari operators offer game viewing,
bird watching, fishing and boating trips. In addition, through involvement of local communities, visits to villages, walking and ox wagon safaris, as well as involvement in local cultural activities could be explored. The community would not only benefit from employment and revenue through equity interest, but will gain valuable management expertise which would hopefully lead to independent future ventures.

Joint ventures; activities undertaken by one or more parties for their for mutual benefit, embrace the following community development objectives:

- To maximise medium and long term benefits to communities and their business partners;
- To provide incentives for improved resource management;
- To provide education and training in sustainable natural resource use, wildlife management and the tourism industry, and so develop local capacities for managing natural resources and tourist enterprises.

While the community on the one hand believes that its natural resources may appeal to photo tourists, but has no experience of the market or the management of tourist enterprises, the established tour company believed that the can develop a profitable business with the available resources. Communities and their partners must explore the best possible means by which they can fulfil these objectives; a number of options exist:

1.) Joint Venture Agreements:

These are agreements between the community and safari companies that do not involve the merging of either parties assets.

- The community lease the land and the resources contained therein to a safari company, who pays an annual rental fee. The community benefit solely from rental income but may potentially benefit from employment opportunities and
the development of associated enterprises or services.

- The community leases specific areas to the safari operator for the development of tourist infrastructure. The community manage the natural resources of the remaining area and benefit from the income derived from hunting, fishing, wildlife viewing and other activities, while the safari operator aims to profit from lodge and camp income.

- The safari company provide their services at an agreed daily rate cost per tourist, the remainder of the daily rate income, is then equally divided between the partners. In this case there is no merging of assets and the agreement is easy to set up and terminate.

2.) Joint Venture Partnerships:

Joint venture partnerships involve the merging of portions of both parties assets:

- The community becomes a safari operator, develops the area for tourism and hires the services , or offers equity to a skilled management company who market and run the enterprise. The community provides most of the labour and all tourist facilities and the managing company the expertise, in exchange for a fee. This is not a true joint venture as the community is essentially in control, but it is worthy of consideration as it guarantees employment and directly involved local people in the day to day management of the enterprise, so broadening their experience.

- A joint venture partnership is formed between the safari company (providing expertise, infrastructure and equipment) and the community (providing the land, natural resources and labour) and this entity effectively becomes the tourism management group, receiving all revenues and responsible for all costs. The community learn about the business aspects of the tourist industry and have a say in the day to day resource management decisions. The community and
safari company share all profits from the enterprise.

- The safari company and the community develop the areas tourist potential as joint venture partners, the community holding equity in the safari company's operation and paid a daily rate or bed night fee. The safari company have a lease agreement for a number of years but pay no rental fee and supply all facilities, marketing and management expertise, and agree to employ local people and support local enterprise that may complement their activities. The community supply local building materials, guide services, etc. and are actively involved in managing the resources and able to learn about the tourist industry.

3.) The Creation of a Community Reserve:

Improved infrastructure offers considerable potential to rural communities to enter the tourism market and appreciate the associated benefits. A community reserve which would charge a moderate entrance fee is one possible option as there are many areas that lend itself to this kind of activity. This option would offer employment to gate guards and tourist guides while revenue earned would be distributed for approved community development projects.

4.) Other Options:

Universities and museum groups in Europe and America and organizations such as Earthwatch are constantly looking for new areas in which students and researchers can carry out field work or savour new experiences. Further potential thus exists for the establishment of community managed public campsites and facilities for research groups, which again could be managed in conjunction with private camp or lodge owners and safari operators.

Artist workshops, craft shops and facilities like a restaurant could also prove popular.
5.) Community Wildlife Scouts:

The formation of a community scout unit would offer employment opportunities and instill a sense of custodianship for local resources. This group would also allow the community to regulate and control the use of resources. The role of such a body could be to:

- Collect data on the natural resources in the area;
- Monitor the users of these resources, e.g. hunters and safari operators;
- Liaise with the DWNP on problem animal control and anti-poaching issues and
- act as guards and guides at proposed safari camps and lodges.

This unit could be financed by community projects but should to a large extent be subsidised by safari operators and the duties supported by a resident project manager.

4.2.4.3 CITIZEN AND NON-RESIDENT HUNTING - THE CONSUMPTIVE OPTION:

A proportion of the annual hunting quota determined by the DWNP should be made available for purchase by communities in and around hunting areas. In order to finance the purchase of the quota they will have to select one or more of the options presented below:

1.) The total quota is raffled by the community and sold to local residents, and if there are not enough residents to take up the quota, the remainder is sold to interested residents from other communities.

2.) The whole, or part of the quota is sold by the community to safari companies, and the balance is raffled and sold to community hunters.
3.) The balance of zebra and buffalo quotas not sold to safari companies, are culled by the companies on behalf of the community. The hunting and processing of animals and the delivering of meat and skins to the community becomes the responsibility of the safari companies. In return for this service the safari company pays less for the concession and the portion of the quota they require for their clients.

4.) Establishment of a regular market for game meat, to meet the demand by tourism hotels and safari camps. The safari company cull game of the community's behalf but transports and sells the meat outside the area, with the community benefitting from the sale of meat and skins.

5.) The community introduces a hunting ban on all species, with the exception of zebra and buffalo, and halve the present hunting quota. This would allow the wildlife population in certain areas to recover and increase.

The introduction of community involvement in tourist activities, non-consumptive and consumptive utilization of wildlife, could have a significant impact of the lives of residents in these areas through the creation of direct and indirect employment. Revenues generated by both community and joint venture tourist enterprises would increase household incomes and raise standards of living. Moreover, management expertise and training provided through private sector involvement could prove invaluable for future development and social upliftment.

4.2.5 THE FUTURE OF TOURISM AND WILDLIFE IN BOTSWANA:

4.2.5.1 INTRODUCTION:

Throughout this paper there has been heavy emphasis on the
important relationship in Botswana between policy governing tourism development and policy governing the management of wildlife. This assumption is supported by results of the cost-benefit studies undertaken a group of EEC consultants on behalf of Government to assess the implication of various policy, structure and strategic decisions in this regard. During the study, which was completed in early 1989, and which assumed a time frame of 15 years (3 x 5 year periods), four possible scenarios were identified (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1989).

4.2.5.2 FUTURE STRATEGY – SCENARIO’S:

1.) SCENARIO 1: Status Quo.

Scenario 1 assumed the status quo, a situation in which neither the tourism policy or national conservation and development policy of the DWNP were implemented.

The forecast deterioration in the Botswana resource under the status quo scenario was reflected in reduced private sector benefits in both the tourism and wildlife utilization parts of the sector.

A decline in public sector revenues was attributed to a decline in private sector tourism and wildlife utilization as a result of the anticipated continued depletion of the wildlife resource in the absence of any change in policy.

The overall finding under this scenario was that, although Government expenditures (capital and recurrent) were projected to continue to grow throughout the fifteen year period, the additional benefit (public and private) declined after the fifth year because the wildlife resource was not being sustained.

In short, Government’s investment in the first five years was
too low to arrest the decline, despite the fact that Government was in effect, subsidising the sector.

FIGURE 5
ESTIMATED AND PROJECTED COST - BENEFIT ANALYSIS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 4 SCENARIOS RESPECTIVELY.
(Based on Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1989)

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<th>SCEN. 2</th>
<th>SCEN. 3</th>
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(000's of Pula)
2.) SCENARIO 2: Implementation of Tourism Policy.

Implementation of the tourism policy only resulted in a projected appreciation increase in annual government costs. Compared with Scenario 1, the status quo, at the end of five years Government costs are estimated to be P4.3 million higher; at the end of 10 years, P5.0 million higher; and at the end of 15 years about P1.5 million higher. Projected private and public sector benefits showed a comparable increase when compared to that of the first scenario.

With the adoption of the tourism policy only, total government expenditures were expected to exceed total government receipts throughout the period. Nevertheless, the share of government benefit to private benefit was expected to increase significantly by the adoption of the policy. With this Scenario, the government share showed improvement but the industry was tied to a resource which would become more and more depleted with a consequent reduction in related government revenues.

The yield per pula of government expenditure arising from the implementation of tourism policy was positive throughout the period (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1989:42).


Implementation of the policy would result in an estimated increase in annual government costs of P15 million, P4 million and P1 million at the end of 5, 10 and 15 years respectively. The high costs in early years could represent capital expenditure eg. office blocks, roads, housing, etc.

The estimates show that annual total benefits, compared with
Scenario 1, not only rose but in every year were substantially greater than the extra costs attributable to the adoption of the plan. It is important to note that the degree of subsidization was little changed with the implementation of the DWNP policy; government expenditures were more than twice as large as government revenues with or without this policy change. The benefit-cost ratio indicated that this policy, even if adopted in isolation, was worthwhile because the total benefits per pula spent yielded positive returns after the eighth year, whereafter it continued to rise strongly and persistently. Unlike the tourism policy considered in isolation, the net benefit rose with time because the wildlife stock was gradually restored. The tourism policy in isolation yielded positive but declining net returns because the resource base, in the absence of improved wildlife conservation in Botswana, was being run down (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1989:44).

4.) SCENARIO 4: Simultaneous adoption of the Tourism Policy and DWNP Conservation and Development Policy.

The picture that emerged from this Scenario was far more favourable than those revealed by Scenarios 2 and 3 under which the Tourism Policy and DWNP Policy were considered separately. The Tourism policy in isolation showed substantial net benefits in the onset but a gradual decline as the wildlife resource declined. The DWNP plan in isolation only produced net benefits after eight years and a continuing high level of government subsidization.

Scenario 4 estimates indicate that simultaneous adoption of both policies would yield positive net return within 5 years and a rate of return that would rise steadily throughout the planning period. Moreover, with both policies implemented the governments share of total benefits was expected to rise from about 7 percent to nearly 15 percent and the subsidy was virtually eliminated. Fifteen years hence total annual government wildlife-and-tourism-related expenditures were
projected to be P17.7 million and government revenues related to wildlife utilization and wildlife-related tourism were projected to be P17.2 million.

4.2.5.3 IN RETROSPECT:

The results of these studies (Figure 5) undoubtedly demonstrate that Scenario 4 yields the highest cost-benefit ratios after five, ten and fifteen years. It also indicates by far the highest number of direct, full-time jobs created by the end of the 15 year planning period and a substantial reduction of the annual Government subsidy. Finally it presented, incomparably, the lowest cost to the public sector of each direct, full-time job created.

Figure 6 illustrates the implications of the creation of direct employment associated with each of the four alternative Scenarios's in terms of the estimated number of direct full-time jobs created as well as the subsequent estimated additional net costs to public sector.

FIGURE 6
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF DIRECT FULL-TIME JOBS AND ADDITIONAL COST TO PRIVATE SECTOR CREATED BY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FOUR ALTERNATIVE SCENARIOS:
(Based on Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1989)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCENARIO NO:</th>
<th>SCEN.1</th>
<th>SCEN. 2</th>
<th>SCEN. 3</th>
<th>SCEN. 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRIVATE SECTOR JOBS</td>
<td>1,640</td>
<td>2,460</td>
<td>7,090</td>
<td>7,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOVERNMENT JOBS</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1,590</td>
<td>1,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2,360</td>
<td>3,260</td>
<td>8,680</td>
<td>9,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOURISM COMPONENT</td>
<td>857</td>
<td>1,669</td>
<td>3,938</td>
<td>4,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADDITIONAL COSTS</td>
<td>178,600</td>
<td>36,600</td>
<td>15,200</td>
<td>8,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These projections show that, if nothing is done, employment will decline in the private sector over the next fifteen years, but will continue to grow in the government sector, with a small net increase. Implementing the tourism policy only was projected to increase employment by about 1,200 after 15 years, relative to the status quo, with most of the increase attributable to private sector expansion.

The wildlife conservation policy, if implemented alone, would have, it is projected, the greatest positive effect on employment compared with the status quo. However, together, the tourism policy and the conservation policy were projected to increase the number of full-time paid jobs from 2,360 to 9,760 - a four-fold increase.

With regard to employment generation the EEC consultants concluded the following: "From the point of view of creating the largest possible number of additional, permanent, full-time jobs particularly in remote areas where alternative sources of such jobs are few and far between and extremely costly for Government to create, the simultaneous implementation of both the tourism policy and the wildlife conservation policy is clearly the most attractive option" (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1989:50). Without the Tourism policy the public benefit from this resource will remain extremely low.

Furthermore, by changing the system for leasing wildlife related-lands, modifying the company tax, encouraging private sector involvement, and imposing a net royalty on gross turnover of wildlife related tourism companies, public benefits can be substantially raised as a proportion of total benefits, the subsidy virtually eliminated at the end of the fifteen year planning period and a real effort made to ensure the transfer of benefits to local communities (Ref: 1.8, no.6/no.11:13/14).
4.3 CONCLUSION:

The 1990’s is a highly opportune time to consider the role of tourism in the Botswana economy. This is so because it marks the beginning of a transitional phase in Botswana’s post-Independence economic history, following a long period of unparalleled economic growth.

The discovery of substantial deposits of diamonds, and the commencement of mining operations at Orapa, Jwaneng and Letlhakane during the 1970s and 1980s transformed the economy from one characterised by low-level subsistence agriculture and high risk livestock production, with low income levels and few opportunities for formal employment, into the largest producer of diamonds in the world in volume terms.

Over the past 15 years, Botswana had registered one of the fastest growth rates in the world, both in aggregate output, and more impressively, in per capita income. employment, exports, Government expenditures and foreign exchange reserves have all expanded at an annual rate which has caused Botswana to be widely regarded as the economic success of Africa.

If public policies and programmes are adjusted in response to the changing economic realities, there is no reason why Botswana should not continue to enjoy a respectable, and socially acceptable growth rate in the decade ahead. But diamond mining in Botswana is approaching its currently optimum production capacity, with little likelihood, primarily for reasons of international marketability, of an expansion if output in the 1990’s.

Already Botswana’s economic growth has slowed significantly; export earnings are no longer rising sharply in real terms; Government revenues are no longer growing faster than Government expenditures; and Botswana’s foreign exchange reserves have ceased to accumulate at the annual rates achieved in the 1980s.
An international economic recession in the first half of the 1990s could adversely affect Botswana’s main exports. Event in Europe and Southern Africa will certainly make it more difficult for Botswana to attract the foreign investment it requires to diversify its economy and create jobs at a rate commensurate with the nation’s historically and unsustainably high population growth rate.

When the mining sector, which generates almost half of GDP, stops expanding, it is time to take a long hard look at the productive sectors of the economy. The picture is daunting. Agriculture, including livestock production contributes only about 3.3% of GDP, and its share of national output, always vulnerable to droughts and market uncertainties, is falling both relatively and absolutely. Manufacturing also contributes a comparably small share of GDP, which has not expanded much over the past five years. Growth in virtually all of the other sectors of the economy is heavily dependent on Government expenditures - and they are unlikely to continue to expand much, in real terms during the coming decade.

An unparalleled tourism resource base and growth potential provides substantial internal strength to the industry and key trends such as increased international environmental awareness and the move to ‘eco-tourism” an unequalled opportunity. Moreover the marketing of Botswana as a regional, Low Impact Tourism destination will encourage the utilization of the Botswana’s wildlife and natural resources on a sustainable basis, whilst stimulating private sector involvement and alleviating the investment constraint on Government.

If this study has confirmed that tourism can contribute substantially to all National Development objectives; economic diversification, increased foreign exchange revenue and particularly the social upliftment and economic welfare of all Batswana; it has in itself achieved its goals. It is entirely, therefore, that more attention should be devoted to
tourism, as one of the smaller sectors of the economy which manifests capacity for growth, and that it is deserving of the attention of the developers of Botswana to unlock its full potential.

The word 'Pula' denotes not only the term for Botswana’s currency, but also the Tswana word for rain. To say that the (Pula) potential of the tourism industry is vast would be like saying the arrival of the rains is acceptable...
APPENDIX 1

Definition of words and terms used in the framework.
(Figure 3 and Figure 4)

1.) Reading down the rows:

OWN
Involves the power to do with the property or thing that which the owner pleases, subject only to the limitations imposed by law.

LEASE
Is a contract in terms of which a lessor undertakes to give a lessee the temporary use of certain property (or a portion of it) in return for an undertaking to pay rent (or some other form of consideration).

MANAGE
A contract whereby the personal services of another are secured to manage an enterprise on behalf of the owner of lessee.

MAINTAIN
The upkeep of buildings or infrastructure in an acceptable working or usable condition to enable it to fulfil the purpose for which it was designed.

ACCESS
When applied to a tract of land: means the right to change the character of the land through use, eg. to farm of plant forests.
When applied to the products of the land: means use of those products in a controlled or uncontrolled form, whether they are natural products such as plants or animals, or the aesthetic products, such as a wilderness experience.
Access to infrastructure and buildings would have the normal meanings of access to and use of the facilities.

MARKET
All or any of the facets associated with the marketing of an area, its facilities or products including advertising, public relations activities, travel agents, etc.

CONSTRUCT
The construction of buildings, infrastructure or equipment which provides support eg.
computers, telephones, photocopiers.

**PROCESS**
The conversion of raw material to another form.

2.) Reading across the columns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. TRACTS OF LAND</td>
<td>Designated areas of land which have been set aside for conservation purposes and which can be clearly identified as a unit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. PRODUCTS OF THE LAND</td>
<td>Natural products of the land and the aesthetic experience offered by the land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. INFRASTRUCTURE</td>
<td>Those structures which are necessary to permit a modern business complex to function.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. BUILDINGS AND SURROUNDS</td>
<td>Formal man-made structures together with that amount of the surrounding land as is necessary to make the building functional.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. RETAIL ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>For example curio shops, petrol stations, restaurants, car hire, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. SUPPORT SERVICES</td>
<td>Those functions which provide support for the principal activities of an organization eg. telecommunications, data processing, cleaning facilities, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 2

Explanation of the various options for private sector roles in conservation areas.
(Figure 4)

(Note: The number of each [paragraph indicates the cell on the framework)

1. **Ownership of tracts of land:**
The State sells the area outright giving ownership to the private sector for use as they wish. This option also include ownership of the products of the land (option 2).

2. **Ownership of the products of the land:**
See option 1.

3. **Ownership of infrastructure:**
Ownership and management of the land is vested in the state but private parties are allowed to erect of develop for example roads, airstrips, etc. with the right to charge for their use, sub-let, sell to third parties.

4. **Ownership of buildings and surrounds:**
Ownership and management of the land remains with the state but private parties are allowed to erect their own buildings, chalets, camps, hotels, etc. giving these owners exclusive use of these building, rights to sub­let, or rights to sell to a third party.
There may be different forms of private sector ownership eg. freehold, leasehold, share-block, sectional title, etc.

5. **Ownership of retail activities:**
The private sector owns the retail business, eg. a restaurant, and leases from the state the buildings and facilities form which that business is operated.

6. **Ownership of support services:**
The private sector owns the particular service and charges users for the use of the service, eg. telecommunications, car hire, etc.
7. **Lease of tracts of land:**
The State retains ownership of the land but leases the use of that land to the private sector for their own activities. The lease may contain clauses which restrict that usage. This option would be expected to include lease of the products of the land (option 8).

8. **Lease of the products of the land:**
See option 7.

9. **Lease of infrastructure:**
The ownership of infrastructure is vested in the state but facilities are leased to private persons of organisations for permanent or limited use. The private lessor would be entitled to charge for use of the facility by the public.

10. **Lease of buildings:**
The state owns the land and buildings but leased out buildings to the private sector on a contract basis, eg. safari companies may have camps sited or tour companies may have chalets which are set aside for their exclusive use. The private lessor would be entitled to charge for use of the facility by the public.

11. **Lease of retail activities:**
An established, retail activity is leased from the owner of the activity.

12. **Lease of support services:**
Ownership of equipment is in public hands. The equipment or the provision of the service are leased to the private sector.

13. **Management of tracts of land:**
The State retains ownership but contracts private persons to manage their land to an agreed management plan. By implication, management can be expected to include maintenance of the land in an acceptable condition (option 19). This option would be expected to include management and maintenance of the products of the land (options 14 and 20).

14. **Management of products of the land:**
See option 13.
15. **Management of infrastructure:**
The ownership of infrastructure is vested in the state which contracts management of the infrastructure to the private sector.

16. **Management of buildings:**
The State owns the land and buildings but contracts management of buildings to the private sector.

17. **Management of retail activities:**
Ownership of the retail activity is vested in some other party which then contracts management of the retail activity to the private sector.

18. **Management of support services:**
The state owns the support services and contracts management of the services to the private sector.

19/20. **Maintenance of tracts of land or products of the land:**
See option 13.

21/22/ **Maintenance of infrastructure, buildings, retail equipment and support services:**
Ownership of land, infrastructure, buildings, retail activities and support services is vested in the state but the maintenance if infrastructure is subject to a maintenance contract for the upkeep of the particular facility.

25. **Access to tracts of land:**
Ownership and overall management of the land rest with the state but private persons are given use of the land in a manner which would change its character eg for farming or timber plantations.

26. **Access to the products of the land:**
Total control of the area is vested in the state but the private sector is allowed controlled access and use of products of the land, eg. hunting animals, collecting thatching grass, drawing of irrigation water, etc.

27. **Access to infrastructure:**
Ownership and management of the infrastructure are vested elsewhere but private users have access to exclusive, limited or casual use.
28. Access to buildings and surrounds:
The ownership and management of land and buildings remain vested with the State but access to certain buildings or facilities are available to private persons/organizations for use on a specific or casual basis.

29. Access to retail activities:
Ownership and management of the retail concern is vested elsewhere. The public have access to the retail outlet as customers, in the normal way.

30. Access to support services:
The ownership and management of support services remain with the State but the private sector has access to those services eg. communication networks, etc.

31/32/  Marketing of the conservation area and its facilities and distribution of products or services:
Marketing of buildings, infrastructure, facilities by eg. travel agents, brokers or middlemen.
Marketing of products produced by the activities of the conservation body, eg. trophies, skins, timber, thatching, crafts, etc. Where, for example, the private sector takes over responsibility as wholesalers, or where builders sell natural materials.
Distribution of products where, for example, wholesalers or transport companies distribute products for re-sale to curio-shops, etc.

37/38/  Construction:
39/40  The design and construction of buildings, infrastructure or equipment

41. Processing of products:
The processing of products which are created by the activities of the conservation authority, eg. trophies, hides, timber, thatching, meats, crafts, etc.
1. Books, research essays and professional publications:


ERSKINE, J.M. 1990: Private sector involvement in and adjacent to conservation areas of KwaZulu; unpublished paper. Pietermaritzburg Institute of Natural Resources.


FOWKES, J.D. 1990: An assessment of appropriate roles for private sector involvement in the development of tourism in conservation areas in less developed countries. Gaborone: The Botswana Society.


SYMPOSIUM - TOURISM IN BOTSWANA (1st: 1990: Gaborone).


2. Magazine articles:


