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Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area and its influence on the communities in its Botswana borders

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Abstract

This thesis attempts to examine the influence of a nature conservation area, also called a 'peace park,' on the lives of the people living and working within its borders. The particular focus of this study is the Kavango Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA TFCA). The objectives of this peace park, located in southern Africa, include improvements in quality of life for the local people through development mainly instigated by tourism increased due to enhanced nature protection. Another major focus is the facilitation of friendly relationships between participating countries through cooperation in nature protection and development. The objective of this study is to observe the outcomes of the project from a bottom-up perspective, which focuses on the points of view and experiences of the local people, who are meant to directly benefit from the assistance of this conservation area. As a conceptual framework for analysis, this thesis is based on the positive peace theory and concepts closely relevant to it, such as sustainable development, poverty, human security and community development. These theories have been utilised to further analyse the opinions and experiences of interviewees of the region. All content within these pages has been supported by other case studies of similar concern, when possible.

The findings of this study indicate the potential that KAZA TFCA can have on the communities under its supervision. The people interviewed have displayed awareness regarding the importance of nature protection and its correlation with tourism, which lead to further development possibilities which may impact their own welfare. The findings suggest that these people have put their trust into the parks development and success, not only in terms of economic growth, but also when it comes to resolving international tension regarding the management of regional natural resources. Despite the positive opinions expressed by many of the local people, some flaws remain both in the functioning of the park as well as in the people's attitude toward their neighbours, with whom they should create a healthy economy and a united community.

This study is another building-block which contributes to the research that has already been conducted surrounding peace parks in southern Africa. It may also introduce some new arguments to the on-going debate on the role and potentially positive effects of transfrontier conservation areas on local populations.

Key words: nature conservation, transfrontier conservation area, peace parks, positive peace, welfare, sustainable development, security

Foreword

Thank you, reader, for coming across this thesis. I wrote it at The Arctic University of Norway. I am originally from Poland, but I am concerned with the affairs of our planet. Of special importance is the environment, which we exploit mercilessly, and the non-human animals that suffer the biggest price for our domination.

During my bachelor degree in international relations I also tried to connect the socio-political affairs with environmental activism, which resulted in a graduate thesis about eco-terrorism. Later, at some point in my studies I learned about peace parks, which was quite a revolutionary concept - at least at first glance. These parks are composed of countries in conflict, and assist in peace building through commonly managed nature conservations. As I studied further, the peace parks of southern Africa caught my attention. These park projects are intended to protect the fragility of African nature, but also improve the quality of life for local people through various social and economical changes, all while avoiding direct conflict.

In this research I investigated a case that has the potential to be a mutually beneficial scenario for both humans and nature, existing in a state of balance. This is very desirable in today's world in order to preserve both endangered species and a happy human society, which might soon become endangered too. Due to my position as a social researcher, I have focused primarily on the situation of the humans. For the location of my fieldwork I chose northern Botswana, which is part of the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area.

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and my family for letting me do what I desire, where I desire, which has made all the difference.

List of abbreviations and acronyms

AR - African Renaissance

AUC- African Union Commission

CAMPFIRE - Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources

CBNRM - Community Based Natural Resource Management

DHA - Department of Home Affairs (South Africa)

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

HATAB - The Hospitality and Tourism Association of Botswana

HSRG - Human Security Research Group

IUCN - World Conservation Union

KAZA TFCA/ KAZA - Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area

KFW - Reconstruction Credit Institute

MFAZ - Ministry of Foreign Affairs Zimbabwe

PPF - Peace Park Foundation

TBPA - Transboundary Protected Area

TCC - Transfrontier Conservation Consortium

TFCA - Transfrontier Conservation Area

THF - The Heritage Foundation

WTO - World Trade Organization

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1. Introduction

The following study concerns nature conservation as a way to benefit local communities. The theme of this research was first inspired by the book Wildlife Heroes, a compilation of forty leading conservation projects written by Julie Scardina and Jeff Flocken (2012). The articles within discuss the work being accomplished to preserve various endangered animal species, but also strongly reference work done with the local communities at these sites, who are directly exposed to relations with the wild animals. Wild animals are commonly treated like pests in areas where wildlife meets human habitats, and are therefore exterminated as such and sometimes driven into extinction. To help combat this problem, many educational programmes have been launched and countless local inhabitants have been encouraged to take part in conservation projects which provide them with the opportunity to gain employment and education. Through education, understanding and enjoying the benefits of healthy wildlife, the people often change their hostile attitudes toward the local animals. Educated communities can then plan their development more sustainably, which leads to valuable results for both people and animals. Such a comprehensive approach to nature conservation and the welfare of populations in developing countries appeals greatly to someone concerned for prosperous nature and prosperous people. Further investigation of this subject helped to lead the researcher to the given topic of this thesis, which is a focus on peace parks.

1.1 Peace parks

The peace park phenomenon and the origins of the phrase 'peace park' began with the establishment of the Waterton Lake Glacier International Peace Park in 1932, located between Canada and the U.S.A. The creation of a park with a focus on 'peace' was a largely symbolic gesture, as the countries were not in conflict at the time and they remain in friendly relations even today. Nevertheless, many countries have followed this example and have attempted to maintain or establish peace with the help of nature-protecting transboundary areas. The first international peace park which involved armed conflict between neighbouring countries was in the Cordillera del Condor region, located between Ecuador and Peru (Ali 2007). Today, the Transboundary Protected Areas Network recognises 188 peace parks all over the world (IUCN 2001).

Peace parks operate most effectively as buffer zones between countries in conflict. There are several examples of buffer zones between hostile territories. One of these lies between El Salvador and Honduras in a 2km wide strip which is estimated to reduce the possibility of war by about ninety per cent (Lejano 2006). Pakistan and India are divided by an even narrower strip of land, which has also resulted in a significant decrease in violent incidents within the area. These two countries are considering the creation of a peace park on the Siachen glacier, just above the military control line of that area. Jordan and Israel have jointly managed the Binational Sea Marine Peace Park since 1994. The situation in Cyprus change from hostile to cooperative, even on a local level. After decades of being divided by a buffer zone, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots now exchange social and cultural relations within that area (ibid).

The most widely accepted definition for peace parks is one presented by the World Conservation Union (IUCN) (2001), specifying certain protected areas which have been established to protect biodiversity and cultural diversity. Transboundary protected areas (TBPA) are a subcategory of protected areas, and must straddle the borders of two or more countries. Transboundary protected areas for peace and co-operation (otherwise known as 'peace parks') are the narrowest subcategory of protected areas, and must demonstrate biodiversity, cooperation and most importantly a peace objective between at least two countries. The mission of peace parks is to preserve their natural and cultural heritage while helping to establish peaceful and cooperative relations between countries in conflict, as well as developing their economies and improving the living conditions of local populations.

Transfrontier Conservation Area (TFCA) is a term used mostly to describe TBPAs in southern Africa. The distinction is made to give the phenomena exclusivity in that part of the world (van Amerom and Büscher 2005). Southern African countries have adapted the idea of Transboundary Protected Areas for Peace and Co-operation as a regular cooperation and development tool. With the help of the Peace Park Foundation (PPF), they have created peace parks in naturally and culturally valuable areas where the local people are included in ambitious development plans. The situation of people living in the protection area is the interest of this thesis.

1.2 Past and present of peace parks in Southern Africa

The area with the highest peace park density in the world today is in southern Africa. In May of 1990, a conservation project was introduced which later turned into The Peace Park Foundation. Anton Rupert "had a meeting in Maputo with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano, to discuss the possibility of establishing a permanent link between some of the protected areas in southern Mozambique and their adjacent counterparts in South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe" (PPF 2013a). After additional meetings and discussions which lasted through 1996, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Swaziland agreed to a mutual cooperation in order to realise the economic benefits of the protection area. The PPF operates now in the region of southern African and orchestrates the functions of 10 parks. The Foundation is an international organisation working in southern Africa to facilitate the establishment of peace parks. It was established in 1997 by Dr. Anton Rupert, together with HRH Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands and Dr. Nelson Mandela. Originally the Foundation was called the WWF South Africa, but it was renamed when Rupert conceptualised the idea of transfrontier conservation areas. During the same year, countries in the region recognised the economic value of nature-protection areas as tourist attractions, which spurred interest in peace parks in southern Africa. The sub-continent needed a solution to the economic challenges they were facing, and TFCAs seemed appealing.

The PPF manages the entire multi-layered and time-consuming process of establishing each peace park. When describing peace parks, the PPF (2013b) states that, "Peace parks are about co-existence between humans and nature, about promoting regional peace and stability, conserving biodiversity and stimulating job creation by developing nature conservation as a land-use option". The parks are meant to serve the cause of peace in many ways (PPF 2006). They are supported financially by many local and external organisations such as the Dutch Postcode Lottery, the KFW and the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development.

1.3 KAZA - the subject of this research

KAZA TFCA has many unusual and appealing qualities which make it worth protecting. First, it is famous for hosting the biggest elephant population in Africa. The rich diversity of wildlife in the park is also considered of big economic and ecological value. The park's flora is also impressive, boasting over 100 different species that are all endemic to the region. In its final form, the park will

contain 36 proclaimed protected areas, "such as national parks, game reserves, forest reserves, community conservancies and game/wildlife management area" (ibid). In addition, "The KAZA TFCA also includes some of the world's renowned natural features and tourist attractions, such as the Victoria Falls (one of the seven natural wonders and a World Heritage Site) and the Okavango Delta (the largest Ramsar Site in the world¹)" (KAZA TFCA 2013a). With all these natural treasures, the goal of the KAZA TFCA is "to sustainably manage the Kavango-Zambezi ecosystem, its heritage and cultural resources based on best conservation and tourism models *for the socioeconomic wellbeing of the communities* [emphasis by student researcher] and other stakeholders in and around the eco-region through harmonisation of policies, strategies and practices" (ibid).

KAZA facilitates various community projects in the participating countries pertaining to local development, sustainable resource management and conservation, resulting in eco-tourism. The development of tourism is one of the main goals of KAZA, as this is how the welfare of the people will be most significantly improved. The aspiration is to make the park a single tourist destination associated with several attractions, where visitors can have a high quality experience. The private share in the facilities should grow, as well as the public-private partnership ratio. Of course, this should all be organised in a sustainable manner which allows the environment to thrive and maintain its purity.

KAZA also cares about the cultural heritage of this region, which in turn also encourages tourism. KAZA TFCA authorities have made it a primary focus to celebrate and foster the rich cultural diversity of this area, helping to keep it alive in local communities. In addition to increasing tourism, this sharing of heritage will allow for the kindling of cooperative and friendly relations across borders on a grassroots as well as a governmental level. Economist Paul Collier (2003) has stated that the primary reason for conflict in emergent nations is the failure of economic development. "By boosting economies and lifting desperate communities out of poverty, [the peace] parks have the potential to be a critical development tool and as such a peace-building tool" (in Darnell 2008: 16). If the initiative fully succeeds in its goals, it will be an undeniable benefit to the local communities. For now the project is still developing, taking different shapes and intensities in different parts of the protected territory. The populations of focus in this research are the communities located in the Botswana part of KAZA - exclusively in Kasane and Maun. The

¹ "The Convention on Wetlands of International Importance, called the Ramsar Convention, is an intergovernmental treaty that provides the framework for national action and international cooperation for the conservation and wise use of wetlands and their resources". (ramsar 2014)

opinions of the inhabitants of these communities on KAZA, and on life in general, is expected to help clarify the situation in this particular region in terms of the influence of KAZA on grassroots communities.

1.4 Research question and its place in peace studies

Despite the fact that nature conservation is the first concern on the list of objectives in conservation areas, the interest of this research is not necessarily the protection of nature and wildlife. Rather, it is the situation of the people living in the protection area. This research focuses on the impact that the efforts of peace parks and wildlife protection have on the local people. After all, promoting regional peace and stability is the main objective when peace parks are established. The central research question for this is as follows:

To what extent has the KAZA TFCA benefited the local population in northern Botswana, pertaining to welfare, security and relations with neighbouring countries?

The concept of peace parks may appear intriguing to a peace researcher just by the nature of its name. The initiative refers boldly to its peace contribution, leaving little room for discussion at first glance. In fact, there are many different approaches taken to the topic which can spur great discussion. Peace parks as international phenomena maintain a genuine goal to protect nature and bring stability to conflict areas by establishing cooperation between state authorities. They also encourage development and economic growth within communities, which contribute to the improved living conditions of ordinary citizens. Brock (1991) brings examples such as disputes over resources or environmental depletion causing hostility in social relations, while ecological cooperation could help to build trust in international relations. All of these factors closely correlate with peace studies.

Big actors in fields of peace and stability (such as the Nobel Peace Prize Committee and the UN) acknowledge the importance of nature conservation throughout the process of encouraging peaceful situations. Although sometimes controversial, Nobel Peace Prizes have been awarded for environmental work. These are strong signs that environmental issues cross over into the field of peace studies. This research is especially concerned with implementing vast changes for local communities, including empowering grassroots agendas, boosting economical development, facilitating accessible education and promoting job creation.

The first thing that comes to mind when discussing peace is the reality of violence in a given area. In order to run any peace-enhancing project to benefit communities, violence should first be put to rest. Jan Eliasson, deputy secretary-general of the United Nations, addressed the participants of a UN meeting convened under the title 'Poaching and Illicit Wildlife Trafficking' on the 26th of September in 2013. One especially relevant quote taken from his speech follows: "Key species are being driven to extinction. The proceeds of illegal trade support transnational organised crime and terror organisations, murder and violence go hand in hand with this despicable business. The illegal trade in wildlife and endangered species is linked to drug smugglers, gun runners and human trafficking. It is a threat to all three pillars of our organization: human rights, peace and security, and development" (PPF 2014c). This statement clearly demonstrates that the preservation of endangered species is not only of interest to ecologists and biologists, but crosses into sociopolitical affairs as well.

While illegal hunting is a threat to human rights, peace, security and development, peace parks should be the ultimate cure if fulfilling the structure of their foundation. This thesis will investigate the actual role and results of the Kavango-Zambezi Peace Park, with a focus on field data from its Botswana territory exclusively. The evaluation of this study will be supplied by data and cases from other parts of the KAZA territory. This will present the park as a cohesive whole, rather than as a variety of parks in southern Africa operating under the supervision of the Peace Park Foundation. Such an approach to the problem should examine the case in a holistic way, considering its comprehensive capabilities and professional development, compared to results from older protection areas.

1.5 Problem statement

The main focus of this study is on three objectives: welfare, security and relations with neighbouring countries. In communities where there is no direct violence connected to an international conflict, the situation of shattered peace appears as a result of poverty and insecurity. Hostile attitudes toward neighbouring communities may eventually lead to violent conflict. Welfare creation is the first step in fighting poverty, which leads to increased security. Botswana is a politically secure country, but her citizens may not feel secure about their individual futures. Increased welfare should secure the basic needs, thus securing the future. If the people did not have to struggle for daily survival, it may be easier to adapt a friendly attitude towards their neighbours.

In turn, improving relations with neighbours should further increase perceived levels of security. By examining correlations between the three identified objectives and their level of appearances, it is possible to determine whether peace parks are truly peace-building tools.

In order to discover to what extent KAZA actually improves the living conditions of local communities through sustainable development, a sample of the local people of the Botswana part of the KAZA park were interviewed. They were also questioned regarding their relationships and personal attitudes toward their neighbours in adjacent countries, with whom they share the KAZA territory.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

From the information gathered thus far regarding the peace park concept, it is apparent that the officials of KAZA are attempting to deliver all of the identified objectives of a peace park to the people. At this point, the idea of peace parks is theoretically the golden mean in modern peace-building, securing both nature and people. Answering the given research question should prove to be of significant value, due to the relatively low level of interest in this topic among peace scholars. The great majority of literature discussing peace parks does not cover the attitudes and actual positions of ordinary people. The evaluation should also reveal whether this great idea in theory correlates with a demanding reality.

The next chapters of this thesis will cover the theory and methodology used in this study. The theories used in this research derive from various fields such as economics, politics, peace studies and international relations. The concepts discussed therein will create a set of definitions on which the evaluation will be based. The third chapter presents the methodology used in this research. These are the approaches and actions taken to uncover the answer to the research question. With a solid foundation built upon theory and methodology, the empirical and written data can finally be evaluated in the discussion portion of this thesis. The final chapter is in fact the most informative in terms of the role of KAZA TFCA in southern Africa.

Development of this research project required many hours of difficulties, including stress over reading, writing, deadlines, content and grammar, just to name a few. But it also allowed access to the most valuable part of the process - the field research. Visiting Botswana was an extraordinary experience, enriching in terms of empirical knowledge. But it was also a beautiful episode in private

life. Many people and animals were met on the way to gather information for this project. The former were engaged in discussion, the latter were photographed and admired. Every moment spent in Botswana influenced the production of this thesis greatly. The hardships of the time spent in the library as well as the joys of discovering new things were all part of a wonderful adventure that contributed to what this thesis is today.

2. Theoretical frameworks

The term 'peace' can mean a variety of things to a variety of people, both in practical application and in academia. There are many peace theories which are examined by scholars, each involving its own factors and determinants, and each with a subjective definition of 'peace'. For example, the countries that make up KAZA are not in violent conflict, as previously mentioned. But does this mean they are at peace? Peace must be defined in terms of the context of the research presented in this specific document in order to properly address the research questions.

This chapter will start with presenting the concept of African Renaissance. For the purpose of this project, there are four theories and a few concepts that have been chosen to be used as analytical tools. Two of these theories have been introduced by world-renown sociologist Johan Galtung, and include the positive peace theory as well as the development theory. The next theory encompasses the idea of poverty and 'capability deprivation', as laid out by economist and Nobel laureate Dr. Amartya Sen. Finally, the general concept of human security and sustainable development, followed by community development, will be discussed. All of these theories have been selected to most precisely serve this research.

In its most simplistic terms, peace may be described as a 'state without conflict.' That definition, however, does not begin to address the scope of this topic, nor would it be sufficient for most peace-related research. In this particular case, the emphasis shall be put on the lives of common people and how they are affected by KAZA and the social environment it creates. In theory, people who are satisfied with their living conditions will display less aggression. This is why focus is placed on creating welfare. One way to increase the welfare of an emergent population is to enhance its economic development. Such is the purpose of the park, largely through tourism and as a generator of employment. This is also achieved through nature conservation as a land-use option. With these factors combined, they should lead to regional stability and a peaceful environment among its population. Internationally protected areas make it possible for citizens of different countries to interact with little conflict, and learn more about each other's way of life. This form of education is commonly known as development and peace-building through grassroots empowerment.

2.1 African Renaissance

Since this dissertation is devoted to Africa and its problems along with the positive influences that are gaining ground in this continent, it would be neglectful not to mention a concept that so accurately reflects that description: the African Renaissance.

The term African Renaissance (AR) first appeared in Cheikh Anta Diop's series of essays beginning in 1946, which are collected in his book *Towards the African Renaissance: Essays in Culture and Development, 1946-1960*. This concept, which had been in existence for decades, finally gained popularity in the late 1990s during Thabo Mbeki's term in office. The South African president gave a famous speech in 1997 to American investors and leaders of the Southern African Development Community, in which he predicted the rebirth of Africa in the 21st century (Mbeki 2000).

The exact meaning of the African Renaissance still remains vague, and has not been definitively defined. Some say that this vast understanding creates "space for mobilising people for a wide variety of issues important to the elites championing the AR concept" (van Amerom & Büscher 2005: 4). On the other hand, there lies a real threat that it could lose any meaning if it contains too many elements of too many concepts. Nevertheless, there are a few things that consistently appear in descriptions of AR. According to van Amerom and Büscher, the first one would be the emancipation of oppressed social groups. The second is the exchange and enhancement of African cultures. Then there is the highlighting of sustainable development strengthening the role of democracy. Finally, AR is also well-known as a precursor to pan-Africanism, which promotes the cooperation and unity of all African people.

President Mbeki has also defined certain actions that must to be taken to help the Renaissance along. "Among these were the emancipation of women, the emergence of a more able political leadership, a revolution in education, care services, and greater African unity" (Mbeki 2000: 78). Such presentation of these concepts remains unclear, and more clearly emphasises the outcome of these goals rather than the actual actions that must be taken to make them a reality.

The bombastic sound of the concept conquered hearts and minds of African and foreign politicians. Regardless of its details or lack thereof, these concepts were revolutionary to native Africans as well as foreign politicians, and garnered much interest and attention. As the ideas originated from South Africa, they also became the main objective of the country's foreign policy. In the document entitled *Development and Strategic Perspective on South African Foreign Policy*, AR was described as "the

main pillar of our international policy, not only relating to Africa, but in all our international relations globally" (Mbeki 2000: 78). The authors of this document created pillars of AR, which include: the recovery of the whole continent, the establishment of democratic politics continent-wide, the breakdown of neo-colonialism between Africa and world's economies, empowering Africans to take their fate into their own hands (which in result should prevent the most powerful countries from economically conquering Africa), and the introduction of people-driven and people-centric economic development (ibid).

Despite discussions centred around whether such a policy is even possible, the concern for the potential of South African moralistic dominance over other African countries, and a lack of strong outcomes and stagnation in proceedings, the influence of AR is still present in modern-day Africa. The 21st century has only just begun, so the continued development of these concepts over the long-term is still wholly unpredictable.

It is important to cover the ideas behind AR early in this research, as it is frequently integrated with other theories and concepts presented later in the chapter. In addition, peace parks in southern Africa are supposed to be the one of the catalysts of AR (van Amerom & Büscher 2005). The basic foundation of AR is the unity and friendly cooperation of African countries working together to put the welfare of the common people first, just as KAZA intends to do.

2.2 Positive peace theory and related concepts

Galtung published his revolutionary positive peace theory for the first time in 1964 in the *Journal of Peace Research*, where he confronted the temporal understanding of peace and conflict as discourse of direct violence. He also made a distinction between negative peace and positive peace. 'Negative peace' is identified by a lack of direct violence while society might still be dominated by an outside actor (such as another country) or its own government, whereby the freedom and welfare of the population is limited. On the other hand, 'positive peace' "denotes the simultaneous presence of many desirable states of mind in society, such as harmony, justice, equity, etc". (Webel 2010: 6) Positive peace is a set of characteristics that allows people to be free, encourages them to develop,

and permits the achievement of independence and happiness. This is sometimes referenced in Galtung's nomenclature as "sukha"².

Galtung divided the world into six spaces that correspond with one another. These are identified as *Nature, Person, Social, World, Culture*, and *Time*. These first two concepts are especially important to this research, as they correlate with KAZA's mission to make both people and animals' lives better through development and conservation. The first, *Nature*, contains living objects such as "humans, animals, micro-organisms plants and viruses" (Galtung 2003: 30). The second is the concept of *Person*, including the "needs for survival, well-being, freedom and identity" (ibid). These may not only apply to humans, as the word 'person' may imply. It applies to the whole of sentient nature including non-human persons, since all organisms also have a need for survival and well-being (or the absence of suffering).

The third piece of Galtung's schematic world is *Social*. It is composed of "nature, generation, gender, race, class, nation and country" (ibid). This again may be applied to the animal kingdom as well, with its sometimes complicated social structures. In Galtung's fourth piece of typology, *World* is sub-divided by territories into "Northwest, Northeast, Southwest, Southeast" (ibid). But there is also a non-territorial division which consists of the concepts of capital, civility, society and people (Galtung 2003). For the fifth concept of *Culture*, the author uses the terms Occident I, Occident II, Indic, Buddhic, Sinic and Nipponic (Galtung 2003), which identify cultures in different parts of the world. As this research does not utilise these particular cultural classifications, however, we will not examine them further. The final portion that Galtung identifies is *Time*, and presents it as a way for peace to last.

All of the six spaces can be affected by direct peace or violence and/or structural peace or violence. Galtung describes how each of these influences the identified spaces. The influence of violence will not be described in this chapter, because it is not the focus of this research. What is, on the other hand, are the concepts of direct and structural peace.

Direct positive peace is a compilation of all pleasant things which happen to the body and mind, and are derived from Self or/and Other. It includes well-being, basic survival, freedom and identity (Galtung 2003). Freedom is not only to be understood as unhindered from restraints, but enjoying

² Sukha is a term derived from Buddhism tradition that Galtung uses in his theory that describes the capacity to experience happiness of body and mind. It is the opposite of "dukkha," the capacity to experience suffering. Following this specification, it can be concluded that positive peace is the state of omnipresent, eternal sukha.

the opportunity to pursue activities beyond basic survival. These are activities such as gaining education (which impacts the future), planning for the future, executing hobbies and generally feeling satisfied with life.

If all entities are granted the same chances to achieve sukha, then the community is closer to structural positive peace. Structural positive peace is a compilation of all positive things that happen in a society, including sustainable development, welfare of all citizens and a lack of violence. Any kind of conflict is seen as something which threatens stability in the society. Considering the objectives of AR, where people should be united, emancipated and wealthier, this theory correlates closely to the previous concept.

2.2.1 Direct positive peace and the six spaces

In the case of direct positive peace, the spaces identified in the previous section will also gain some characteristic properties. These are as follows:

- nature positive peace This manifests in cooperation between organisms, reducing their struggles (Galtung). This means that nature rewards humans who care for it with stable and moderately predictive conditions. It is not a literal cooperation between humans and wildlife, but one of cause and effect. In such situations, the ecosystem works well and humans do not need to struggle in hostile conditions³. Basically, in this case nature positive peace is found in non-homocentric structures, where non-human organisms are given freedom and respect.
- *personal positive peace* This is understood as happiness and satisfaction of life, and manifests itself in personal growth and welfare. A presentation of Amartya Sen's theory in an upcoming segment will correlate with this statement.
- social positive peace According to Galtung, this is described as non-violent liberation. This means that societies are not oppressed by corrupt or inept governments nor foreign invaders, and can also be interpreted as liberation from limitations that social structure and bad economics can create. Societies in positive peace are characterised by parity and equity of the members.

³ This means that nature does not go outside of its natural behaviours, but harsh climates (for example, in Kalahari) will predictably remain harsh, and therefore people living there need to show specialised survival skills.

- positive peace of time This manifest itself in the highest appreciation of life, and bright
 prospects for the future and future generations. This objective will be revisited later in
 human security theory.
- cultural positive peace This appears in a vast range of peace education, as art and language
 are thick with symbols promoting peace. Despite the great importance of the objectives in
 creating peaceful communities, this is of no direct use to the given research topic.
 Alternatively, human rights and democracy are also part of cultural positive peace, and these
 do correlate with the research.

In summary, achieving structural positive peace will guarantee direct positive peace, and the last cannot exist without the first (although some entities can be granted greater privileges and enjoy their lives, but then the situation is in opposition to positive peace). Even in nature, non-human persons must be granted decent conditions in which to thrive. In theory, KAZA, which cares for both humans and animals, should be the catalyst of positive peace.

Positive peace can be considered the highest level of social development. In Galtung's perfect state, society reaches a condition in which there is no oppression, and everyone is free to develop and enjoy themselves. As stated by Galtung (2003), "positive peace is [also] the best protection against violence". This is built upon by Cabezudo and Haavelsrud (2010) when they state that "Positive peace is when social justice replaces structural violence. In contrast to negative peace, positive peace is not limited to the idea of getting rid of something, but includes the idea of establishing something that is missing". At the same time, positive peace encourages an "increase in social justice and the creation of a culture of peace among people within and across societies" (Abdi 2012: 59). This is a very important statement for the given study due to its goal to investigate the KAZA park's influence on the international relations of the local people.

2.2.2 Application of the positive peace theory

This theory can be applied to societies in direct violent conflict as well as those suffering from structural violence or poor management. In the case of violent conflict peace movements, there are several important parts of the theory, including power distribution, a bloody history and the future of violence and military distribution. However, these topics will not be discussed here, as countries that form KAZA are not in violent conflict. What will be taken into consideration is the tightening

of friendly relations between citizens of each country, and the opportunity to develop comprehensive welfare. In addition, the importance of a balanced nature in Galtung's theories is very relevant to this subject matter. KAZA's top objective, after all, is to preserve nature.

At this point we begin to see a comprehensive concept of peace taking shape. There is a lot more that can be said about the positive peace theory and the complications of its structure. For the purposes of this research, however, the aforementioned gathering of data is sufficient⁴. The given research question will be answered having these postulates in mind. The challenge here is how to decide if the given situation is already promoting positive peace. It may be impossible to meet every criteria of the positive peace theory, and therefore it may be difficult to use these criteria in terms of judging success. To be usefully applied to our quite real and imperfect world, the actions of KAZA will be viewed in terms of whether or not they promote positive peace postulates, which can be considered great progress. To judge them strictly upon concrete changes would be unfair, as real changes in economic and social structures often happen incrementally over many years. With this being said, it is important to keep the goals of the big picture in mind as well.

Welfare is a very important component of well-being, therefore the next chosen concept concerns development and poverty.

2.3 Sustainable development and poverty

Peace parks operate by utilising sustainable development to fight the poverty of local populations. In order to evaluate this topic, the two key concepts of 'sustainable development' and 'poverty' must be presented and solidly defined. They will also correlate with the frames of Galtung's positive peace theory.

The concept of sustainable development can be tied-in to economic areas of interests. The first person to discuss this topic in the literature was Barbara Ward in the late 1960's. The economist was especially interested in the problems of developing countries. Throughout her work she developed a theory that socio-economic development and the protection of nature should each be managed with the other in mind. The phrase 'sustainable development' gained popularity after the World Commission on Environment and Development's report was published in 1987 (Zabłocki 2002). At

⁴ For a more detailed description of the theory, see "Peace by peaceful means" by Johan Galtung, and "Democracy, Peace, Development" by Johan Galtung and Paul Scott.

this time, the role of sustainable development was described as meeting "the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those of the future" (UN 1987: 24). Later the concept was also supported and developed by the UN during the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. It was created as a response to the rapid development of modern homo sapiens, which have the capacity to destroy the natural ecosystem and make future provisions either uncertain or impossible. This also reflects the general opinion that humans are not only creators of ecosystems, but first and foremost direct inhabitants and an integral part (UN in Zabłocki 2002). Destroyed ecosystems can only be considered harmful to humanity.

Thus, this novel direction in thinking forced the creation of solutions to the newly-identified problems laid out by the idea of sustainable development. Not only was it necessary to plan how to manage the environment sustainably, but also to identify who should be responsible for specific actions and areas. The ecologist Garrett Hardin coined the phrase 'tragedy of the commons' (Hardin 1986). His concern revolved around common goods and how to effectively manage them, so they do not descend into ruin. The main point of the theory is that if something belongs to everyone, then no one feels the individual need to take ownership of it. Yet for their own private purposes, people will freely exhaust these public resources without concern. A focus on sustainable development should result in preventing such situations by making people feel a global responsibility.

Aside from integrating sustainable development policies into government, there are two major solutions that may be utilised in order to manage the commons. Economists consider privatisation to be one of them. If common goods are sold to private owners, it is in the owners' best interest for those goods to remain sustainable in the long term in order to generate constant income. The second solution is based on new institutional economics, and demands changes in the previous ways of managing the commons. The main tool here is participation, which allows local communities to be involved in development projects which are currently being implemented in their closest territory (Zabłocki 2002). Planning processes in KAZA put the park in the position of favouring the latter solution. Neither of these concepts is necessarily preferable over the other. They should be carefully considered and introduced to certain communities based on the individual communities' characteristics and possibilities. Extensive privatisation in third world countries may not be the best solution, since there is typically not enough capital among the people to invest in the property, therefore KAZA's approach might be the proper one for the given situation. This approach might change if we were discussing wealthier communities. In certain circumstances, a blend of both solutions may prove viable.

2.3.1 Sustainable development to the positive peace theory

Sustainable development is considered an integral part of the positive peace theory. According to Fisher (2010: 30), development in a positive peace setting builds "a life-sustaining economy at the local, national and global level in which everyone's basic needs are met". As Galtung states, there is no peace without development and no development without peace, "because violence insults all needs" (Fisher 2010: 31). Not only is peace necessary for development, but also for democracy. Galtung elaborates on the relationship of democracy to peace and development in the appropriately titled, *Democracy, Peace and Development*. In his book *Peace By Peaceful Means*, he makes certain observations regarding development. One of these goes back to the importance of nature: "development is the progressive satisfaction of the needs of human *and non-human* [emphasis by the student researcher] nature, starting with those most in need" (Galtung 2003: 128). The second observation states that "development is economic growth, but at nobody's expense" (Galtung 2003: 129). The importance here lies in the distinction between development and economic growth. If economic growth does not meet the needs of both humans and nature, it cannot be called development, and is most certainly not sustainable development.

Galtung's development theory connects his positive peace theory and sustainable development once again. According to the development theory, sustainable development should lead to the welfare and happiness of a population, a balanced society and empowered minorities. This revolutionary concept goes on to say that there is no one recipe for successful, sustainable development: each community must find its own 'code' to the 'unfolding' using the resources that they have. In this context designed by Galtung, the term 'code' refers to the measures taken to enhance development, and the term 'unfolding' is a way to reference the actual development. Ngambi (2011: 19) states: "no country ever achieved high levels of development through imitation or through using resources that are not indigenous". This theory perfectly fits within the frames of nature conservation in order to improve people's lives. Communities which are encompassed by nature are encouraged to find ways to develop socially and economically without crossing the borders of their pre-defined habitat. Behaving with these points in mind may help to facilitate, as President Mbeki suggests, "an African solution for African problems".

2.3.2 *Poverty*

When discussing development and human welfare, the concept of poverty must be addressed. There is no way to judge the levels of development and welfare in a community without a clear understanding of what exactly is meant by the term 'poverty'. To define poverty, one can use a variety of factors. The most common factor is income alone, but according to Noble prize-winning economist Amartya Sen, there is much more to consider.

Extreme poverty is a situation in which people have not enough resources to survive. This thesis, however, will not evaluate extreme situations, but will examine scarcity on various levels and spectrums. Sen, in his 1999 book *Development as Freedom, suggests* that scarcity is relative. There are many factors that, when combined, create the severity of welfare, security and freedom. For example, is a wealthy woman who is very sick but unable to access treatment more or less fortunate than a woman with a much lower income but robust health and easy access to the health care? Sen would say the wealthy woman is less fortunate. Similarly, a person who earns a high salary but is deprived of the right to contribute to social affairs and develop oneself will lead a poor, unfulfilled life.

Following such examples, Sen (1999) prefers to refer to poverty as 'capability deprivation,' in other words, a shortage of possibilities. This shortage in turn makes development impossible, including economic, social and personal development. A big part of this is the loss of freedom, whereas freedom is required to achieve satisfaction and comprehensive development. To tie in Galtung's terminology, freedom puts people in the state of 'sukha'. Of course there is no use for freedom or a vast range of possibilities if a person has no access to basic human needs, such as food and shelter. However, as KAZA declines to focus on such extreme cases, it is unnecessary to cover them here.

The concepts of poverty and capability deprivation are not only opposed by the positive peace theory, but also by the African Renaissance. In order to thrive, African people need possibilities which can be developed in order to increase their personal wealth. Wealth is of no use, however, if the people feel threatened and insecure.

2.4 Human security and its role in a positive peace-building process

Security studies are a subcategory of international relations and address the issue of security, which is understood in a variety of ways. The most basic understanding of the term 'security' is limited to a direct violent threat from one foreign country to another. In a wider perspective, the term addresses a whole spectrum of factors that can threaten a state's security. This can include military dominance from states and non-state actors (such as terrorists), economic struggles, social and health-related threats, ending with environmental troubles and accidents (Hough 2004).

Human security is an additional branch of security studies. Attention to the concept was first drawn by the United Nations Development Programme in its 1994 Human Development Report. The broad definition distinguishes human security from national security, and makes the former of interest for this particular research. National security focuses on securing state borders from foreign violence. However, a secure state does not necessarily mean a secure society and secure individuals. During the last hundred years, more people have been killed by their governments than by foreign invaders (HSRG 2014). Furthermore, secure borders do not guarantee effective economics, good health care, proper education or social equity. As previously mentioned, these factors are crucial to the well-being of all people. In opposition to national security, human security interest is directed exclusively toward the well-being of citizens. It is a bottom-up approach to handling these security issues.

Each state is responsible for implementing human security policies for its own citizens. Along with the well-being of people, human security is also concerned with organisational issues of the state. The Human Security Initiative presents a set of human security issues of which it is concerned:

- Organised Crime and Criminal Violence
- Human Rights and Good Governance
- Armed Conflict and Intervention
- Genocide and Mass Crimes
- Health and Development
- Resources and Environment (HSI 2011)

The United Nations has defined human security as follows: "the right of all people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair". They go on to recognise that "all individuals,

in particular vulnerable people⁵, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential" (UN 2005: 31). In short, human security revolves around ensuring not only survival of the people, but also an attempt to improve their well-being and opportunities. This is closely related to Amartya Sen's ideas, where the true welfare of humanity lies within achieving possibilities and freedom.

2.5 Community development as it applies to KAZA projects

The previous section introduced the phrase 'community development', which of course included a primary focus on communities and their development. This community development, as it is connected with the work of peace parks, becomes the next agent for developing the theoretical frameworks further.

When discussing a community, one typically has in mind a group of people creating a functional system operating on sets of relations and dependencies. Members of a community have a sense of recognition and belonging, as well as similar concerns and goals as others in the community. A community shares similar welfare conditions, development, social structures and problems.

As recently as two decades ago, civic workers argued that there was no need for a theory based around community development. Cook (1994) proves this dismissal when he states that "early community development practitioners operated without the benefit of a well-articulated group of propositions as a paradigm to guide practice. They depended on a few favourite general principles. They used their own sense of the situation to determine what, when, where, with whom, about what and by which techniques they used as community developers". Although the concept was sometimes disregarded, others still gave credence to this theory.

In current times, there are more sources to be found providing definitions of this concept. They all vary slightly as there is no single accepted theory on this process. Some common characteristics remain the same, however, from theory to theory. Taken from the book written by Flo Frank and Anne Smith (1999: 6) entitled *The Community Development Handbook: A Tool to Build Community Capacity:* "community development is a process where community members come together to take

⁵ Author's note: this means that people are suppressed by structural or direct violence, struggling with poverty, hunger or other misfortunes put upon them by malfunctioning states or natural disasters.

collective action and generate solutions to common problems. Community development ranges from small initiatives within a small group to large initiatives that involve the broader community".

According to the handbook, effective community development should include:

- a long-term process aiming for long-lasting positive changes
- a carefully laid-out plan, considering all aspects of a given community, its strengths and its weaknesses
- all community members
- fair attention to every part of the community's structure
- initiation and support of community members
- a specific benefit to the community
- experience that leads to best practices (Frank and Smith 1999:6)

When all of the requirements are fulfilled, they should result in holistic benefits for all community members. These benefits would more readily appear in a better organised, wealthier, more empowered and educated community. As a continuation of the process, the community should develop more responsibility, and implement plans that encourage job creation, economic possibilities, reduce poverty and increase education level. This ever-evolving path should be marked with social, economic and environmental signposts as goals of long term development. The environmental goals are especially important for this research. It again demonstrates that caring for nature is an important part of sustainable development and the well-being of communities.

2.6 Summary

The above presentation is a compilation of concepts, terms and theories directly related to the peace-building process. Through an examination of each one, it has been possible to create a sufficient picture of the term 'peace' for this research. The later discussion will be based on postulates of the meaning of peace created in this chapter.

What is understood as peace, then, is a situation in which people are not only free from direct, violent threats from their own government or foreign forces, but can also enjoy a variety of freedoms. An enjoyment of life is the main objective of positive peace and contains such aspects as freedom from the needs of survival, freedom to act and develop one's own potential, freedom from various threats, and prosperous living in a balanced environment. Involving people in local affairs is

a key process in bottom-up actions leading to personal empowerment. The situation of positive peace including all additional aspects will be referred to as the 'positive peace situation'.

3. Methodology

The role of this chapter is to describe the methods used in data collection for the given topic, as well as details on the data collection process itself. In order to discover whether the efforts of KAZA benefits local communities, it was crucial that the sampling methods were chosen carefully. The process of selecting informants will be presented in this chapter, along with profiles on the informants themselves. It is important to remember the limitations that affect all of the choices made during data collection, and the challenges they create. Therefore, justification of those choices along with constructive criticism will also be covered in this chapter. Other important aspects that will be discussed are the cultural differences that may exist between the researcher and the local population, and how that may have effected data collection and shaped certain preconceived assumptions. Finally, all gathered information will be balanced with a literature review, which serves as the basis for this thesis.

3.1 Study area

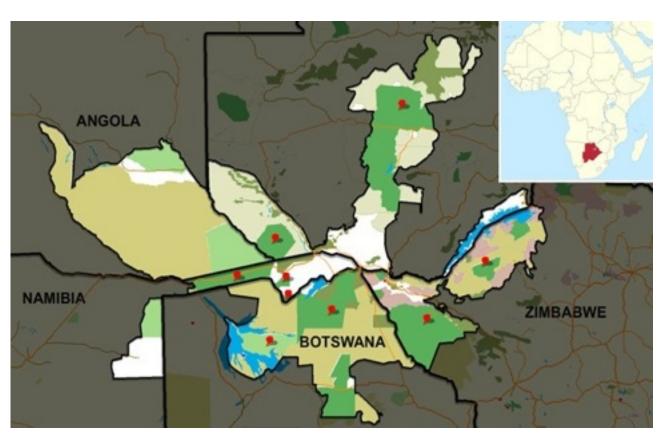


Illustration 2.1. The delineation of KAZA TFCA (KAZA TFCA 2014a) with the location of Botswana within Africa (Desert River Games 2014).

The specific topic of this research emerged from a general interest in the human-nature dichotomy in which humans and nature are forced to co-exist with varying results, as well as the impact of nature-conservation areas on their local communities. This interest led to a focus on transfrontier conservation areas, of which the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA), located in southern Africa, seemed especially interesting. Its size, splendour and relatively young age caught the attention of the researcher, along with the far-reaching, comprehensive and generous goals of the park. Another important requirement for this research is that the KAZA park contains not only nature, but also a local population, which is necessary for a peace study.

Concerning the size-limitations of a master thesis and the time-constraints given to conduct research, it is wholly impossible to investigate the situation of the locals in every country participating in the KAZA park collaboration. Direct focus had to be aimed at only one of those countries. After much deliberation, the Botswana portion of the park was chosen for further examination, which covers the majority of the country's northern territory (see illustration 2.1.)

3.1.1 The Botswana part of KAZA

The Republic of Botswana is a landlocked country in southern Africa sharing borders with South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola and Namibia. The country covers 581,730 sq. km (of which 70% is Kalahari desert) with only 2 million inhabitants, making it one of the least populated areas on the continent (UN 2012 in BBC 2013).

According to The World Bank (2014), Botswana has reached an upper-middle class income level, giving it a high ranking based on income in the region and providing its people with moderate living standards. Income here is mainly generated through mining (especially leading to the export of unmounted diamonds), which is the biggest sector in the Botswana economy. The next largest sources of income that fuel the country are tourism and cattle-raising (McIntyre 2010). According to the World Factbook (CIA 2014), "Botswana has maintained one of the world's highest economic growth rates since independence in 1966". Botswana is considered "one of Africa's most stable countries [...]. It is relatively free of corruption and has a good human rights record" (BBC 2014).

Yet despite all the superlatives regarding the county's robust economy, statistics show that nearly one-third of the population lives under the national poverty line⁶ (CIA 2014). While this statistical data does not exclude the people of the KAZA park, it is not specifically based on that population either. For the purposes of social research, it is important to be aware of the statistical data, while relying primarily upon information gathered first-hand from the local people themselves.

The Botswana part of KAZA was chosen as the focus of this research because Botswana is the wealthiest and most developed country of the cooperating five. Aside from the practical advantages this provides to the researcher concerning better infrastructure, comfortable housing and increased safety, the data collected in a well-functioning African country such as Botswana was expected to present an optimistic picture of how all parts of the KAZA park could develop in the future. While the town of Kasane in Botswana was honoured with hosting the KAZA secretariat headquarters representing all five countries due to its central location, Botswana itself has not been granted any active community projects. It is difficult to understand how a moderately developed society still struggling with social problems can benefit from a well-intentioned project such as the KAZA park when provided with very few resources to expand upon.

The problem with direct community involvement by KAZA lies in the possibility of initial positive outcomes as a result of that help, but deterioration in quality of life when the project ends and the people are again left to their own devices. The ambitions of this project are, after all, to create long-term positive change. The Botswana part of KAZA is already in a more advanced position of development and infrastructure compared to some of its neighbouring countries. Despite no community projects being held there at the present time, the tourism-based economy of the region may experience growth due to the international advertisement of the KAZA TFCA as a tourism destination. The unification of legislatures concerning the safety of animals and regulations of traffic across international borders is also expected to benefit KAZA's Batswana⁷ by providing international business possibilities.

Northern Botswana was chosen as the topic of this study to represent an example of a community which has already passed the phase of requiring direct community involvement offered by KAZA. Such an approach may be deceptive, however, since communities in Botswana were never actually

⁶ A significant number of the population consists of indigenous tribes and people located in remote areas, far from infrastructure and cities. In terms of income, they perhaps live in poverty, but it is relative term (as was presented in the theory chapter) as long as they can generate enough food for survival from gardening, and lead satisfying lives.

⁷ 'Batswana is the national name of the citizens of Botswana.

given direct help from KAZA. On the other hand, such a study may present a more realistic overview of communities living off the resources already provided by the project, without the strong positive influence of grassroots development programmes. After all, the outcome of KAZA involvement should lead to a situation where private people continue to make positive changes in their community without the need for community programs organised by foreign entities.

It is also difficult to judge the results of such a project that has only been in existence a short time. The results of positive changes may not have influenced the communities yet, but over time the situation may develop further and present a different perspective. Alternatively it may result that the areas given more attention from KAZA will benefit more from the interaction over time. Nevertheless, this study intends to examine the situation as it currently stands. One of the main standards of social studies is to examine situations in the present, but as societies and social processes are dynamic (Holliday 2002), the future is not possible to predict. With all of these obstacles in mind, the researcher headed to northern Botswana.

3.1.2 Kasane and Maun

The Botswana part of KAZA is situated in the northern part of the country covering the "Okavango Delta in the West (including Moremi Game Reserve), the Chobe-Linyanti river system (including Chobe National Park) in the East and Makgadikgadi-Nxai National Park to the South in the Northern part of The Kalahari Desert" (KAZA TFCA 2011:9). The town of Maun in the west is famous for its extraordinary attractiveness to tourists. It is a gateway to the unique ecosystem of the Okavango Delta, and has been the primary tourist destination in Botswana for decades. Chobe National Park in the east is known for its vast range of wildlife, and Kasane, its closest town, offers many international attractions. The Makgadikgadi region in the south attracts numerous tourists with its famous salt pans.

The field data collection was held in two of the three major points of KAZA's territory in Botswana, namely Kasane (Chobe) and Maun (Okavango). The choice of two locations as opposed to all three was due to time limitations in conducting the research surrounding these topics. These particular two were chosen due to their touristic importance. In order to learn how KAZA influences the local welfare through tourism, it made sense to examine popular tourist destinations. The national parks

in particular were found to be of great importance to the community, not only as a main factor attracting tourists, but also as a potential job creator for the locals.

Kasane is a town with access to the Chobe National Park - a protection area on the border with Namibia. It also facilitates the KAZA secretariat headquarters. Local tourist agencies in Kasane offer international excursions, therefore this place was an ideal location to conduct research in order to shed some light on international relations on a grassroots level. It also identifies Kasane as a host to a fast-growing tourism industry. Facilities of foreign-origin are quickly increasing around the Chobe National Park, but the majority of managing staff still derive from the local population.

Maun is an established tourist point with more history in this sector than Kasane. The lodges there are older, but on-par with the prices of newer accommodations in Kasane. These characteristics make the town of Maun ideal for research due to its intense tourist traffic. The variety of attractions creates great employment opportunities. With fewer international contacts than Kasane, Maun appears in interesting opposition to the possible findings on international relations. There is one strange point in particular that distinguishes Maun from Kasane - the lodges and travel agencies are in great majority led by foreigners, largely South Africans of Caucasian descent. This information may offer an interesting point of reflection when examining the research outcomes in this area.

3.2 Fieldwork

The field data collection for the given research was conducted in July of 2013 and extended over four weeks. July in Botswana is part of the 'winter' season, or more adequately the 'dry' season. Northern Botswana is a year-long tourist destination, therefore the tourist facilities are active throughout the year. This was very convenient to the research, which was conducted in the summer months traditional to the northern hemisphere - the climate conditions in Botswana were less extreme for a first-time visitor, and the opportunity to gain access to information-rich units was also quite promising.

3.2.1 Informants

The target of this study is a population living in the study area and fitting the desired profile. One requirement when designing the profile was that the people of interest had to be attached to the

park/tourism industry, which theoretically should benefit directly from the KAZA project. This way, the pool of potential interviewees consisted of people employed in the tourism industry and/or the nature park itself. This includes safari guides, a broad range of hotel/lodge staff (receptionists, managers, bar tenders, cleaners), tourist-agency consultants, gift-shop attendants, park rangers, etc. Thanks to the profile of potential informants, gaining access to them was quite simple. In Kasane, the researcher just took a walk along the main street in town and noted all the tourist agencies and lodges. The next step was to introduce the project to randomly chosen units and book an interview appointment with them.

In Maun, due to its size and the nature of its organisation, a guidebook proved to be helpful. Maun is divided into two parts: one 'for tourists' and the other 'for locals'. For the purpose of finding people working in the tourist sector, the researcher needed to stay in the 'tourist' area. Most of the lodges were located outside of the town, each placed rather far from the next along the length of the river. In order to gain access to the people working at these lodges, short bus rides were undertaken.

The number of informants interviewed also had to be adjusted to fit within the time limits available. Qualitative interviews are a rather time-consuming data collection method, and reaching every person employed in the tourism industry would be nearly impossible. For instance, Kasane is estimated to employ 50% of its residents in tourism-connected facilities⁸. There is, however, a high risk that through random-choice of informants, the researcher did not connect with the most valuable units. On the other hand, every ordinary person living in the study area and fitting the given profile was considered relevant.

3.2.2 Respondents

Throughout the course of the fieldwork, it was possible to collect information from nine people: five of them were from Kasane, and four were from Maun. All of the informants fit the desired profile, and it was also possible to talk to representatives of different ages, genders and occupations. Through further data presentation, the informants will be referred to by their assigned codes:

Kasane:

- K1 - a young male intern at one of the tourist agencies working during his study break

⁸ Information comes from one of the informants.

- K2 a young female intern at the tourist office working to gain experience
- K3 a male in his 40's, owner of one of the tourist agencies
- K4 a bartender in one of the lodges, a male in his 30's with a lot of various experience
- K5 a female in her 30's, manager of one of the lodges

Maun:

- M1 a young female working as a receptionist at one of the lodges
- M2 a young male working as a receptionist at one of the lodges
- M3 a male in his 30's, a tourist office employee
- M4 a female in her late 40's, a gift shop employee

Both iformation groups consisted of five male informants and four female. Such a male to female ratio is highly satisfying, taking into account the refusals from two potential females, and despite the higher rate of male employees working in the tourism industry in Botswana (Suich et al. 2005). Such a sample of informants is found to be comprehensive and free from bias due to age or gender inequalities. The various demographics of the informants are considered relevant throughout the upcoming discussion. People of different ages view their opportunities differently, for example, as do people of different genders. The occupation of an interviewee is only sometimes important since, for example, one can bartend in any town regardless of the prevalence of tourism. However, travel agencies are much more valuable in areas of high tourist activity. A more detailed description and evaluation of each participant and their answers will be given in the following chapters.

3.2.3 Response

In the preparation stage of the fieldwork, it was rather difficult to locate respondents from abroad and make arrangements for conducting interviews. Attempts were made to contact potential interviewees in advance from Norway, but the response was limited. Hence, the researcher did not have any appointments scheduled prior to travel, and was required to rely upon luck and perseverance at the final destination. In the end, even without pre-determined interview appointments, the response to requests regarding interviews was satisfying.

The enthusiasm of response varied slightly between the residents of Kasane and Maun. Only one interview request was entirely refused by a woman in Kasane, stating that she did not feel competent to be interviewed. Another woman, this one located in Maun, was also uncomfortable with the interview request, but agreed to recommend a (male) friend. A third person did not have time to devote to an interview; even when offered a time and place of his choosing, it was impossible to make arrangements. However, the final number came to a satisfying sample of nine full interviews. It was possible to reach people from different areas and in various employment positions. Unfortunately, none of the informants interviewed worked for the park. On one hand, this may be a loss of valuable information, but on the other, park employees might be influenced by the parks' objectives and mission, swaying them to give artificial responses motivated by their position.

In addition to qualitative interviews, the data was collected also with the help of a quantitative scale. The response to the satisfaction of life scale was an impressive 76%. Out of twenty one questionnaires delivered, sixteen were returned filled out. Again, the response rate differed between Kasane (100%) and Maun (54%). The possible reasons for such a variance will be discussed later, based on the researcher's observation.

All respondents showed a positive attitude to the project and an interest in the topic. No one requested any compensation for their information, nor was anyone suspicious or negative. Even the few refusals were given in the most polite way. A few respondents asked to be contacted with further information once the results of the study were compiled.

3.2.4 Sampling methods

The sampling method serving this study was purposive, non-sequential (fixed) priori sampling.

Purposive sampling means that the criteria of interviewees should be determined and met to allow for the research question to be answered (Bryman 2012). According to this statement, since the research question concerns residents of the Botswana portion of the KAZA park, it was natural to converse with the local people. The most desirable information gleaned in a study is unaffected by any political agenda, therefore interviewing official workers was not an option. Another important factor was determining the occupation of the chosen interviewees. The final sample was intended to contain representatives of different occupations (despite the same sector), both sexes (preferably in a balanced ratio) and a variety of ages. It was also important to interview people employed on

different institutional levels, from entry-level, blue-collared workers to experienced, white-collared managers and facility owners. Such a wide spectrum was found and utilised, presenting a variety of views and information.

Purposive sampling can be undertaken in two ways: non-sequential (fixed) or sequential. According to the sequential sampling method, "sampling is an evolving process in that the researcher usually adds to the sample as befits the research questions" (Bryman 2012: 418). Informants are chosen according to the potential information they are able to contribute to the findings, which develop throughout the information collection process. As opposed to the sequential method, fixed sampling establishes the size and profile of the sample at the beginning of the research (ibid). This method was determined more justifiable for this particular project, as the research period was relatively short, and such 'detective-like' investigation as found in sequential methods would probably take more time than available. Before the field data collection had begun, the ideal sample-size was estimated at seven to eleven interviews. Such a sample size was found sufficient to identify potential trends.

Priori purposive sampling determines sampling criteria at the outset of the research (Bryman 2012). As previously mentioned, potential samples were expected to be taken from ordinary people in close connection to the tourism sector or nature conservation within the borders of the KAZA TFCA. This was decided at the beginning of the research process, since that seemed to be the best strategy to address the question of how peace parks can improve the lives of locals.

3.3 Data collection methods

In order to collect data from desirable informants, the qualitative face-to-face interviews were chosen as the main information collection method. In addition, a qualitative scale rating the informants' satisfaction of life was developed and distributed. This was supposed to be filled out by interviewees and additional people anonymously.

There is a tendency to distinguish between qualitative and quantitative methods as opposing points on a single scale, but Bryman (2003: 60) reveals advantages that may occur when the two are integrated. One of these is when "quantitative and qualitative research is combined in order to provide a general picture". The notion, which can be found by utilising quantitative scales, may be explained and examined in depth during qualitative interviews. Bryman also points out that

quantitative research is effective when "getting to the 'structural' features of social life, while qualitative studies are usually stronger in terms of 'processual' aspects" (ibid). In a later discussion, data from the questionnaire will be presented in a comparison with data from the interviews. This will determine how satisfied people are in life on a quantitative scale, but with the addition of qualitative interview data, the researcher will be able to deduct why this is so, and hopefully connect the findings directly to the existence of KAZA. The interview questions never, however, refer to the scale since those two data collection tactics were used separately. In addition, due to the anonymous nature of the scale, the researcher was not entitled to ask detailed questions regarding answers given on the scale, as it would erase any anonymity.

Connecting qualitative and quantitative methods appears to be the most comprehensive way of collecting data, allowing the researcher to gain some personalised opinions as well as identify general trends in the examined communities. The quantitative scale and the qualitative interviews did not cross one another in the process of data collection, however, but allowed for discourse in the analysis.

3.3.1 Interviews

The face-to-face interviews conducted in Botswana have a semi-structured nature. Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to gather the information of intention with an additional chance to learn more from the participant. Asking open-ended questions encourages the interviewees to discuss aspects that are most important for them. It puts a focus on issues that maybe did not initially seem relevant or important from the researcher's perspective, especially when, as in this case, the researcher is an outsider with limited knowledge gained rather peripherally from a variety of literature. "Qualitative research tends to view social life in terms of processes" (Bryman 2012:402), therefore the researcher finds qualitative, semi-structured interviews to be a perfect tool to not only gain answers for designed questions but also aspects, that has not been thought about before the research.

The interview was exclusively designed for this research and contained eleven questions related to the participant's life and opinions, and the general situation in the region. The questions were asked in the most appropriate order for the specific situation and flow of each individual interview. Additional questions were sometimes added and sometimes removed. The structure of the questions and the use of words may have differed as well, in order to create a fluid, natural conversation.

The method of recording the interviews was chosen based upon which would be the most comfortable for the participants, and therefore the researcher decided upon pen and paper rather than a tape recorder. The use "of a tape recorder may disconcert respondents, who become self-conscious or alarmed at the prospect of their words being preserved" (Bryman 2012: 382). There also lies the threat that someone could terminate the appointment upon learning that it will be permanently recorded. As Bryman (ibid) says "most people accede to the request for the interview to be tape-recorded, though it is not uncommon for a small number to refuse". Documenting by hand unfortunately removes the advantage of revisiting the interviews audibly in later stages of data analysis. However, remarks and observation were always written down immediately after the interview to enhance later recollection. Even if some these comments were biased by the emotions of the researcher, it was still an acceptable risk versus compromising the comfort of the participants.

Throughout this research, every participant was given more or less the same set of questions while allowing some drifting in areas of special interest to the individual. Unfortunately, despite the great friendliness of Batswana, it was a challenge to encourage interviewees to elaborate further on their brief responses. This may have been a result of traditional moderation, or of timidity toward an outsider probing into their personal lives. In order to create a more relaxed atmosphere before each discussion, the participants were given some basic information about both the researcher and the nature of the research. The introduction was not elaborate, however, because the researcher did not want to influence any answers by revealing expectations and personal opinion. The conversations took about half an hour on average, and were mostly conducted during lunch breaks or after working hours at the workplace.

First the respondents were asked about their opinions regarding KAZA and conservation in general. This was intended to mentally prepare the person for considering whether either conservation or KAZA has any direct influence on their life. Questions about their career and satisfaction with the existing situation gave way to conversations regarding their relations with citizens of neighbouring countries. Furthermore, the participants were asked whether they felt secure about their future, and whether that feeling was connected to the park's existence, and how. The full list of questions can be found in Appendix A.

The interview was created this way in order to gain information which addressed the research question. Guided by the research question, and with the theoretical framework in mind, the informants were asked questions related to safety, tourism and satisfaction to highlight whether KAZA benefits the local communities.

Despite the advantages of qualitative semi-structured interviews, there are of course some drawbacks too. The main criticism towards qualitative methods is their lack of generalisability (Bryman 2012). It is true that by interviewing a handful of people employed in the tourist industry in northern Botswana one cannot learn about the influence of the park on every person in the community and it is hard to generalise. A correlating problem is validity. It is hard to judge if the chosen respondents are giving valid, truthful responses, or if they are biased in some way. This could include trying to impress the researcher, or seek pity. A researcher must use her common sense to detect threats to validity, but it is not an easy task. Subjectivity of the researcher is another hazard in conducting qualitative research. Subjective questions, signals and personal opinions may alter the information that respondents are relaying. Being aware of the threatening role that subjectivity can take is the first step to avoiding it. For the purposes of this research, it was decided to not give much meaning to the researcher's opinions, or even mention them. Another issue is reliability. It is "difficult to exactly repeat a focused interview. Respondents may be asked different questions [and the] samples tend to be small" (sociology.org 2014: 1).

Still, the findings are not without value. Based on the gathered data, it is possible to further deduct advantages and disadvantages of similar projects, or in extreme cases, to avoid actions that may have led to negative outcomes in the Botswana portion of the KAZA TFCA. There have also been few studies done on the beneficial influence of people living in peace parks, hence this study may contribute to greater knowledge about the relationship between the two. The results can also confirm the findings of others who have investigated this topic, and perhaps accelerate an interest in researching the problem even further.

3.3.2 Satisfaction of life scale

The satisfaction of life scale was a Likert-type scale based on the scale made by Ed Diener. The questions were modified to serve the given research, but the structure was inspired on the existing

scale (the scale form in Appendix B). The role of the scale was to show an overview of how people rated their satisfaction in life based on social, familial, professional and personal experiences.

The questions concern the satisfaction of a person with his life in general, subdivided into groups by social sphere, professional career and personal achievements. The first four questions were designed in this way in order to gain a picture of the respondent's social and personal comfort. Two of the most important factors when it comes to maintaining a satisfying life and social position are relationships with friends and self-satisfaction. The next four questions were about life aspects that do not depend directly on the respondent's engagement with others, such as the place they live, the conditions they live in, and their feelings of safety. They evaluated respondent's expectations of the future, the attitude to the place they live (the conservation area) and their feelings of general safety. The questions did not require any explanation or evaluation of who is responsible (tourism? KAZA?) for such feelings. These complementary details were expected to be ascertained from qualitative interviews.

The technical aspects of the scale were designed in such a way as to force the respondent to provide an answer. Based on the Likert Scale principals, the informants were required to agree or disagree to a certain extent with given statements. This scale had an even number (six) of responses. Through eliminating the middle 'undecided' option, the respondents were forced to pay more attention to their answers and be more thoughtful (Losby and Wetmore 2012). Such design was beneficial for more concrete findings by eliminating 'lazy' answers and encouraging the respondents to make a clear statement. When conducting a survey with so few individuals, it is crucial to get the most precise answers possible.

On the other hand, the same objectives may be considered drawbacks of the scale. No middle response, which forces people to think their answer through, may also frustrate them (ibid), creating random and inaccurate answers. For this study, however, the researcher decided that everyone has a statement about their satisfaction in life, and even if some questions may cause hesitation, it is beneficial for the research outcomes to encourage the respondents to give a definitive answer rather than leaving it 'undecided'.

The use of closed questions shows some advantages. Such a form is easy to fill out and it keeps answers from veering onto unrelated paths. At the end it is easy to build a general, simple picture about the situation of the interviewee. Closed questions, however, do not leave space for

spontaneity (Bryman 2012), hence the informants have no chance to explain their answers. This can result in research with a missed opportunity to gain useful information, which may not have been included into the questionnaire. By relying on probing questions, the researcher can discover who is the most satisfied person and who is the least, and how that satisfaction may be connected to their occupation or place of living - data which is very desired in this study. The quantitative "measurement process possesses an artificial and spurious sense of precision and accuracy" (Bryman 2012: 178). Processed statistical data shows the average satisfaction, which may not reflect reality. If two people are very satisfied and two are very unsatisfied, the statistical outcome will be that the population is moderately satisfied, even though no one really gave such an answer.

Having all of these obstacles in mind, it was decided that a quantitative satisfaction of life scale would still serve the study at its best. It provides a useful background to study qualitative data which is, after all, the main approach to the study.

The interpretation of the scale was conducted using the most basic statistical tool - arithmetic mean. The data was divided into Maun and Kasane. Both sets were interpreted in terms of average satisfaction in each question and average satisfaction by person. Average satisfaction of the region was calculated based on the average satisfaction of each participant. The numbers were rounded to the first place after coma following the rule that $n \le 5$ rounding down, n > 5 rounding up⁹. The average from each place was later calculated into the average of the whole sample. (The table presenting the results can be found in Appendix C).

3.3.3 Additional information sources

The sampling and data collection were not limited to only spoken and written materials from the informants. The researcher was also an active tourist staying in local accommodations and enjoying guided tours. Such activities were not limited to personal entertainment but also proved to be a good source of information. Every trip was taken with a set of questions designed in advance, the answers to which were gathered through observation later noted on paper. There is much information that can be ascertained through this form of surveillance, providing clues to the advancement of management and development in the area. Some of the more obvious signs were the state of the

^{9 &}quot;n" - number

vehicles used, the knowledge of the tour guides, the overall service, and the perception of satisfaction among the participants.

In addition to observation and planned data collection, the active engagement of the researcher in social settings uncovered valuable data as well. Unplanned and informal conversations occurred, and were sometimes full of useful information. Of special value were two particular exchanges with local artists. These were groups of people who were not initially considered valued informants, but were unexpectedly found to also contribute to the tourism industry in Botswana.

3.3.4 Literature

In the first planning stages of this study, the researcher browsed the topic of nature conservation in various publications on the subject. The most inspiring source was entitled *The Wildlife Heroes*, in which a direct link between nature protection and benefits for humans was discovered by the researcher for the first time. This track led to the concept of peace parks. Two additional books that served as an excellent introduction were, *Peace Parks: Conservation and Conflict Resolution* and *Parks, Peace & Partnership: Global Initiatives in Transboundary Conservation*. More research resulted in the uncovering of the Peace Park Foundation at peaceparks.org, where ongoing projects from the organisation were announced. A source that provided a more technical understanding of the concept was entitled *Transboundary Protected Areas for Peace and Co-operation*, a publication from The World Conservation Union.

On the way to discovering KAZA (along with its corresponding website, kavangozambezi.org), there were some additional readings which focused on peace parks that proved to be helpful. Some of these centred around the Great Limpopo TFCA, such as the master thesis written by Darnell E. Julie entitled *Are Peace Parks Effective Peacebuilding Tools? Evaluating the Impact of Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park as a Regional Stabilizing Agent,* as well as the article entitled *Peace parks in Southern Africa: bringers of an African Renaissance?* written by Marloes van Amerom and Bram Büscher. Both of these readings offered interesting parallels to the KAZA case. These publications became the foundation for developing the research question. In the final stages of planning for the field data collection, several resources were crucial for gathering basic information regarding the country and its people, such as botswanatourism.co.bw and a Botswana travel guide published by Bradt.

Academic articles, newspaper articles and other written sources were also deemed worthy of investigation. Official websites such as peaceparks.org and kavangozambezi.org were considered sources of practical information as well, but the politically correct picture that they presented of the Peace Park Foundation and KAZA were expected to be counterproductive to the impartial nature of the research. Academic and newspaper articles were expected to help achieve a more critical overview of the situation.

KAZA has not been a major focus in much scholarly research so far, but the official documents like KAZA TFCA Treaty or Pre-feasibility study of the proposed Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier conservation Area provided some practical knowledge about the parks, its principles and objectives and the challenges it may face. The Suich's et al. report entitled Economic impacts of transfrontier conservation areas: baseline of tourism in the Kavango-Zambezi became a very helpful source of statistical data regarding the tourism industry in the researched area. For a better understanding of the situation in Africa and a current view on AR, the researcher was reliant upon a few articles from the International Journal of African Renaissance Studies - Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinarity. It proved to be a valuable background source to evaluate the research findings in the context of African rebirth.

3.4 Researcher's position in the study and the insider-outsider dichotomy

A person conducting qualitative field research involving interviews can either be seen as an insider or an outsider. According to Dwyer and Buckle (2009: 58), "insider research refers to when researchers conduct research with populations of which they are also members so that the researcher shares an identity, language, and experiential base with the study participants". To be an insider, one does not have to be born a member of the community that he studies. Common attitude or experience can make an inborn outsider an situational insider. In this research, however, the term 'insider' will refer to someone who fits a certain criteria. An insider must be Batswana, communicate primarily in the Tswana language, involved in tourism or nature preservation, and preferably from the northern part of the country. In this case the researcher is an outsider, with all the possible characteristics of one. Namely, the researcher was born in Poland and studying in Norway, with no practical experience in tourism or nature conservation and speaking English as a second language.

English is one of the official languages in Botswana, but people generally use the traditional Tswana language more. This was never considered a challenge while planning for the research, and there were no significant difficulties when communicating in English. One interview rejection, however, was most likely given due to fear of language insufficiency. With both the interviewer and the interviewees utilising English as a second language, it implies some potential difficulties in communication. But in fact, there were no major problems. Any misunderstandings were resolved and are not expected to have had a significant negative impact on mutual understanding.

Both the insider and the outsider positions have their advantages as well as their disadvantages. An insider position may allow more fluency on the topic and easier access due to cultural familiarity, but it also presents challenges. An insider will always be more vulnerable to his own opinions or feelings biasing his understanding of the problem. Informants may also give brief answers due to their assumption of the researcher's wide knowledge on the topic.

There are some, however, who advocate for the superiority of research conducted by an outsider. According to Rabe (2003), the outsider approach presents the most benefits to the research. For instance, informants are more precise and patient when explaining themselves. "An outsider could have better access to information because he does not need to adhere to the norms of the community (for example, younger people will out of respect not ask elders about the relationship between men and women)" (Rabe 2003:149). In this case, being an outsider may guarantee more in-depth answers which may assist in developing an understanding of the perspective of the studied community.

Difficulties faced by outsiders are the most relevant for this research, since the researcher herself was an outsider. Participants may alter the facts to work in their favour, presenting themselves or their community in a more positive/negative light. Robben (1996) calls it 'ethnographic seduction'. The risk of seduction occurs primarily in interviews of participants regarding a traumatic event. The given research does not include victims of any traumatic experiences, but the risk of seduction may still be a factor. The interviews examine the private lives, careers and life satisfaction of the participants. Out of a desire to impress the researcher, these participants may present themselves in a better position than they really are. Alternatively, they could worsen the perspective of their situation in hopes that the final outcomes of the research might bring some benefits to the examined area, which could in turn benefit themselves. Throughout the research conducted in Botswana, no

one displayed unrealistic expectations regarding the potential outcomes of the research. Only one interviewee encouraged the researcher to spread the word in order to create positive changes.

Only knowing some Batswana for a short time, they appear to be an open and friendly people. They tended to agree to the interviews with a smile and showed interest in the project. Great friendliness and their desire to help made this research possible. Their attitudes seemed truthful, and there is no real reason to suspect otherwise. For the use of this research, every participant was assumed to have pure intentions and motives.

Despite the possible disadvantages and challenges of being an outsider, the researcher did not notice any signals from the informants that may have influenced the validity of the information received. The most difficult obstacle was the aforementioned frugality with words. This is where insider status may have helped to obtain more elaborate answers.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has presented the methodological approach chosen to address the research question. All of the methods used were carefully selected to serve the study most appropriately. However, every approach has its strengths as well as its weaknesses. Not only do the methods themselves create challenges when it comes to interpretation, but there are also factors connected to interpretations which can distort reality.

The modest number of informants and their resulting qualitative interviews can be a limitation to creating a general picture. For increased understanding data were collected in qualitative and quantitative way. Still, it is not fully possible to evaluate the trends in the whole northern region of Botswana.

In order to make a comprehensive evaluation, observation and details from unofficial conversations will be used in addition to the interview data. A variety of written sources will serve as a basis for the research findings, and will help to create a fuller picture of the situation of common people in the Botswana part of the KAZA park.

4. Analysis

This chapter is meant to present the data collected and discuss the data within conceptual framework. The goal of this process is to answer the research question: to what extent has the KAZA TFCA benefited the local population in northern Botswana, pertaining to welfare, security and relations with neighbouring countries?

The chapter starts with basic information about KAZA and its objectives, followed by the opinions of the people living in the region (such as their perception of development possibilities based on natural resources), and continues with tourism and international relations. Everything is backed up with relevant literature and field data, which is composed of interviews and a satisfaction of life scale.

The study was conducted in northern Botswana in the Botswana part of the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area in July of 2013. The targets for potential sources of information were local people engaged in the tourism industry, since one of the main objectives of KAZA is to improve local welfare through extensive tourism. The people were asked open-ended questions about their lives, work and hopes for the region, as well as given a quantitative scale aimed at their satisfaction of life.

4.1 The first impression

Throughout the previous chapters it has been stressed that KAZA is supposed to improve lives of local communities. The actions of nature protection and tourism development should result in a better quality of life for the people. Increased tourism creates the demand for more facilities, which require additional workers in order to prosper as well as does it nature conservation itself. Also development creates work opportunities in different branches.

KAZA's objectives are centred around development which boosts and accommodates nature-related tourism. This includes a focus on international cooperation and tightening friendly relations between the countries, in addition to protecting the fragile environment. A complete list of official objectives is presented in Appendix D.

Big hopes, large quantities of money and hard work are put into making this peace park a reality. It is also a successful marketing product for southern Africa using the authority of Nelson Mandela (2001) as an advertising tool:

I know of no political movement, no philosophy, no ideology, which does not agree with the peace parks concept as we see it going into fruition today. It is a concept that can be embraced by all. In a world beset by conflict and division, peace is one of the cornerstones of the future. Peace parks are a building block in this process, not only in our region, but potentially in the entire world (in van Amerom and Büscher 2005:10).

The PPF and the parks are supported by generous amounts of money flowing in from all around the world. Big ideology put into big words, along with the engagement of respected politicians may be a catalyst for collecting high amounts of money from donors, as these circumstances assist with exposure (Büscher 2010, Mabunda et al. 2012). At first, the presence of sufficient financial resources seems to be very promising for the communities that will benefit from these funds. However, van Amerom and Büscher (2005) argue against TFCAs spending policy, particularly based on the Great Limpopo TFCA, which reveals that the large amounts of money that flow from international donors are typically spent on nature protection rather than the community. Data from Simalaha Wildlife Sanctuary (presented later) proves that in order to conserve the nature there needs to be a paid staff in order to facilitate these changes. Conservation-focused projects always employ park rangers who tend to come from the local communities, and are paid salaries for their job. In this way the money goes to the community as well, although indirectly. Awaiting large sums of money provided by donors to be spent solely on communities is contrary to community development, as well as common sense. An old saying goes that if you give a man a fish, he will eat for a day, but if you teach him to fish, he will eat for a lifetime. This wisdom is very applicable in this case. In order to support sustainable development, the donor's money should be spent on creating possibilities for the communities, and conservation projects are such possibilities (statement approved by informants themselves). Furthermore, the interviewees in the Botswana part of KAZA TFCA unanimously agreed that the nature-related tourism is the main accelerator of development within the region, hence the importance of protecting local nature.

KAZA is a project meant to facilitate better development, wealth and cooperation using self-collected resources. The communities are citizens of a country, and that country should be responsible for the welfare of its people. The parks invest money in each associated country's economy, but they chose to do it primarily in the name of nature conservation. As a non-governmental organisation, they have the right to use their resources as they see fit and to decide for

themselves how to go about achieving their own goals. There are programmes to help locate these resources in a democratic way. By relieving certain budgetary constraints, those budgets may be used to assist the citizens of the country in other ways. One of the principles that KAZA relies upon is to respect the autonomy of each participating country, therefore interfering in the national health system or education system is beyond their jurisdiction. Expecting that one project will be the cure for every problem haunting the state is naïve, and unfair to the park. One can always find imperfections in the system, but it is more constructive for KAZA to focus on the positive aspects of their assistance, and use this information to decide how to help the communities benefit from it most efficiently.

IUCN (2001: 112) states that "many transboundary protected areas [...] set up in countries around the world [...] can help strengthen regional co-operation for biodiversity conservation, conflict resolution and sustainable development". The most crucial aspect of this statement is the verb 'can'. It suggests that they are not required to help, and in fact they may not succeed, but they are to be used as a tool with a great deal of potential. Their success or failure will depend largely on the management and socio-political setting that they must operate within. It is likely that many activities are subject to these parameters, including peace building projects and community development projects. This is why each project should be specifically tailored for the particular situation by experts who not only have theoretical knowledge, but also practical experience in the field. Further presentation will show what kinds of tools KAZA uses to gain practical experience in guiding communities into development and peace.

It is clear that the officials of KAZA have good intentions and great plans for development of the region, but how well it really works for the local people can only be evaluated by the people themselves. This evaluation is taken from the data collected from informants in the Botswana part of the KAZA TFCA. Whatever conclusions that can be made from this information are not final time may bring changes as projects develop and garner further results. It is also not possible to judge the success of the project based on results from just one part of it. However, it is possible to identify some common trends at the given point in time.

First it is fair to acknowledge the most surprising information uncovered during the course of the interviews - the people's unawareness of the existence of KAZA. Four of five informants in Kasane did not know what KAZA was, despite having its secretariat ten meters away from the main street. All of them had 'heard the name before', but were not '100% familiar'.

Despite this surprising discovery, the researcher decided to continue with her research regardless of the difficulties in finding those who had direct knowledge of the KAZA project. After all, in order to benefit from nature protection (about which everyone was aware), it is not necessary to know the details of the organisation implementing such protection. In addition, such findings may provide an interesting point of discussion regarding transparency and community work within the park's Botswana borders.

Puzzled by the discovery, the researcher visited the KAZA secretariat and held an informal discussion with one of the representatives there. She learned that the project in Botswana is in its implementation phase, and therefore little attention has of yet been directed into the communities, causing unawareness among the people. Most community related activities are held at this time in Namibia and Zambia, while the focus in Botswana is mostly on wildlife projects. KAZA leaders in all of the countries share ideas, however, and upon reaching 'phase three' some community projects will be introduced to northern Botswana as well.

Despite the lack of community projects undertaken in the area, the people should be experiencing the benefits of KAZA's existence through the development of tourism and the associated job creation, as well as the conservation projects. The poor publicity which has caused the ignorance among the KAZA's human beneficiaries should not doom the results of their actions completely. It was hoped that the people of this community could still identify how their current situation had been effected by nature conservation and tourism. As consequence of this obstacle, the interviews question needed to be adjusted slightly. After asking the people about their familiarity with KAZA and learning that they had basically none, the questions regarding the importance of KAZA had to be changed into importance regarding the national park (Kasane - Chobe National Park, Maun - Moremi Game Reserve). Such change is not likely to spoil the data, since the national parks are parts of KAZA. This manoeuvre also made it possible for the informants to talk about subjects they were familiar with while staying within the frames of the research topic.

One of the main objectives of KAZA is "to develop and implement programmes that shall enhance the sustainable use of natural and cultural heritage resources to improve the livelihoods of local communities within and around the KAZA TFCA and thus contribute towards poverty reduction [...]" (KAZA TFCA 2011:12).

¹⁰ the phase in which community projects will be introduced to the Botswana part of KAZA

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The actions KAZA takes to implement sustainable resource management come in the forms of the CAMPFIRE and CBNRM projects. Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) is a large, comprehensive program devoted to indigenous people in Zimbabwe. CAMPFIRE states that first and foremost, the people living within the borders of a conservation area should benefit from it the most. Therefore, CAMPFIRE empowers the indigenous people to be responsible for their own land and habitat through their local authorities. Indigenous knowledge of plant and animal is used to help further conservation management, and traditional crafts are sold to tourists to help generate income. The same area is also protected from arable influences, which could destroy the natural flora and fauna. Giving indigenous peoples the chance to develop on their own, more traditional terms might be considered the 'right unfolding for the given situation' proposed by Galtung in his development theory.

The second resource-oriented initiative is called Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM). The CBNRM policy was approved by the Parliament of Botswana in 2007. It states that the government "will promote the involvement of communities in the management of protected areas, the socio-economic needs of neighbouring communities will be identified and reconciled with the management objectives of the adjacent protected areas" (Jones 2008: 17), and where feasible the communities will be allowed to use some of the natural resources in the protected areas. Thanks to CBNRM, "over the years, key deficiencies have been identified in various models of participatory management practise in the sub-region including poor governance, low participation numbers, limited land rights, low participation of females, over dependence on hunting and tourism, limited decision making autonomy, HIV/AIDS, reduced donor funding, and human wildlife conflict" (KAZA 2013b). Various trusts have also been created within CBNRM. They generate income from tourism activities and land rentals to private enterprises and tour companies. The income is spent on "investments for farming, initiating small businesses, investing in capacity building, other community investments such as school buses and football kits, and employment of community members into these opportunities" (ibid).

"[...] Duffy argues that TFCAs tend to be undemocratic and mainly top-down in their approach, thus compromising the situation of the poor people who occupy the affected land" (Metcalfe,

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¹¹ Indigenous rights are a separate topic and are not a direct interest of this research. It is important to name this project though, because of its narrowly focused target group. Indigenous peoples live inside the KAZA TFCA and should be given attention. The fact that the authorities created a programme dedicate to this exact group shows how a comprehensive approach to development and conservation has been taken by KAZA to try and give all social groups the ability to benefit from the ventures.

Kepe 2008: 102). The projects do indeed come from the top, but they are developed specifically to serve those at the bottom, and they are implemented from the bottom-up. For instance, poor communities without professional experience may find it difficult to train their people to operate a microflight. Thanks to the leadership of an experienced professional organisation, they get the chance to learn and then continue with positive change.

In addition, KAZA has prepared a set of guidelines for Community working groups, which enhance the productivity of the community projects. The main purpose of community working groups is "to give communities living within and around KAZA TFCA an opportunity to participate in planning the establishment and development of the TFCA and ensure that information is effectively disseminated and exchanged with them" (KAZA TFCA Guidelines n.d.: 1). To ensure that this purpose is carried out, there should be regular meetings undertaken by the groups facilitated by community representatives to provide a two-way flow of information. The decisions that are made should be delivered to the people of the communities in their native language. This is a great example of bottom-up grassroots involvement. The principles of community development are also not forgotten. The long term projects, including those concerning grassroots initiatives, should ensure the development of those communities in such a way that they can benefit directly from the use of their own natural resources. Such an approach was taken in this case, because "experience from the region suggests that the top-down initiatives rarely work in either development or conservation programmes [...]" (ibid). The IUCN agrees that "community involvement in protected area planning, policy formulation and management is essential" (IUCN 2001: 19) However, as the data collected in the field suggests, the groups did not do the best job of informing the researched communities about the projects. It is possible that this state is only temporary and maybe the first impact was directed into smaller communities living in rural areas. However this analysis is based on the collected data.

4.1.1 In the opinion of the people

What people think about a project that has been recently introduced to benefit them plays an important role in evaluating the value of the project. Despite limited knowledge about the project and no direct interest, the informants reacted very positively to some basic information about KAZA and its objectives. They all hoped the park will benefit nature, increase infrastructure and development, and unify conservation regulations in all of the neighbouring countries. The

respondents showed support and expressed their hopes for positive change. Some showed great enthusiasm and some were more reserved, but they all agreed that such a project is something that is needed in the region.

Special concerns regarding international cooperation and unifying wildlife management laws were expressed by the informant labeled K3: "KAZA could solve the tensions between Botswana and Namibia about fishing. They overfish and use different nets that destroy our boats. There is different law". Similarly, the informant M3 hopes for some regulation regarding Namibian natural resources use - especially hunting. In addition he hopes that Namibia will understand the importance of tourism thanks to KAZA, and he also expressed the opinion that in order to succeed in this field, the people must care about nature.

The protection of nature was seen by all respondents as a crucial action that must be undertaken. Each person expressed concerns about securing their resources for future generations. They also agreed on the importance of nature-related tourism in job creation in the region. The informant K2 agreed that without the park life would be different, as it is easier to be guided than to live on one's own. The informants K3, K5, M3 and M4 are all aware that they owe their jobs to the existence of the park. The informant K1 also agreed that the existence of the park helps businesses with foreign funding become established in the area, but he did not see himself as dependent on the nature conservation in terms of his professional career. Furthermore, K3 states that there is no reason to stay in the town other than tourism.

Not everyone views the park as a necessary building block in terms of success. The informant M1 does not perceive life in the park as the only way to live. She thinks that the people of the region are accustomed to having attractive nature as a source of income, but if the nature didn't exist they would just do something else to survive. Her opinion is shared by the informant M2, who said that if the park was not there, they "would come with another thing, do something else". He does not view his current position as a result of extensive nature-related tourism. It just so happens that he works in a tourist office, but he could do other things for work instead.

Such attitudes were surprising at first. It seems that all of the people interviewed have their jobs because of the prevalence of tourism and nature protection in the region, still they expressed very optimistic attitudes regarding their adaptability to different life situations for themselves. After giving it some thought, this may in fact be a very healthy perception. The copious protection of nature does perhaps provide for the locals to some extent, but the situation is not so fantastic that

they must be eternally grateful. There is still widespread unemployment and the average wages in the area are not impressive. In an alternate universe where the region was filled with mountains and rivers instead of flat plains, Botswana could be the main exporter of ecological electricity in southern Africa instead of struggling with electricity shortages¹² themselves. However, this is not the case, and focus should be put on what can be done with the given setting. The Batswana were given flat plains filled with elephant herds and the one of the world's largest inland delta filled with hippos, therefore according to Galtung's development theory they should seek solutions taking this setting into consideration only. However in order for that to happen, the people must see the potential of the land and build a belief in the nature-oriented approach to development. The collected data suggest that they do see this potential.

There is also interesting data gathered by Suich et al. (2005) concerning tourism in KAZA and the predictions and hopes that the people involved in the tourism industry had about the upcoming project, before the treaty was signed. The data of this report correlates with the research findings for this thesis, despite the ten year long period between the two studies.

Of all the tour operators surveyed, 100% were familiar with the KAZA project and most of them "believed [that] the potential effects of the KAZA TFCA on the tourism industry would result in an increase in tourist numbers, more regionalised tourism taking in more countries, ease of movement between countries and increased satisfaction due to border formalities, that the TFCA would be good for the economy, wildlife and employment and that more areas would become accessible as game moved into new areas. [Only] two respondents believed that the TFCA would have no effect on visitation patterns" (Suich et al. 2005: 37).

The situation was slightly different among those surveyed in the accommodation facilities. Only slightly more than half were aware of the plans for the KAZA TFCA, and half of those who were aware anticipated positive changes as a result. To elaborate, they "stated the following reasons: greater accessibility from new airstrips and roads, opening of the Kazungula bridge [between Botswana and Zambia], improved regional marketing, harmonised land uses, reducing elephant overcrowding by opening wildlife corridors/increasing wildlife areas, improved product on offer for tourists (e.g. cultural tours in Namibia), and the development of a southern Africa visa area". (Suich et al. 2005: 13).

¹² During the stay in Botswana the researcher experienced several power shutdowns and was told, that this is a common thing, that the electricity web in the country does not work at its best.

Some of these expectations came true. Botswana is on the list of countries exempt from South African visas (DHA 2014), nor do they need visas when entering Namibia and Zambia (informant K2) or Zimbabwe (MFAZ 2014)¹³. The first stage of the construction of the Kazungula Bridge was finished July 2013, the project is predicted to be finished in 2018 (Victoria Falls 24 2013). The tour operators in Kasane offer cultural tours to Namibian Impalila island. In terms of infrastructure, the observations suggest that the situation in the Botswana portion of the KAZA TFCA is good, and certainly much better than in neighbouring countries. A teenager from Zambia called Botswana 'great' in an informal chat because "they have concrete roads". The roads leading to (from some distance) and in the national parks are new and well maintained. The informant K4 agreed that the infrastructure looks much better than it did some years prior.

These changes point to steady development in the Botswana part of KAZA. As it is development with the primary aim of nature protection suggests that it can be considered sustainable development. The free visa situation in the region is reminiscent of the postulate of the African Renaissance regarding uniting African nations. Cultural and economic exchange suggests a movement towards a cultural positive peace situation in this area.

However, citizens working at the accommodation establishments also expressed concerns over negative changes being introduced by KAZA. They thought KAZA would have adverse impact on the region, especially in regards to nature. "Two respondents stated that the TFCA would be likely to have a negative effect on park resources, as the increase in infrastructure (roads) and the increase in tourist numbers would have negative environmental impacts" (Suich et al. 2005: 13). One of the tour operators, on the other hand, saw positive changes for the wildlife, predicting "improvements due to less poaching in other countries" (ibid). Nature plays a very important role in lives of the northern Batswana. The next section will elaborate more on this.

4.1.2 Human - wildlife relations

As we have examined, the human/nature relationship in KAZA supports the livelihood of the Batswana. To witness a wild boar crossing the streets of Kasane and eating from a garbage can is not uncommon. Passing buffalos grazing by the road sides are an ordinary part of a morning commute to work. Elephants crossing the road just beyond the city entrance are part of normal

¹³ There is no evidence found that this situation is connected with the establishment of KAZA.

evening activities. All of this seems charming from an outsider's perspective, but there are always possible threats and inconveniences connected to close relations with wildlife.

According to the informant labeled K4 and confirmed by others, the elephants like to tread on personal property in order to eat garden flowers or private crops and destroy structures such as railings. The informant proposed enclosures as a solution to this problem. Fencing the park should, in his opinion, weakened human/elephant interactions. It is unfortunately a step that will not be accepted by any responsible conservancy (Owens and Owens 1984; Boone and Hobbs 2003). A walking safari guide agreed that enclosing the elephants is an unacceptable move because of the animals' "highly destructive nature," and soon the limited habitat would be ruined. Therefore "knowledge of elephants movement has important implications for managing their populations and ecosystems and in terms of reducing the inevitable human-wildlife conflicts while maximising the benefits for rural people" (Metcalfe and Kepe 2008: 104).

It is not only elephants that are destructive. Wild boars fancy the city's garbage, knocking down trash bins and indulging in the bounty which is littered everywhere. The informant labeled K2 found it an annoyance, as the city tries to stay as clean as possible to attract tourists. But the people of Kasane have already found a way to improve the situation. Every week there are community cleaning patrols addressing the waste in the streets. The city has also invested in more secure trash cans (informant K2).

This communal action is a great example of community development. It works toward solving community problems, and is executed as well as implemented by community members. The people try to make the area more attractive for visitors, because the loss of that potential income would be devastating. The Kasane people are friendly to visitors because they understand the importance of the tourist industry in building welfare. This researcher has very good memories of the town and wishes to come back there one day. If other visitors leave with the same impression, these community actions are a success and provide benefits to all of the people. This is not a KAZA initiative per say, but as long as KAZA continues to encourage tourists to visit the region, the Kasane people are prepared to treat them very well. President Mbeki would be proud of how these resourceful people exercise his AR dream.

The human/nature conflict becomes more serious when safety is considered. A South African businessman spoken to engages in a Sisyphean task trying to keep the wild boars away from his possessions each day. He is worried about the safety of his children, though he is aware that he

deals with "extremely clever creatures". Once on a afternoon walk, the researcher was warned by a police officer about the elephants crossing to the river at that particular time of day. He said that in 2012 the elephants had killed two people. The grazing buffalo also pose a possible threat as they may attack when frightened, but it seems that the locals do not feel very threatened by the wildlife. They know how to behave in the presence of a wild animal and are bothered rather by the potential economic losses than the possibility of being hurt.

Another aspect of the human-wildlife relationship that is directly affected by conservation is presented by Metcalfe and Kepe (2008: 100). They state that "Transfrontier conservation areas [...] may not benefit to all stockholders, as some rural communities could suffer the cost of human- wildlife conflict. Without commensurate benefits, these rural people could have legitimate belief that their cost of sharing their space with wildlife is for someone else's gain [...]". Metcalfe and Kepe's discussion concerns Zambia, but recalling informant K4's concern about the elephants eating local produce, it might seem relevant also to the northern Batswana. On the other hand, no other informants expressed any similar worries. They viewed the protection of nature as a beneficial opportunity.

This presentation suggests that the animals can be both a source of profit or a cause of loss. Still, no respondent really expressed any negative or hostile attitude toward the nature around them. It may be translated in terms of *nature positive peace* as appreciation of every being and cooperation of human and nature. The people rather accept nature with all the inconveniences it may create. This is may be due to the economic possibilities, which they see in an abundant and healthy natural habitat.

4.2 Nature as a source of opportunities

Every initiation of a conservation area brings about new policies and changes to the lifestyle known before. Spenceley and Schoon (2007) argue that the establishment of a protection area may change the dynamics between resources and the local people, while tourists come as an additional actor. In this way, any extensive use or abuse of the natural resources may discourage tourists from coming to visit - for instance, hunting destroys the ambiance that the local wildlife provides. When nature preservation increases, the opportunities for agriculture and ranching decreases. "Overlapping claims on resources and diverse resource usage brings up the ongoing

debate of conservation and development and whether parks serve to improve local livelihoods" (Spenceley and Schoon 2007: 89-90). This is a problematic situation if the people have been actively involved in herding or agriculture, and suddenly have to change their profession due to the establishment of the park. This research cannot comment on the other participatory countries of the KAZA TFCA, but as far as the data shows, the people in Kasane and in Maun do not feel deprived of their resources. These two towns have a history of tourism and the people see opportunities in extended nature protection rather than limitations. All of the respondents were opposed to hunting and see protection as a necessary step to sustaining their resources. After all, maintaining the resources composed of animals and a healthy environment are how they make their living.

All of the people interviewed see their own versions of opportunity in this setting. Rich nature is considered a good resource to bring in money for the community by developing a tourist-centric area. None of the interviewees really feels KAZA's patronage directly, but they know that their future likely lies in nature-related tourism. As long as KAZA continues to work towards its objectives, there is hope that the people will benefit from the project in the future.

4.2.1 Economic growth at no one's expense

It is important to remember that one of KAZA's biggest priorities is to serve not just people, but also animals and nature. In fact, the first objective on KAZA's list is to "maintain and manage the shared Natural and Cultural Heritage Resources and biodiversity of the KAZA TFCA to support healthy and viable populations of wildlife species" (KAZA TFCA 2011:11). Galtung also stresses the importance of caring for nature, since both human and non-human organisms must be satisfied in order to achieve a state of positive peace. Similarly, the development of security relies upon the importance of the sustainable management of natural resources, which of course applies to the objectives of sustainable development itself. The biologists behind the project care directly for the welfare of the animals and the nature. For a harmonious existence, all entities should be allowed to live their lives undisturbed. In a situation where the animals become the interest of tourism, it is important to disturb the wildlife as little as possible. Perhaps tolerating a certain amount of human presence, though it may be somewhat uncomfortable, is a compromise the nature must accept in order for survival.

Sustainable development is a recognised benefit to the community, in that resources must be nursed so they can continue to provide for future generations. Thinking generously in regard to nature and animals is also an important factor in the progress towards positive peace. With such attitudes, whether they are intentional or not, the people play the important role of creators of *nature positive peace*. It is not clear as to what extent the people care for the nature, because they see non-human animals as living creatures with needs, who have lives worthy of value and respect? Or is it just because nature is viewed as an object of possible economic development and exploitation? Whatever the drive or intentions, the results should benefit both humans and wildlife. Even if nature becomes an object of economic growth, but this happens through its protection (as it so far does), the postulate of Galtung's nature positive peace and development theory will be fulfilled. Economic growth can be called development only if it happens at no one's expense. Sustainable development is also one of the steps taken toward AR, not forgetting that even human security links environmental issues with human well-being.

According to the Pre-Feasibility Study on the KAZA TFCA, Botswana was involved in the most environmental treaties, conventions and protocols out of all the participating countries (TCC 2006). All of the Botswana informants also think of the local animals as an inseparable part of their environment, and strongly support protection. The informants from Kasane expressed concern for 'their' elephants crossing the border with Namibia. Chobe National Park shares its border with Namibia, and the elephants pass freely through the border every day. There is a common concern that the elephants may be killed on the Namibian side. This may imply a strong awareness among the citizens of the need for the protection of nature, likely encouraged through national education. The country's engagement in numerous environmental initiatives shows an interest in nature that may stem from tradition. According to an informal discussion with an employee of the KAZA secretariat, the conservancy in Namibia has far weaker hunting regulations than Botswana. The two countries are attempting to come to an agreement on the matter. This is directly in line with KAZA's second objective: "promote and facilitate the development of a complementary network of Protected Areas within the KAZA TFCA linked through corridors to safeguard the welfare and continued existence of migratory wildlife species" (ibid).

Why is conservation so important? The informant labeled K2 is building her future goals with nature-centric tourism in mind. K3 finds the issue of conservation important, as the next

generations should also benefit from natural resources. The informant K4 hopes that future generations can live in a world shared with elephants, as he does. Going out into wilderness also helps him to relax. He pursued this activity much of the time in his former job, to combat the stress that comes with being a tour guide. He is a bartender now, because he feels that "it is a better investment". For the informant K4, nature is a crucial part of his wellbeing. The walking safari guide was born in the bush and has a strong emotional connection to nature, and wants to help ensure its protection. The wilderness is also his workplace. The informant M2 shared the opinions of the previous respondents. He finds elephants to be amazing animals, and wants them to survive so that future generations can enjoy their presence, similarly M1 and M4. Strong bonds with local nature are important when evaluating the influence of conservation projects on local people. If the people seek relaxation or amusement in the wilderness and direct their interests and goals into it, it is also in their best interest to help to protect nature.

Of course nature is an interdependent setting, and the protection of one species involves comprehensive actions (Jermaczek-Sitak 2014). Therefore, in order to save the elephants, many plants, water sources etc. must be secured along the way. KAZA facilitates various projects for securing the natural heritage of the region. Simalaha Wildlife Sanctuary in Zambia is a great example of combined efforts to reintroduce and increase the population of animals while simultaneously helping the local people economically. The first action taken for successful reintroduction of the animals was to build a fence, and several local people were employed for its construction. In addition to the benefits for nature, there was also some impact on the local community. This was a one time job which also qualified as short time employment, but it was still a chance to enhance the private budget of some. A large impact may have been made at the end of the project when eighteen of the fence builders were trained as park rangers and offered permanent positions. "Community farmers within the overall conservancy area will receive support and training to carry out conservation farming so that food security for rural communities within the project areas is enhanced" (Sparrow 2013: 2).

While developing another conservancy area - Sioma Ngwezi National Park (Zambia), the community was given a microflight allowing better patrol opportunities. Consequently, a vast range of training was required, and some of the park personnel even underwent appropriate pilot training. Development and data training were given to the rest of the staff, and twelve new workers were employed. The territory is supposed to gain employment and income possibilities as tourism increases. Comprehensive training in conservation agriculture and energy projects are

also planned for the communities living there. "Implementation of these projects will allow the communities in the conservancy to manage their forests and wildlife resources in a sustainable fashion. Thanks to the training they will receive, they will gain a further understanding of the value of wildlife as a resource and conservation as a viable land-use option" (PPF 2013).

Even if northern Botswana has not yet had the opportunity to be proud of similar happenings in that region, these examples of success serve as arguments in KAZA's favour. If the project could reach such accomplishments in one area, it can surely achieve similar in another. Such undertakings empower local communities that agree with the principles of community development. It provides a chance to pursue sustainable development of the local environment, and as a result generate additional income. In accordance with the African Renaissance, African people should take their futures into their own hands, and a good starting point is by preserving and benefitting from their nearest resources. Galtung's development theory is directly related to this concept, as it promotes communities find their own way to develop using the resources that nature has provided. The better they maintain their natural habitat, the more they will gain in return. In theory, the more effort Batswana put into the protection of nature, the more tourists will be interested in visiting to admire that nature, which provides more business and higher incomes. The conservation itself also administers employment opportunities that are not related to tourism. It is important to acknowledge the opportunities presented and to find good ways to manage development based on those opportunities. PPF and KAZA are willing to fill a managerial role in helping these communities to build strong societies (the informant K3 expressed appreciation for KAZA's guidance).

The interviewee who was most passionate about living off natural resources was the informant labeled K2. In addition to her day job, she was also taking classes to educate herself in serving as a tour guide. After she earned her license, she was hoping to lead safaris as a primary source of income. Her plan was to gain the experience required in order to establish her own tour company. She called herself a "business lady," but she still had to raise enough capital to purchase safari trucks and additional equipment. Her business plan has already been written, and she is awaiting funds from a governmental programme supporting youth startup initiatives. Unfortunately, her prediction is that the grant will be too small to fully support the launch of her company, therefore she needs to invest much of her own savings into her plans. She really believed in her possibilities in Kasane, but to make her dream a reality she was reliant upon time in the bush used to gain

valuable experience before she could come back to the city and continue to pursue potential opportunities.

The assurance K2 had in her future success must have been based on some empirical data: the number of people succeeding in the town, the number of successful startups, etc. Possibilities are freedom and possibilities are development, as says Amartya Sen (1999). Thanks to possibilities people have the opportunities to develop their potential. As long as people have possibilities to develop according to their own interests and visions, they should be able to avoid true poverty. By creating possibilities for local people, the conservation project limits the potential of poverty. Limited poverty improves the well being of citizens, which is a crucial factor in both human security and positive peace.

If KAZA can really boost tourism development as is the plan, it will provide more possibilities to more people. The path of an entrepreneur is not so easy in Botswana, but perhaps nowhere really is easy. Most of the respondents agree, after all, that they owe their jobs to the tourism industry. The informant labeled M3 devoted his life to his company and has no regrets. Some official data could help to build a better picture of this situation.

4.2.2 The tourism industry

Botswana's splendid nature attracts thousands of tourists every year. The most visited regions are those with the most environmental value, such as Okavango Delta, Chobe National Park and the Makgadikgadi region - all are parts of KAZA TFCA. These also have the most touristic value, which is viewed as a golden mean to boosting local development.

The Hospitality and Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB) recognises tourism as an industry enabling the economic growth of this emerging country (*Hotel & Catering* 2013). The Chief executive Officer of HATAB says: "at HATAB we believe that the role of this sector [tourism] is to increase contribution to the GDP, [...] and employment creation [...], naturally all of these to be derived in a sustainable manner (ibid: 7). The people also see the potential of touristic development, as many have dedicated their lives to this branch and the others have plans to start their own establishment. Bringing some numbers will help to fully present the scale and the importance of tourism in the region. The report released by Conservation International of South Africa, written by Helen Suich et al. (2005), referred to before is a very interesting and

informative source. The report examines the structure of tourist facilities in each country affiliated with KAZA, as well as compilation of the data for an overall picture of the KAZA TFCA. The biggest drawback is how long ago the study was conducted and the question of its continued relevancy. Data collection took place in 2005, which was a direct reflection of the tourism industry in 2004. Despite contacting Botswana's Ministry of Tourism, PPF, the KAZA Secretariat as well as the authors of the report, no more up-to-date reports were possible to find. The given report reveals the most detailed content available related to the state of the region, and therefore it is found to be useful for the study. Although it is likely that the number of visiting tourists and active establishments has increased since 2004, it perhaps does not have a significant effect on the general picture regarding data percentages. The second disadvantage of using this report is the fact that it does not include the Okavango region as part of its statistics. The Okavango region contributes greatly to the overall information, hence this is a big loss of data. However, it still remains that the data in this report is the most useful that has been found and it still serves well as a basis for the analysis.

The area from the Suich's et al. study including both accommodation facilities and tour operators participated to the tourism traffic in KAZA with almost one fourth. However it is important to remember that the Okavango Delta was not included to the report. The great majority of the facilities in northern Botswana were private - eighty four per cent. This shows that the private initiative ratio is high, and it must be relatively easy to run establishments in terms of bureaucracy. In addition more than half of the accommodation facility owners and tour operators in northern Botswana (being today a part of KAZA) were local, and around ten percent (accommodation) and thirty per cent (tour operators) were from other place within the KAZA TFCA, making a great majority of those who benefitted from the tourism the target locals. The private units also provided fifty nine percent and almost seventy percent of employment in the sector. In case of the accommodation facilities the employment ratio is relatively low keeping in mind the high number of units, but it is also the case that private enterprises tend to be smaller than their corporately-owned counterparts. Hence the dominant status in employment is still impressive.

This researcher had no opportunity to investigate the situation in corporate facilities. The focus of this study was directed largely into the private sector. Staying in privately owned lodges was also a calculated contribution to local development. Observing the shift-employees, it became obvious that the same people worked each day at wildly varying hours. A reception worker in Kasane was spotted going home at sunset and then seen at work the next morning before sunrise. This does

not prove much, but it may signify a situation in which there are too few employees available for the job. Perhaps corporations are able to afford more workers, creating shorter shifts. The observation was really too brief, however, to make any strong assumptions. It could be that the employer had just an extra day off another time. Creating too many shifts may not be beneficial for the workers either, because it means enrolling more people in part-time employment, which may be less desirable due to their smaller associated paycheques. The Suich et al (2005) report does not include information about part time employment in the accommodation sector in northern Botswana, but it does regarding tour operators. In 2004, there was only one reported person working part-time (out of 173 local employees). This may suggest that part time jobs are not popular in the region. Unfortunately no relevant question to this topic were asked during the interviews, therefore it is difficult to identify the actual situation.

In terms of empowering the local communities, the high percentage of corporations in the area may be viewed as a problem, especially concerning the very high employment ratio. However, private facilities still compose great majority of all units (which suggests that the possibilities are really in reach of the locals). From the perspective of the employees, there should be not much difference in practice whether they work for a local private company or an internationally-owned corporation, as long as they are paid fairly and can live their lives free from basic needs. Maybe the economic structure of the community should have an even higher number of private companies to be considered fully empowering and fulfilling the postulates of AR. This could be achieved through better funding for would-be entrepreneurs. On the other hand, none of the respondents complained about corporations or foreignly-owned facilities limiting the possibilities of local businesses. On the contrary, the informants labeled K1, K2, K4, M1, M2 and see foreign investments as a possibility for the local people to gain employment. If this is the case, however, foreign investment may be even more relevant than previously believed. As long as people can work and earn decent money, an influx of corporations should not be seen as a negative trend in the local economy.

On the other hand, international investments may generate money which may only be partially spent in the local area. The Suich et al. report concerns this issue as well. There was data gathered at that time which suggests that most of the money generated in the area leaves the area as well. This occurrence limits the possibilities for further development if the local money will not be invested in local affairs. Taking this into consideration, it is better for the local communities to have more locally-owned establishments created.

Another criterium which Suich et al. found relevant is the ethnicity of the owners. This is relevant to the current research as well, in terms of empowerment of the locals as seen by AR. Providing jobs is one aspect of empowerment, but letting the people make their own decisions and manage an enterprise is another. This is even more empowering, satisfying and contributes to more effective development. Sadly, only thirty two per cent of the owners were of sub-Saharan African ancestry, and as much as thirty seven per cent were of Caucasian descent (the remaining percentage was made up of 'black/white partnership' and 'corporates'). "Although black-owned establishments comprise nearly one third of all enterprises, they receive only five per cent of regional turnover" (ibid). The turnover of Caucasian-owned establishments was, on the other hand, at thirty six per cent. The tour operators of sub-Saharan descent were in minority, creating only twenty percent of all establishments. They also came in last place in terms of capacity, turnover and clientele. Hopefully things have changed since 2004, otherwise meeting the informant K3 was a very lucky occurrence. These numbers may also suggest that the term 'local' may refer to someone who immigrated to Botswana from, for instance, South Africa. Still, based on these numbers, it seems that the native Batswana have less success in this branch of the local economy. There was no investigation conducted to try to explain this phenomenon.

An informal conversation with a Caucasian South African living in Kasane suggested that the situation of white entrepreneurs in Botswana is still thriving, as it was ten years ago. Moving to the country of Botswana is easy for South Africans, and beneficial in terms of making money by running their own businesses. The man drove a nice SUV and lived in a concrete-fenced villa, with a couple of wild boars resting on his driveway. There was little doubt that his business was really doing well. How the situation of enterprises driven by sub-Saharan Africans appears today was not encountered in any valuable empirical way. It could be encouraging for local people if the government could support of sub-Saharan African descent entrepreneurs more generously. The respondents K1 and K2 similarly testified that there are possibilities in Kasane, but insufficient financial support makes it difficult, if not impossible, to take advantage of them. Perhaps the town does not suffer a shortage of potential possibilities, but rather a shortage of attainable possibilities. Sen might call this capability deprivation, because as respondent K1 and K2 confided, it seems impossible to save enough money to launch one's own business from an internship. This situation does not live up to the objectives of human security in terms of "fully developing their human potential". On the other hand, the informant K3 succeeded with running his own tour agency and connects his success strongly to the park.

The people do see the development potential in tourism and the data suggests that it is not of big importance, who gives the employment or who accelerates the development.

4.2.2.1 Sustainability of the tourism development

KAZA wants to increase the tourism ratio, but it has already been increasing for years, since before the implementation of the park (Suich at al. 2005). The WTO predicted in 1998 that the tourism of Southern Africa would double by 2020 (ibid). The question is, to what extent is the growth a natural occurrence and to what extent is it a result of KAZA's interference? How far can tourism in the KAZA region increase before it becomes a burden?

Tourism that is too intense may bring more problems than benefits to the region. Over-crowded parks would not only lead to the annihilation of conservation efforts, but would alter the whole experience in a negative way. These are concerns that were expressed by the informants in the Suich's et al. report, but none of the informants chosen for this study expressed such concerns. However KAZA's objectives stress sustainable management and hopefully they will pursue this way.

Suich et al (2005: 45) states that is "almost certainly possible for the TFCA to increase the rate of tourism growth in the region, depending on the policies and activities implemented by the stakeholders". The report also suggests that development should be planned and managed by the stakeholders, "rather than occurring in an uncontrolled and *ad hoc* manner" (ibid). According to this literature, the growth will not become a burden as long as it is well planned, and follows KAZA's objective "to ensure that the tourism industry grows in an environmentally, socially and economically sustainable manner" (KAZA TFCA 2014b).

4.2.2.2 Good management is the key to success

Having discussed the quantitative data regarding tourism in Kasane, it may be appropriate to complement it with some qualitative information based on observation. The researcher participated in a few organised safari tours and experienced the accommodation facilities. Both tourism branches were examined with several issues in mind: general organisation, quality of

service and modernisation of the facilities, satisfaction of the guests (which could be only roughly estimated by observation and deduction) and competence of the crew. Such observations seemed of value, because in modern society most potential tourists investigate their destination on the Internet in advance, which makes it important to build a reliable, well organised and well served facility in order to generate positive referrals. Portals like TripAdvisor or Yelp can provide great advertisement, but only if the previous visitors were satisfied and would recommend the facility to the rest of the Web. Bad reviews may become a death sentence for the agency in question, therefore it is important that organisation and service meet high standards.

Studying these issues may reveal the level of development in these branches as well as the engagement of the employees and their perceived satisfaction with their work. The attitude of the workers and the conditions of the facilities may determine whether or not tourists coming back and/or recommend lodging and attractions. Knowing to which extent the all of these conditions are met would show some correlation to the African Renaissance, as well as the development and freedom concepts used in this research.

The customer service in Kasane was very good from a subjective point of view. The facility the researcher stayed in was clean and well managed with friendly and helpful personnel. All the facilities in the resort were fully operational: there was hot water, electricity and access to cold drinks. The lodge offered an extensive range of chauffeur services and the crew was seemed happy to help with telephone calls, money exchange or just tips and tricks about enjoying the town

Also, the activities they offered were well-planned and always on time. A morning safari in Chobe National Park was an unforgettable experience. The tour guide operated a proper off-road vehicle (which are, according to informant K2, very expensive: comparable to western prices) and was very dedicated to finding rare animals, as well as demonstrating impressive knowledge about the wilderness. The trip lasted over four hours and departing before sunrise. Thick blankets were provided so the tourists did not get too cold, and there was constant access to beverages during the ride. All of the participants on the ride seemed satisfied, and at the end of the tour each one tipped the guide, which presumably means that he was also satisfied. Mutual satisfaction is a key point in business, and it also encourages operators to arrive on time and care for the comfort of their clients. This in turn results in satisfaction and appreciation from the customers, which can take the form of money or recommendations which will benefit the business.

The afternoon boat ride on the Chobe River was even more impressive. The tour guide operated a high speed tour boat equipped with life vests and even more beverages to quench ones thirst during the hottest part of the day. He knew exactly where to go to see particular animal species and entertained his guests with a constant flow of information about the region and its wildlife. During this tour, everyone seemed pleased with their experience and judging by the frequency of tips he made even more money than he had that morning.

The third tour, a walking safari, met the expectation set by the other two tours in terms of organisation and attractiveness. This time there was not only a guide, but also a separate driver. There was also a park ranger along with a rifle for security reasons. The guide, who had grown up in the bush, showed impressive skills in tracking and knowledge about the wildlife which he passed onto his guests. The company provided hot beverages, cold water and homemade snacks. It was later discovered that, the cake made available had been baked by the driver's own wife. Good tipping in the end was more than certain.

The tour providers and accommodation facilitators in the Chobe region showed advanced professionalism and passion towards guiding. The people seem to develop themselves professionally in line with their interests. This agrees with both the positive peace theory and Sen's concept of freedom. Freedom is closely connected again to *personal positive peace* manifesting itself in personal growth (in this case, education in the wildlife field) and welfare (such as salary and tips). If the people can thrive as part of the tourism industry, it fulfils KAZA's objectives to create welfare and economic growth through preserving nature. Every detail of the tours was carefully planned and it was apparent that this was based on long-term experience. The cars and boats used were modern and safe and the crew skilled.

The KAZA Treaty (2011:13) states that the park shall "build capacity for and within the KAZA TFCA through training, enterprise development and mentoring programmes thus increasing the skills and knowledge associated with the management of Natural and Cultural Heritage Resources [...]". In the cases discussed, the tour guides are already skilled and well-trained workers creating great resources for KAZA's inventory. Kasane's facilities seem to be operating on a high level of sufficiency. With the future help of trainings facilitated by KAZA-, they will likely become even better. This puts Kasane in the position of a well-developed tourist centre, where travellers encounter positive experiences and will likely recommend the place to others. This is just the first step in building welfare, but the empirical evidences point to successful development in the

future. Perhaps it can be said that Kasane has found its own way for development, and is headed towards the African Renaissance.

The situation in Maun was a little different. The accommodation facilities seemed older and less modern, but had a charming rustic appeal that stemmed from being located along the river with open dining areas, etc. Unfortunately, the organisation at these facilities was much less sufficient hot water was by random chance, there were no electricity outlets in the rooms and a very long waiting time in the restaurant. Still, the crew was very friendly and seemed doing its best, and the delays were certainly caused by a much greater number of visitors than in Kasane. These facilities were operated by Caucasian immigrants from South Africa, and the subjective assumption is that the most notable differences may have been caused by this fact. The informants interviewed in Kasane never mentioned asking their supervisors for permission, and they agreed to set aside some time to talk whenever they deemed appropriate. Those in Maun were concerned about managerial permission and would only talk in off times, during a lunch break or after the managers went home. There is nothing negative of an employee to be concerned about the manager's permission to involve his private affairs during work time, but the situation just suggests differences in management. The overall impression was that the management in Maun cared less for the visitors taking their participation for granted. This may also stem from the fact, however, that there are more guests to take care of in Maun than in Kasane.

Maun is still more frequently visited than Kasane, with a long-established position of strength in the tourism. It is perhaps because of the unique nature in that area. Being satisfied with the environment that one encounters every day is an important factor in building a satisfying life. Access to beautiful nature may lift the spirit and create a feeling of pride in a resident. It seems the Kasane people do not find their environment extraordinarily attractive (3,8), while the people of Maun quite adore their landscape (4,6). The natural surroundings are definitely more dramatic in Maun, both from a personal point of view and also judging by Maun's long established position as one of the most popular tourist destinations in southern Africa. This may be why Kasane tries so hard to catch up with the popularity of Maun by providing exceptional service. Whatever the reason, by following this trend Kasane may have a chance to become even more successful in the industry, generating additional income from tourism.

The possibilities again lead to development and poverty reduction. A bright future is a part of the *positive peace of time* creation process. As previously mentioned, the presented situation fits the

frames of Amartya Sen's development theory, but also considering that everything revolves around nature-related tourism, the presence of sustainable development seems inevitable.

4.2.3 Surviving does not mean thriving

The tourism industry is the greatest employer in the researched region. All the respondents are aware of this and value the importance of tourism, and put their hopes into development and improvement facilitated by KAZA. But just having a job does not translate into high standards of living. The interviewees did not elaborate on their private state of economy, but the satisfaction of life scale suggests that their satisfaction of work is not great.

People in Kasane seem to be not very satisfied with their work. The average satisfaction falls into the 'slightly satisfied' (3,7) category (scale 1- 6, described in chapter 3), though only three people gave the answer of 'strongly dissatisfied' (1) or 'dissatisfied' (2). Three additional people were 'satisfied' and one 'very satisfied'. This still reveals a lower average ratio as compared to the same study conducted in Maun (4,2). Seeking an explanation from the respondent M3 (who moved from Kasane to Maun), the evidence points to better payment in Maun, and therefore a higher satisfaction. The respondent agreed that the working hours in Kasane were calmer and less exhausting, but the wages were also lower, spurring his relocation to Maun. With this information in mind, the people may have graded their satisfaction with work not in terms of enjoyment but rather in terms of pay, which is likely in an area where the young must support their parents living in rural areas financially (M3 and K4).

The level of satisfaction of the people with their living conditions is puzzling. Despite lower wages and a general lower satisfaction of work, the people in Kasane are more satisfied with their life conditions (4,1) than the people in Maun (3,6). The researcher is not sure why this is so, despite the fact that Maun is an older town than Kasane, and maybe the poorer conditions come from the age of the housing and facilities. In order to collect more complete data, the survey should be delivered to more respondents in both towns, and afterward the researcher could follow up on this topic in interviews. Nothing can be done at this point, but the fact remains that the people in both towns are not very satisfied with their living conditions, nor their jobs.

Low satisfaction of life may lead people to migrate into other parts of the country, or abroad. Despite the informant labeled K4 expressing concern for people who must leave their parents

behind in order to look for a job in more developed areas, the data collected about willingness to relocate suggest that the people are flexible in order to upgrade their life conditions, fulfil their dreams or reach their goals. Almost every informant showed a willingness to move in order to get a better job. The informant K1 is satisfied with his life in Kasane, but he may move to Gaborone if he decides to work in advertising instead of tourism. K2 would move wherever she can find a job to gain adequate experience for her safari business. She has already applied for a few positions abroad. K3 does not really want to move, and as long as he does not need to change professions he will stay in Kasane. K4, on the other hand, would like to move abroad and learn about foreign cultures. He considers moving out of Kasane, even though he agrees that it is "not so bad" there. The informant K5 would move if had the opportunity to secure a better job. She also thinks that "the more you move, the more you learn". In Maun, the situation is very similar. M1 would like to move somewhere else in the country, but stay in the same profession. Similarly, M2 would like to move to see new places, but he would rather not change his occupation. The informant M3 already moved from Kasane and does not plan to move again, because he "feels safe now". M4 would move for a better job, but she feels "OK here". Only one out of nine respondents definitely would not consider moving anywhere at that point.

Considering the AR's postulate regarding Africans taking their own fates into their own hands, one could say that the people of Kasane and Maun have already reached this level. But as previously mentioned, they would gladly take some guidance and help from KAZA. The idea of moving abroad for a better job may be a sign of a bad economy and may result in private tragedy (leaving friends, family, culture and often language for a living), but on the other hand taking advantage of such an opportunity is a chance for people to change their lives for the better. However the fact that Batswana consider such an option is not synonymous with being able to do that. Considering that Botswana is the most developed country in the region, the only other choice for upward mobility in that part of the world is the wealthier South Africa. But of course relocating there would mean leaving the KAZA TFCA.

The employment situation in the Botswana part of KAZA even if far from perfection is developing to the better. The people see opportunities for development, and they have the potential to work in beautiful tourist destinations. It might be too soon to judge the park's influence on the welfare of the people, but increasing yearly turnover in the area perhaps guarantees more income for local employees. If the park's plan is to bring more and more tourists

to the region each year, the success of this scenario is probable. After all, Botswana is a democratic country with a high index of economic freedom and growth (THF 2014).

Economic freedom is a crucial component to all the aspects of a peaceful society. It supports personal development, freedom and life satisfaction through welfare. It provides opportunities which increase quality of life and create a situation of personal positive peace, which eventually leads to social positive peace. All of this participates in the overall wellbeing of the citizens. The final stage would be the situation of positive peace including further development and 'sukha'.

4.3 Life satisfaction as an indicator of positive peace situation

Positive peace is made up of many different factors that together create a satisfying life. Knowing how the people grade their life satisfaction helps in determining how well a given community is doing on its way to a state of positive peace. The economy does not need to be perfect, either, in order for people to be satisfied with what they have. As long as they are willing to stay and wait/ work for changes, the project has a chance of success.

The people of the studied area demonstrate an average level of satisfaction with life (derived from a compilation of all answers, not only the direct answer of being satisfied with life) at a quite high level of 4,2, which is translated into 0,2 points above 'slightly satisfied'. The result varies from 3,9 (almost 'slightly satisfied) in Maun to 4,5 ('slightly satisfied plus') in Kasane. Also the general satisfaction with quality of life in Kasane is at an impressive of 5,2, which means they are 0,2 higher than simply 'satisfied'. Unfortunately, Maun's results were quite lower with a number of 3,8, which does not even reach the level of 'slightly satisfied'. The respondents from Kasane are much more satisfied than those from Maun, and it is uncertain as to why that is the case. The data also shows that the Kasane community rates their living conditions also higher than the community in Maun (4,1:3,6). It is possible that this is one of the causes of the difference in satisfaction levels.

Considering the previously evaluated characteristics of each town, Kasane people might find themselves in a better position due to benefits of international co-operation in business and the lower rate of foreign managers. Maybe since the people of Kasane have to work harder in order to establish a position in southern Africa's tourist market makes the people feel more successful and self-satisfied. And the people of Kasane are indeed more satisfied with their personal

achievements at a 4,6 compared to Maun's 4. On the other hand, Maun takes the lead in satisfaction at work with a 4,2, while in Kasane the rate is low at a 3,7. Seeking explanation from the respondent labeled M3 (who moved from Kasane to Maun) the evidence that he provides points to better wages, as previously mentioned. Kasane hold the lead in most of the satisfaction aspects with the exception of two: work and place of living.

It is not the researcher's role to judge if such a level of satisfaction is 'good enough'. The people deserve to be 'strongly' satisfied in every aspect of their lives. Of course, no one ever is 100% satisfied with everything in their lives, because it is the human nature to seek more comfort, more money, a better life, and robust health. The imperfection of this study needs to be addressed as well. Data based on such a small number of informants is difficult to rely on to build any strong, accurate assumptions. The tool itself was vulnerable to misinterpretation. Every person has some personal image of a perfect life that they wish to live. In such cases, the 'very satisfied' option may have been understood as the level of their own personal perfect life, and it can be difficult for our lives to live up to that expectation in reality.

However, one can take some useful information from a survey with the help of impartial numbers. The great majority (nearly 80%) of the answers in Kasane were rated 4 or above ('slightly satisfied' to 'strongly satisfied'), while in Maun the percentage was 72%. This suggests that the respondents in both towns were more likely to answer a question in the survey with 'satisfied.' This could be a very positive sign. The closer to satisfaction, the closer to 'sukkha'.

4.3.1 Aspects that improve life satisfaction

KAZA and the government can still do more to improve the lives of the people. If the economic growth of the region improves, perhaps the living conditions will also improve and will come along with higher wages. A wealthier economy can care better for the health and education of its citizens. Improving the standards of these services surely helps to fight poverty. Among hopes of change in the economic situation and in resource management laws facilitated by KAZA, the informant labeled K4 felt that another matter of importance was an improvement in education. He complained that the education system in Botswana is too expensive for ordinary citizens. He hopes that KAZA can bring education (especially health education) to the more rural areas. Sadly,

KAZA cannot interfere too much with the country's internal politics, but it does not stay completely silent on this aspect either.

4.3.1.1 Education

Education is a key point to all the aspects of positive peace - the development, freedom, emancipation etc. It is very important that the people receive education, so they can fully and consciously contribute to development and conservation. One of the KAZA objectives states that the role of the park is to "build capacity for and within the KAZA TFCA through training, enterprise development and mentoring programmes thus increasing the skills and knowledge associated with the management of Natural and Cultural Heritage Resources [...]" (KAZA 2011: 12). However, the project rather focuses on the aspect that is most important for its own success - management of natural resources.

The informant K4 expressed concerns about the difficult situation of formal education in Botswana, and also expressed a desire for KAZA to intervene. KAZA cannot engage too forcefully in the inner-politics of the countries, neither is the situation in Botswana the worst. "The Nation Master (2005) surveyed 100 countries worldwide and reported [...] the average number of years adults spend on schooling" (Ngambi 2011). Botswana and South Africa were the only African countries to appear in the top 50, putting Botswana three positions higher than her southern neighbour. The desire for more education may suggest that Batswana are ready to take responsibility for their own fates, and are determined as well as ambitious regarding their future.

PPF is not idle about educating people to fit into the roles that they are trying to facilitate. The foundation holds patronage over two colleges in South Africa dedicated to tourism and wildlife, and they financially support the education of the students. The SA College for Tourism as well as the related Tracker Academy were founded by Dr. Anton Rupert in 2001, and "provide professional training for hospitality staff and trackers" (PPF 2014b). Another education facility founded by Anton Rupert and facilitated by PPF is the Southern African Wildlife College. "Since its inception in 1997, the College has trained more than 8 000 students from across Africa in the essential skills of managing parks and conservation areas" (ibid).

Such actions are mostly welcome when potential students cannot afford their education. This approach also shows that the foundation is serious, and takes responsibility for its plans for future of southern Africa. By offering education in the field that is supposed to bring development and welfare to the people, it supports the postulates of the African Renaissance as well as popularises the idea of sustainable development. Receiving education empowers people, gives them opportunities and should result in employment, which guarantees income. Education fights poverty, and promotes freedom.

4.3.1.2 Health care

The only objective in KAZA's treaty regarding health care treats it rather vaguely: "emerging environmental issues and social paradigms, such as climate change and HIV/AIDS, in the overall development of the KAZA TFCA" (KAZA TFCA 2011: 13). On the other hand, the project is not omnipotent and has to narrow its action in order to not to be distracted from the main goal. However, if KAZA is truly boosting development, promoting sustainable development and through PPF offering education, it is also indirectly promoting health services through development and health awareness. In addition, the observations suggest that the country of Botswana is aware of the health issues of its citizens, especially in regards to the biggest health problem in the country - HIV/AIDS. Informational posters and educational leaflets were available many places throughout the towns.

KAZA might not be a direct actor when it comes to creating better healthcare, but it can influence changes indirectly, or even allow them financially. As long as the generous support from KAZA's donors is used for both nature protection and implementing some community projects within the state's borders (not yet, but in phase 3), the public budget may be relieved of these costs and that money could be redirected into public heath care. Without good health, the people cannot contribute actively to the economy, nor enjoy their lives and freedoms fully.

4.3.1.3 Freedom of lifestyle

It is considered a great advantage and a source of economic support that KAZA, through its actions, creates workplaces in the tourism industry. On the other hand, what about the people who

would like to pursue different things in life? One of important positive peace and successful development aspects is that people have the ability to develop their potential and live freely. To allow for that, they must have a choice and an opportunity to pursue the activities they wish. Offering employment in only one profession seems somewhat limiting, after all. Free economy regulates the market as well, allowing the needed enterprises to succeed and eliminating those that are less needed. The artists are usually in the less thriving group, often struggling with harsh economics that do not allow for easy survival. The history of art demonstrates the vast number of artists who are appreciated today never gained recognition during their own lifetime. There is also a tendency for local art (especially of the traditional variety) to sell poorly. Still, artist are typically committed to their lifestyle and want to continue it despite adversity. It was a very positive experience to meet two local artists in the area of study, who were dedicated to pursuing their passionates. Thanks to the tourism ongoing in the area they have a wider audience and potential clients.

Van Haute (2008) brings up the issue of African tourist art. "Tourist art in Africa is art produced by Africans for an external market, and is characterised by stylistic hybridity. As such, it is the opposite of 'traditional' African art which was supposedly already made in precolonial times by Africans for use in the local community and believed to display cultural or ethnic purity". Modern tourist art in Africa is accused of decontextualisation of the artwork, and therefore marginalising local culture. This hybrid of African art is the result of a colonial suppression of indigenous culture, instead preferring what is considered valuable by Western culture. The aesthetics associated with Africa is now just modification of authentic African art transformed for postcolonial exotic export. The article describes the process of making African art in central and western Africa available for sale in southern Africa. Despite a different region of interest, the article makes some valid points which can be adapted to this study.

Being an artist creating art for tourists does not sound very empowering. The artists creating for the tourist market seem oppressed by colonialism. However, the final argument in Van Haute's presentation is that the artist is, in fact, a decoloniser. "[...] it could be argued that the artist wants to recover pride in his/her African heritage (ibid: 27). When creating for tourists, the artist is not really free to express his creativity because it may result in losing the 'authenticity' that is understood in a Western way. Van Haute suggests that "the artist working at ground level

continues a sculptural tradition inherited from the past, ensuring a sustained social relevance at a local level" (ibid).

The artists from the Botswana part of KAZA definitely produce tourist art, such as carved wooden animals, masks, key chains and landscapes made with a millet seed painting technique. These are all items that a tourist would be expected to bring from his African holiday. Still, they are able to use their talents to promote African culture and the same time earn money to live. Perhaps without the strong tourism implemented by nature conservation, they would not be able to survive by producing objects of art for the local markets. This situation makes them not only independent, but also a part of the local economy and even executors of the African Renaissance, by promoting traditional art and making a profit from it. This also agrees with San's concept of possibilities.

Van Haute (2008: 34) makes the conclusion that, "Thanks to the market, the African artist has an incentive to continue producing artworks in the tradition of the originating culture, and hence keep indigenous knowledge systems alive. [...] It therefore empowers the artists at village level and the middlemen to surmount the hardships that they face. [...] Tourist art preserves tradition by making it work within the epoch of global consumerism". Tourist art becomes not only a product to generate income, but also a way to gain empowerment. As long as tourists want to leave their money in the artist's hands, it will contribute to the economy and personal welfare of the artist. This fact alone, that someone can profit from tourism while not working directly for the tourism industry, speaks in favour of the situation of possibilities in the community.

The widely understood term of satisfaction, including all the aspects discussed above, translates directly into feeling secure.

4.3.2 Human security and related human rights

Working towards development, a healthy environment and job creation is by itself an act of implementing agendas of human security. These plans, however, must meet the reality of the people who will be seeing the positive effects. The Batswana in KAZA were asked about the level of security they feel in daily life. The results from the two researched hubs were quite different. The general safety (which includes physical safety) in Maun was rated in average as 'slightly insecure plus' (3,6), while in Kasane the same variable was rated at a 5,3 - more than 'secure'. It has not been possible to determine why this is so. The researcher can only deduce that the size

and infrastructure of the two towns must have some relevance. The layout of Kasane is more dense, and the lodges are not as far from the town centre as those in Maun. Maybe a longer journey to and from work in the early morning and late evening darkness creates more potential danger or perceived insecurity?

Another, perhaps more crucial, aspect for this particular study is the perception of security regarding the future. It includes all the aspects of human security: education, health, wealth, freedom and opportunities. The Kasane people feel quite secure in their future (4,7), while the people in Maun feel only 'slightly' secure (3,8). Feeling secure about the future means basically being free from fear, which is the second most important thing about UN-defined human security.

The informant K1 feels secure about his future, because he is in the process of completing two majors at the university in Gaborone, and feels that he can always shift from one profession to the other. For instance, if the tourism in Kasane slows down, he can work in advertising in Gaborone. K2 has taken her future in her own hands, and works hard to accomplish her goals. She does everything to make her plans come true, and she believes that having a safari company would guarantee her future from an economic perspective. Both persons secure their future with education, they use given opportunities and trust that the actions will secure them with better economics.

The informant K3 showed a more pragmatic approach, expressing concern that tourism in Botswana is driven by the international market, and therefore it is hard to predict the future. However, judging from the content of his interview, he feels secure enough to stay in Kasane and continue with the touring business. If the market provides him with clients and income, then it suggests that at this point in time he is secure financially.

The respondent labeled K4 rated his feelings of security as "50/50", since not only work is needed for a secure future. He expressed concerns, especially regarding healthcare, and wishes KAZA would eventually takes some action in this sector as well. His point of view agrees with the human security theory. If there are problems with the health system, the people cannot feel fully secure. It is not clear, however, if repairing health care is KAZA'a duty. Perhaps in this case it is the state of Botswana who has failed to secure its citizens in this sector.

Thought the scale responses in Maun were significantly lower than those in Kasane, the interview answers revealed a similar satisfaction to that in Kasane. The respondent M1 feels satisfied and

secure, and even if she moves to a different part of the country, she would like to stay in the same profession. This implies that she believes in the potential of the tourism industry in her country. M3 has similar feelings - he feels safe and satisfied with his job and has no desire to move anywhere else, because he feels safe in Maun. This suggests that at this point, he is free from want and fear. M2 feels secure about the future and about his work, but does not think this is connected to his awareness of the park's existence. He just believes that he will find a way to manage in any situation, which suggests that the country or the region provides for human security. In opposition comes the respondent M4, who feels secure about her job, but she is aware that it exists only as long as the tourists continue to visit Maun.

This positively high level in feelings of security is visibly connected to a strong belief in the power of tourism and the development that comes with it. If KAZA manages to keep the tourism growing, it will secure the well-being of the citizens through jobs, which frees the people from basic needs. In turn, this eventually contributes to personal development and freedom. Through the correlation between nature protection and job creation, KAZA begins to fulfil the human security's agenda regarding sustainable development. Everyone should hope for the good fortune of K2, because if she manages to live the life that she is aggressively pursuing, it will be a strong argument in favour of development by tourism, as instigated by KAZA. She could then develop her potential, and increase her own welfare and self satisfaction, which would empower her and free her from a scarcity of possibilities. The respondent labeled K3, who already owns a tour agency, should not be forgotten. He has already experienced the empowering influence of independence, and has even been able to create jobs for others and thereby contributes to the sense of security within the community.

4.3.2.1 Sharing security

At this point it seems relevant to recall some of the data from the Suich el at (2005: 40) report. "Ten tour operators (63 per cent) reported making charitable financial contributions to the community in 2004". Also "14 hotels reported making voluntary financial contributions to the local communities in 2004" (ibid: 12). The money was used for "gifts to schools, orphanages, day care centres, camps, HIV/AIDS groups, the police, local government, a wildlife trust and sports clubs. Five hotels [and eight tour operators] reported making in kind donations to local

communities. These included reduced room rates for civic organizations, sponsorship of a wildlife camp for school children, donation of construction labour, [road signs], and donation of books to a local school. One business owner has founded a local preschool, using profits from his operations to fund salary and tuition costs" (ibid).

These are very uplifting actions which can be perceived as implementations of community development. They are initiated and supported by community members (the entrepreneurs), they benefit the community (school children etc.) and therefore give fair attention to every part of the community. Despite the fact that the people receiving the most benefits from nature-related tourism are the entrepreneurs, they in turn spreading the benefits to those who cannot directly benefit from the nature protection.

Community development projects should not exclude anyone, and they should consider all aspects of a given community. The Botswana part of KAZA is also a home for some indigenous groups. Including them in the comprehensive development process is the right thing to ensure a positive peace situation in the region.

4.3.2.2 Indigenous groups as empowered minorities

Empowerment is strongly rooted in the African Renaissance, human security and positive peace theory. It closely coexists with human rights, and especially those of minorities. Human rights also include the right to develop and be free from basic need, which tightly correlates with sustainable development and Sen's poverty concept. The case of human rights often appears in places where indigenous people are involved. The people are either given special attention or are completely marginalised. KAZA is the sort of organisation that pays special attention to the park's indigenous groups through community programmes such as those conducted by CAMPFIRE. The Botswana part of KAZA does not facilitate any CAMPFIRE actions, but Maun is a place where indigenous lives cross the public economy. A memorable part of the country's political history was the vivid conflict between the government creating the Kalahari Game Reserve and the indigenous groups already living there, who were forcefully relocated from the protected areas (Saugestad 2010). However PFF had nothing to do with the event and it was purely a matter of the internal politics of the country. KAZA argues for indigenous people to stay in their original

habitat for purposes of development, freedom, cultural conservation and for exercising human rights.

This thesis does not focus on indigenous affairs and no indigenous people were interviewed, but it seems highly relevant to mention the situation of indigenous groups in KAZA while talking about security, sustainable development, human rights and freedom. After all, they are the original inhabitants of the park and should also be beneficiaries of it.

In the Okavango delta, the traditional Mokoro (a traditional boat) rides have become very popular. The indigenous people can not only use the natural, traditional resources located in the Moremi Game Reserve, but can also offer tourist activities, and are in that way involved in the local economics. This is truly empowering. The indigenous people in Okavango are allowed to inhabit their traditional territory while exercising their culture and traditions, and they are also actively included in the region's development. This is what the African Renaissance stands for - preserving African identity, tightening collaboration between African peoples, emancipating minorities and building economies by people-centred means. This also strongly supports sustainable development agendas, and stays in agreement with human security by securing the resources and the environment, and the people's future. It also does not prevent people from using their resources in order to, after the United Nations (2005), "fully develop their human potential". Being part of the tourism industry in the region surely works for the well-being of the people, and improves their living conditions by increasing the wealth.

It seems especially of value when compared to the situation in another PPF facilitated park, the Great Limpopo TFCA. Büscher (2010: 22) mentioned the "eviction of some 28.000 people from Mozambique's Limpopo National Park [part of the Great Limpopo TFCA], which is a direct result from the establishment of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park". Van Amerom and Büscher (2005) also recall this event. Both documents use this argument against the peace-promoting role of PPF and TFCAs, while the second focus directly on the Great Limpopo working against the agenda of the AR. Julie E. Darnell (2008: 98) also discusses the same issue and goes even further by saying that "the lack of inclusion of the indigenous families in decision-making processes related to the park, hobbled the relationship early on and contributed to both structural and cultural violence". A very strong statement which truly shames the initiative.

The data shows, however, that the exercising of objectives in the KAZA TFCA has been undertaken in a different manner from The Great Limpopo. The indigenous tribes within KAZA

receive completely different treatment than those in Limpopo - instead of being forcefully relocated from their indigenous land, they are included in the park's development and local economy. There were no data found if the traditional trips were an initiative of KAZA or of the Moremi Game Reserve, but still KAZA does not enforce on the people life changing actions. For the needs of this study, this speaks in KAZA's favour. It is however important to remember that the findings of one study are not globally relevant, just as this study cannot speak either for any other TFCA in southern Africa or another country's situation within KAZA TFCA.

Including indigenous people in the initiative makes them a part of the local economy, and empowers them by utilising their traditional lifestyle, which agrees with AR. AR encourages African people to find their development code in their own traditions, similar to Galtung's development theory. Creating income on traditional tours helps to create sustainable development, according to which development is economic growth at no one's expense. Judging from the Okavango example, it seems that KAZA holds a lot of respect for this combination. This fact advocates for KAZA as a more people-oriented organisation, showing that the same ideas can be managed differently, and that KAZA can develop and learn from the mistakes of previous projects. Being included in the development but the same time being left to exercise their traditional lifestyle, the indigenous people of Okavango Delta should feel secure, and that their future in the traditional habitat is not threatened.

Another aspect necessary for developing a positive peace situation are peaceful relations not only between one community members, but also with people from outside the community. KAZA is especially dedicated to such processes, and an evaluation of the actual situation is presented in the following sub-chapter.

4.4 Northern Batswana and their neighbours

Part of the research question concerns the influence of KAZA on the relations of the studied community with its neighbours. Peaceful and cooperative relations between the participant countries is also one of the objectives of KAZA, which justifies the name 'peace park' or 'transboundary protected area for peace and cooperation.' PPF (2006) states that former enemies work now together in conservation projects, such as the former combatants that remove the land mines they placed at an earlier date. This idyllic situation mostly concerns Namibia or

Mozambique, but the tightening of friendly relations is very welcome, even in a country with a peaceful past as Botswana.

The developing and unifying role of the tourism industry in the region has not only been noticed by KAZA. Last year the Seychelles' Minister of Tourism and Culture, who holds the position of the president of the African Union Commission, proposed establishing a tourist body within the union. The sector is pictured as unifying people, culture and heritage (*Hotel & Catering* 2013b). On this level, it seems that KAZA and AUC share the same opinions and goals - the two organisations picture tourism as a tool for the African Renaissance and positive peace situation regarding friendly relations.

The co-operational achievements on a governmental level can be found on the website of KAZA or the Peace Park Foundation, but the interest of this research is co-existence and possible cooperation on a grassroots level. The informants were asked questions regarding their personal and professional contact with their neighbouring countries as well as their personal opinions on those nations.

The KAZA TFCA spreads over Angola, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, of which Botswana borders with Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. From the south Botswana also shares borders with South Africa, which is the cradle of the Peace Park Foundation and host of the first peace park. This study can show only the attitude of the Batswana toward their neighbours - what the neighbours think about Batswana is for another study.

Maun is located much farther from the national borders, resulting in fewer encounters with their neighbours, but there is still some cooperation amongst countries in the tourism sector. The respondent labeled M1 agreed to business relations with Namibia and South Africa. The respondent M2 has resisted any personal relations, but has been involved with his neighbours on a professional level. His place of work requires him to attend fairs in South Africa, Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. They exchange experiences and share opinions. The informant M3 used to live in Kasane, and there he also used to have professional relations with Zambians and Namibians, but since he moved to Maun, his work does not require any international encounters.

Kasane, on the other hand, is a viral point of international cooperation on a grassroots level. The respondent K1 works closely with tour operators in Namibia and Zimbabwe. Their customers can book tours in Kasane, and then they are redirected to the country where the attraction is actually

located. These companies share the income, and they also share friendship. His travel are filled with both business and leisure. The respondent K2 comes from a quite similar situation. In her branch of tourism, she agrees that they work "hand in hand" with the neighbours and they maintain good relations. She also mentions that the people from Kasane have relatives in Namibia and Zambia, therefore they travel back and forth often. The next respondent - K3 confessed to having business relation as well as international friends, but he could only name those from Zimbabwe. The respondent K4 has relatives in Namibia and Zambia, and they visit each other often. Similarly, K5 visits her family abroad, but in addition she often encounters foreign guests in the lodge that she manages.

From the perspective of KAZA's postulates, this situation looks very promising. It is not certain, however, to what extent this cooperation has been boosted by the existence of the park and the efforts of the organisation, as opposed to strictly the people's initiative. Perhaps it was just a beneficial move for the tour operators on both sides of the border, and the cooperation happened independently from the KAZA's policies. Such a situation supports the African Renaissance, which expects people to take their fate into their own hands. The professional cooperation across borders is a good example of fulfilling another of the AR postulates, regarding the development of the continent and dismissing divisions between African people. Through cooperation in tourism, which emphasises the cultural and natural heritage of the individual nations, the exchange and enhancement of African cultures also finds a place here. The informant labeled K1, for example, travels often to the neighbouring areas to enjoy the attractions and facilities they offer. Every bit of cooperation and friendly relations which emerges from the free will of the people is a good sign of positive peace creation. The people have then a positive and peaceful attitude toward each other and do not foster nationalistic prejudices against neighbours. At least in theory.

Despite the viral cooperation and personal bounds, the respondents in Kasane showed a surprisingly high level of negativity toward their neighbours. Of the five respondents questioned, three confessed to have negative feelings about Namibians and Zimbabweans. It was mostly explained by negative attitudes toward illegal immigration, as there is a perception among the locals that people from neighbouring countries come to Botswana to steal and commit crimes. The respondent labeled K4, despite having relatives abroad, feels very insecure about the immigrants and would rather the government did not grant them residency permits. But he does agree that if they followed the Botswana rules and avoided committing crimes, he would be more comfortable with their presence. The issue of illegal hunting abroad was also mentioned.

However, the respondent K3 hopes the hunting issue will change under KAZA's umbrella. On the contrary, the respondent K5, who travels abroad once a month to visit friends, had nothing negative to say about the people: "Their countries are not in peace, but the people are positive, they are the same people as here".

Considering the very close location to national borders and the inconsistent laws regarding wildlife, it seems that the Kasane people have more opportunities to develop negative opinions about the poorer neighbours. Such trends may be based more upon anecdotes and prejudices than reality. For example, the respondent labeled K2 shared a negative opinion about Namibians and Zimbabweans stealing and committing crimes, but she also admitted that she had never encounter anything negative, personally. Hopefully when KAZA's projects in Botswana reach the 3rd phase, the people will have more chances to reflect on their neighbours and uncover the true picture. Maybe by that time the hunting laws and poverty problems will be solved by KAZA's plans for sustainable development, which is stated in one of the park's objectives to implement programmes for sustainable resource use and improvement of livelihoods of the local communities. Until then, it is hard to judge to what extent the people cooperate because they need to for business purposes and to what extent they feel that it comes naturally due to the shared bonds of humanity. Whichever scenario tips the scale, it is a good step toward a peaceful co-existence in the region.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has presented data collected in the field, and has applied it to the theories used throughout this study. This part offered an evaluation of the perceived importance of KAZA in the lives of local people. The data suggests that there are possibilities for success and development in the region, and that attention is given to many different social groups in an effort to provide them with assistance in economic development.

The theories presented in Chapter 2 were finally applied to the studied case of the KAZA park. The data analysis suggests that KAZA is capable of facilitating a positive peace situation. Through nature-oriented tourism development, the park can influence an increase in the welfare of the people. The data also reveals that there are a range of possibilities in contributing to development and the economy, as made evident by the examples regarding local artists and indigenous people. KAZA indirectly influences the inner community projects as well. The high

levels of perceived security and satisfaction may be due to a combination of these factors. However, whether or not KAZA influences friendly international relation remains unclear.

The next section will provide a final evaluation of the topics that were covered in this chapter, and will then go on to conclude with a summary of the final findings of this research.

5. Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to answer to what extent the KAZA TFCA benefits local communities in terms of welfare, security and peaceful international relations. The answer was largely found in the opinions and experiences of the people living within the borders of the park. In addition to nine interviews with northern Batswana and fifteen satisfaction of life scales in the same area the study was based on relevant literature as well. The theoretical groundwork was based on the positive peace theory, sustainable development, the concepts of poverty and freedom, and community development. These topics were meant to create a lens with which to examine the empirical data collected in the field.

According to those people interviewed, the main employer and catalyst for development in the area is the nature-based tourism industry. All interviewees agreed upon the importance of nature protection, not only for the sake of securing resources for future generations, but also due to thriving tourism which represents a possibility for development and personal success. This suggests that the spirit of *nature positive peace* is already in existence, alongside an interest in sustainable development - as long as the tourism industry continues to be managed according to KAZA's sustainability plans. However, nature conservation was a focus in the region long before the introduction of KAZA, and it is yet unclear as to what extent the situation is influenced by the park. It is also very difficult to judge whether the current situation of employment is actually due to the efforts of the transboundary park, or just a natural result of a national park attracting tourists regardless of outside interference.

All of the people interviewed in Botswana were already gainfully employed in the tourism industry, but some desired further achievements in the field. Unfortunately, despite the blossoming industry, it is still challenging for young Batswana to find the capital to start their own company, as investments and funding for these types of ventures remain insufficient. With that being said, there are new foreign investments introduced to Botswana on a regular basis. This may suggest a certain amount of inequality when it comes to pursuing possibilities that could improve the future of local people, and a lack of true empowerment through grassroots initiatives., It is difficult to determine, however, as this was never mentioned as a problem by the Batswana. In fact, quite the opposite - the

informants saw foreign investments as a positive sign of development, and a chance for opportunities in employment.

The great majority of the respondents perceived their future to be secure, and the data suggests that this may be due to reliable employment. However, each of the interviewees expressed their expectations of KAZA in presenting further possibilities and solutions to the region. They all still wished for a higher-quality job (in terms of salary), and many had hopes concerning aspects not directly dependent upon KAZA. Even if the people feel secure to some extent based upon their expectations of KAZA, it is impossible to predict if their trust is justified and will be followed by positive change. The infrastructure and in-process unification of natural resource management is the actual result pursued by the implementation of the park's objectives. In terms of community development implemented by KAZA, not much has happened in Botswana to date, but since community projects are being implemented in another parts of the park, then it stands to reason that they will enter Botswana as well.

Despite the understandable urge to pursue a better life, secure a better job, improve one's health and gain more wealth, the majority of informants chose 'satisfied' as their answer when making selections on the satisfaction scale. This suggests that the negative aspects of life do not outweigh the positive ones, and that there is a strong belief in impending improvement, perhaps based on some of the changes which have already occurred. Sometimes providing a sense of hope alone is enough to lift the spirits of the people, and increase their satisfaction with the present and their sense of security about the future. This may also increase their determination in turning their dreams into reality. According to this data, it seems that the Batswana within the KAZA borders are on the way to positive peace of time by feeling secure in the future, personal positive peace by finding satisfaction in life and social positive peace by creating a satisfied, developing society. If this speculation is true, KAZA would be a facilitator of positive peace and African Renaissance, encouraging people to take fate into their own hands through the implementation of postulates regarding sustainable development, a reduction in the poverty of possibilities and increased community development. In terms of tightening friendly relations among neighbouring countries, the situation could be better. Despite having business contacts as well as family and friends abroad, the people from both Kasane and Maun seemed prejudiced toward their poorer neighbours. Some collective international community projects would surely be helpful in introducing change to this situation.

Considering the on-going work and results already achieved, KAZA seems to be a well-managed tool with great potential to benefit the local people, if it can only stick to its pre-determined objectives. Despite criticism and flaws in the operations of southern African TFCAs, researchers mostly agree on their current and future potential (Brock 1991, Suich et al. 2005, Darnell 2008), as well as the potential of peace parks in general (IUCN 2001, Lejano 2006, Ali 2007). This study, grounded in grassroots-based research, also agrees that there are further potential and possibilities to be explored. But the possibilities must be more accessible to the main beneficiaries, which may be achieved through an upgrade in some policies.

It is the hope of this researcher that the trust put into KAZA by the people of Botswana are not applied in vain, but it is currently impossible to know. For now, it is safe to say that the presence of a comprehensive conservation project works in the people's favour. KAZA is currently portrayed as a positive actor in the region, through managing co-operation, sustainable resource use, including indigenous groups and creating a variety of possibilities for the people, but its true value can only be judged over the passage of time. It is important to keep in mind that TFCAs should be seen as an aid to development and peace building, rather than an omnipotent solution.

This study was conducted in order to investigate the situation of the local communities living in the Botswana part of the KAZA park. The data collection, as well as the approaches taken to collect it, all have their limitations. This study investigated a rather narrow sample of informants, and it is recommended to repeat it on much larger scale in order to achieve more accurate results. This study also speaks only to the situation in the Botswana portion of the KAZA TFCA, and it is recommended that similar research extends not only into more settlements within the Botswana part of KAZA, but also into other participating countries. Finally, in order to evaluate whether the program is really a success, similar studies must be conducted over an extended period of time to identify true change and development, or lack thereof.

Appendix A

The qualitative questionnaire

- 1. What do you think about KAZA?
- 2. How important is the conservation and why?
- 3. Does the park has any influence on your life/ on other peoples' lives?
- 4. What is the park's role in job creation, infrastructure?
- 5. Does the existence of the park create possibilities for career and personal development?
- 6. Do you think your situation would look any worse/better if the park didn't exist?
- 7. Do you have any personal or business relations with people from the neighbouring countries? Is it related to the park existence?
- 8. How do you feel about the citizens of the neighbouring countries? Did your perception changed. Do you want to travel there?
- 9. Do you feel secure about your future? Is the feeling anyhow connected to the existence of the park?
- 10. Would you like to move to another part of Botswana or to another country? Why?

Appendix B

The satisfaction of life scale

| Please, be so kind and find a few minutes to fill out this questionnaire. I need the data for my |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Masters thesis research and would greatly appreciate your help. The questionnaire is anonymous. |
| Thank you [⊚] ! Weronika. |
| Directions, Delay, are eight statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1.6 |
| Directions: Below are eight statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1-6 |
| scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number in the |
| line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responses. |
| 1 – strongly disagree |
| 2 - disagree |
| 3 – slightly disagree |
| 4 – slightly agree |
| 5 – agree |
| 6 – strongly agree |
| |
| I'm satisfied with my life |
| I'm satisfied with my social life |
| I'm satisfied with my work |
| I'm satisfied with what I achieved in my life |
| I'm satisfied with my life conditions |
| I'm satisfied with the place where I live |
| I feel safe about my future |
| I feel safe in general |
| |

Appendix C

Satisfaction of life scale data

| KASANE | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------|-------|
| | Infor mant 1 | Infor mant 2 | Infor mant 3 | Infor mant 4 | Infor mant 5 | Infor mant 6 | Infor mant 7 | Infor mant 8 | Infor mant 9 | Infor mant 10 | Average | |
| Life | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5,2 | |
| Social life | 6 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 4,8 | |
| Work | 5 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 3,7 | |
| Achievemnt s | 6 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 4,6 | |
| Life conditions | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 4,1 | |
| Place | 4 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 3,8 | |
| Safe future | 6 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 4,7 | |
| General safety | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 5,3 | |
| Average (per person) | 5,5 | 3,75 | 5,125 | 3,75 | 4,25 | 3,25 | 4,875 | 5,625 | 4,375 | 4,75 | (in Kasane) | 4,525 |
| Number used in the analysis | 5,5 | 3,7 | 5,1 | 3,7 | 4,2 | 3,2 | 4,9 | 5,6 | 4,4 | 4,7 | | 4,5 |

| MAUN | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
| | Informant 1 | Informant 2 | Informant 3 | Informant 4 | Informant 5 | Average | |
| Life | 4 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 3,4 | |
| Social life | 5 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4,2 | |
| Work | 4 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 4,2 | |
| Achievemnts | 3 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 4 | |
| Life conditions | 4 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 3,6 | |
| Place | 6 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 4,6 | |
| Safe future | 5 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 3,8 | |
| General safety | 5 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3,6 | |
| Average (per person) | 4,5 | 3,75 | 4,5 | 3,125 | 3,75 | (in Maun) | 3,925 |
| Number used in the analysis | 4,5 | 3,7 | 4,5 | 3,1 | 3,7 | | 3,9 |

Appendix D

The objectives of KAZA TFCA

- a. maintain and manage the shared Natural and Cultural Heritage Resources and biodiversity of the KAZA TFCA to support healthy and viable populations of wildlife species;
- b. promote and facilitate the development of a complementary network of Protected Areas within the KAZA TFCA linked through corridors to safeguard the welfare and continued existence of migratory wildlife species;
- c. provide opportunities, facilities and infrastructure that shall transform the KAZA TFCA into a premier tourist destination in Africa made up of a range of independent yet complementary and integrated sub-regional tourism development nodes;
- d. facilitate tourism across international borders in the KAZA TFCA;
- e. develop and implement programmes that shall enhance the Sustainable Use of Natural and Cultural Heritage Resources to improve the livelihoods of Local Communities within and around the KAZA TFCA and thus contribute towards poverty reduction;
- f. facilitate a healthy and competitive economic environment which promotes and enables public-private-community partnerships, private investment and regional economic integration;
- g. share experiences and pool resources and expertise across international borders in areas including indigenous knowledge, tourism management, border control, technology and renewable energy to facilitate development;
- h. promote and facilitate the harmonisation of relevant legislation, policies and approaches in Natural and Cultural Heritage Resources management across international borders and ensure compliance with international protocols and conventions related to the protection and Sustainable Use of species and ecosystems;
- i. build capacity for and within the KAZA TFCA through training, enterprise development and mentoring programmes thus increasing the skills and knowledge associated with the management of Natural and Cultural Heritage Resources and facilitate stakeholder participation in the KAZA TFCA planning and development processes;
- j. promote and facilitate the harmonisation of relevant legislation, policies and approaches in the area of transboundary animal disease prevention, surveillance and control within the KAZA TFCA;

k. promote fundamental and applied scientific and multi-disciplinary research in order to increase the knowledge base for the KAZA TFCA; and

l. mainstream emerging environmental issues and social paradigms, such as climate change and HIV/AIDS, in the overall development of the KAZA TFCA. (KAZA TFCA 2011: 11-13)

Appendix E

Integrated Tourism Development Plan in KAZA TFCA

The development of the tourism potential in the KAZA TFCA is a fundamental objective of the TFCA's establishment. The terms of reference for the production of an Integrated Tourism Development Plan list the following objectives:

- To establish the KAZA TFCA as a single tourist destination that consists of a range of integrated, independent, complementary Sub Regional Tourist Development Areas (SRTDAs) each offering a different experience.
- To optimise economic returns from tourism in the KAZA TFCA in terms of job creation and income generation
 - To offer and sustain a high quality visitor experience in the KAZA TFCA.
- To increase and enable public-private partnerships and SMME participation within the industry in the KAZA TFCA so as to enhance the participation of host communities in the industry and benefit sharing.
 - To diversify the tourism products offered by the KAZA TFCA
- To ensure that the tourism industry grows in an environmentally, socially and economically sustainable manner. (KAZA TFCA 2014c)

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Illustrations

Illustration 2.1. The delineation of KAZA TFCA with the location of Botswana within Africa