

Who is in charge?

“A study about motivations for, and effectivity from level of community involvement in decision-making in joint venture CBT-projects in SA”



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Preface

This master thesis is the product of 6 months research for the master Sustainable Development, track Environmental Governance at Utrecht University in Holland. During this research, I did 3 months of field work at the Wild Olive Tree Camp in Mpumalanga, South Africa.

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Summary

This master thesis focusses on privately initiated community-based tourism (CBT) projects in South Africa (SA) that have a joint venture (JV) as a business structure. Development of this type of businesses is caused by a more decentralized conservation approach and the high potential of wildlife tourism in SA. JVs consist of two parties, a local community and private entrepreneur(s), who together own a company. This study considers a 50/50% JV CBT- project, who set up a bush camp in Mpumalanga, SA.

The study consists of two stages, the first stage is designed to identify which factors can determine the level of community involvement in decision-making. It was concluded that the business structure (JV) is an appropriate method for high involvement, because the community has the legal right to be involved in decision-making. Although, a JV does not always have to imply a high level of involvement in decision-making. The level of community involvement in decision-making in the case study can be regarded as a *partnership*. Several motivations to be involved in the JV have been identified. The community members identified economic benefit as important, therefore a JV is an interesting structure. Because the community is shareholder, they can earn more money by working hard as the value of their shares will increase. In addition, sense of ownership was identified as important determinant. The JV structure made the community members co-owners of the project, what enhanced the sense of ownership. Furthermore, trust was recognized as important for community involvement in the JV. Trust might especially be important, because the community invested their own money.

The second stage is designed to examine the relation between the level of local community involvement (*partnership*) and the effectiveness of the project. The most important benefits are: employment, indirect revenue distribution, intercultural relations, and training and skills. Training and skills are the only benefits that are correlated with the level of community involvement in decision-making. Some members of the community are highly involved in decision-making, therefore they learn how to run a business. Through high involvement in decision-making the members learn what they have to consider when making an important decision for a business. It can be concluded that this is a very valuable type of benefit. If the community members are able to run a company themselves, this will highly empower them, and make them financially independent.

1.0 Introduction

The vast majority of the populations in Africa are poor farmers who depend on natural resources for survival. In addition, Africa has one of the highest rates of human population growth. These developments cause a severe pressure on the environment through a reduction in wildlife, deforestation, soil erosion, and overgrazing (Crook & Decker, 2006). From the 1950s on a state-led conservation strategy was dominant in Africa. National parks and game reserves were developed and top-down managed by, predominantly, the government. Some major events like the world environmental conference 1992 in Rio caused a paradigm shift towards a more decentralized approach, whereby local governments and communities gather more authority (Virtanen, 2005). Together with this development, in South Africa (SA) it was noticed that there was a growing interest in the commercial potential of wildlife. This led to legislation that devolved management authority for wildlife in privately owned areas from the central government to the private landowner. Besides that, it was also acknowledged that common pool resources, like forest, wildlife, and rivers, could not effectively be managed without the involvement of local communities (Kreuter, 1994). Mitchell & Eagles (2001) argues that in an ideal situation, where the community is highly empowered, the community would have a broad-based and open structure, an equitable and efficient decision-making process, a high amount of local ownership, and a high level of individual participation. In addition, tourism seemed a promising sector for the local rural communities to social- and economic development (Palacios, 2013).

This led to development of privately initiated community-based projects for nature conservation and local community development. Two well-established approaches of community-based projects are Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), and Community-Based Tourism (CBT). The objectives of both approaches are similar: nature conservation and local community development. CBT uses tourism as a means to realize these objectives and the projects in SA are mainly in form of accommodation, restaurants, and tour operators for touristic activities. CBNRM can have different sizes and the means of achieving the objectives are not defined. Therefore, CBT can be considered as a form of CBNRM (Sebele, 2010). This research is focused on CBT, but also uses literature about CBNRM when applicable. CBT projects can be developed by the government, NGOs, or private entrepreneurs in cooperation with the local community, or the community itself.

Thakadu (2005) argues that for CBNRM-projects it is important that local communities have various fora through which they are involved in decision-making effectively and maximize their contribution. Furthermore, he concludes that level of community involvement is an important determinant for success of CBNRM. Several studies confirm the principle that higher levels of involvement in decision-making will lead to more successful projects (Crook & Decker, 2006; Gunn, 1994; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Linderberg & Johnson, 1997; Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001; Timothy, 1999; Wells, 1996; Wunder, 2000). In addition, Choi & Sirkaya (2006) argue that in order to make Sustainable Community Tourism reality, residents must have a decision-making role. This argument is based on articles by: Murphy (1983), Pigram (1990), and Freeman & Simmons (1994). Another interesting study by Mitchell & Eagles (2001) argues

that high community participation is essential. In his research in an Andean community he found that public meetings which were held to inform the residents about upcoming projects led to higher financial benefits. These results need more research, because using Choguill's (1996) ladder of community participation; informing cannot be categorized as a high level of participation. Choguill's ladder of community participation can be used to measure community involvement in decision-making, this will be explained in the Literature review.

On the other hand, Li (2006) found in a case in China that involvement in decision-making is not essential for communities to benefit from tourism. He concludes that there are four important considerations regarding this claim. (1) The decision-making authority considers economic benefits for the community. (2) Education level and background of the managers from the decision-making authority. (3) Property rights arrangements between China and Western models differ considerably, this can explain the differences in community participation patterns. (4) Efficiency is more important than fairness in the starting stage of tourism development in China, as the decrease of pressure on the natural resources is the most important thing that needs to be realized. His final conclusion is that the effectiveness of the mode of participation in decision-making depends on different local institutional arrangements and constraints.

The above mentioned cases consider CBT- and CBNRM-projects with different initiators and structures. Some are initiated by the government, while others are initiated by NGOs, private entrepreneurs, or the communities themselves. Different structures mean different distributions of decision-making power within the community-based projects.

As mentioned earlier, in SA a trend developed where NGOs and private entrepreneurs initiate CBT-projects for community development and nature conservation (Ashley & Jones, 2001). A commonly used structure is a JV, this is a strategy for CBT-projects where a percentage of the shares is owned by the community and another percentage is owned by private entrepreneurs or another type of actor. A JV as a strategy affects the involvement in decision-making in the company. As the community co-owns the company they should at least have decision-making power according their percentage of shares. But on the other hand, as the private entrepreneurs also co-own the company, it is not likely that they will devote all the decision-power to the community. More in-depth information about CBT JVs will be discussed in the Literature review. Within this research a 50/50 JV from private entrepreneurs and a local community will be investigated. The purpose of this study is to find out how the level of community involvement in decision-making in JV CBT-projects in SA affects the effectiveness of CBT-projects in SA. Besides that, information about the motivation for the level of involvement will also be measured in order to discuss about the relation between motivation for involvement, level of involvement, and the effectiveness of the project. In this thesis, "level of involvement" refers to "level of involvement in decision-making".

In sum, it can be argued that most studies confirm the statement that high involvement leads to more successful projects. But, most of these studies don't pay attention to the level of involvement. Clear distinction between levels of involvement is lacking in these studies. Therefore, this research

is more focused on the level of community involvement. Tosun & Timothy (2003) argue that community participation is crucial, but the implications of it needs to be explored in further research. They argue that different contextual settings need differing levels of community involvement and the importance also differs. In addition, this study considers a JV CBT-project, an unique structure regarding local community involvement. Furthermore, it is a structure that is rarely discussed within the CBT literature.

The next section describes the research questions and objectives that guide this research. The third chapter will discuss the state-of-the art literature about CBT, JVs, and community involvement. After that the method (Chapter 4) is described. The fifth chapter is used to explain the characteristics of the case study. In the next chapter (6) the results of the case study will be presented, what will lead to the discussion and conclusion in the following chapter (7).

2.0 Research- objective and question

The research objective of this research is to establish empirical evidence about two possible relations. (1) motivation for community involvement and the level of community involvement. (2) level of community involvement and the effectiveness of community development and nature conservation in JV CBT-projects in SA. The research can be divided into 2 stages, which are visualized in Figure 1. In the first stage, the independent variables are determinants for community involvement in a community-based project, the dependent variable is level of community involvement. This stage is used to determine why the local community wants to be involved on a certain level in this project. The independent variables are derived from the literature and complemented with determinants derived from the case study. In the second stage, the dependent variable is the level of community involvement, the independent variables are indicators for level of community development and nature conservation.

This information can be used to identify how local communities should be involved in decision-making to achieve effective local community development. In addition, the first stage will supply information about the motivation for people to be involved on a certain level in CBT, this can be used to encourage involvement of communities. It is not indisputable that the results of this research are applicable in every CBT-project, although the results can give more insights and clues for further research. Depending on this research the relation between local community involvement and successful community-based projects could be tested in further research to acquire more empirical evidence. This research can be regarded as an exploring analysis, as it is not yet clear how local communities should be involved in order to achieve successful local community development in CBT-projects.

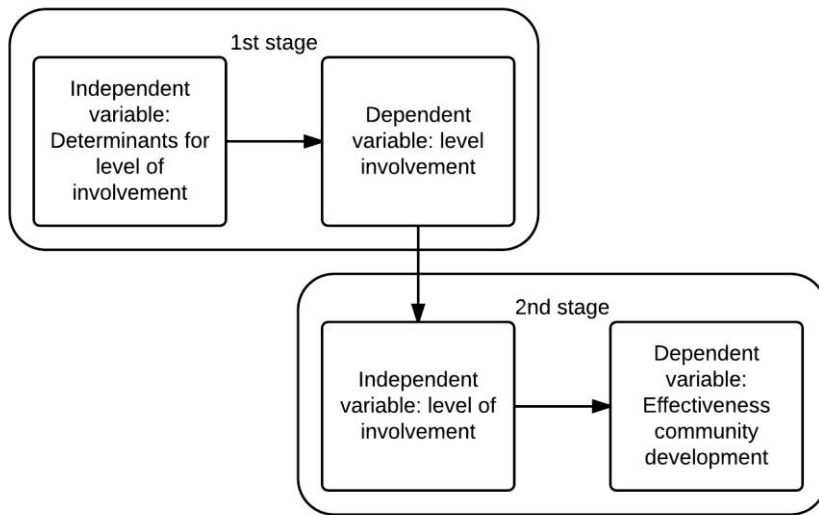


Figure 1: Research design

In sum, the first stage focuses on the identification of motivations for involvement in CBT-projects and their possible implications for the level of community involvement. The second stage is designed to find out what effect the level of community involvement in decision-making has on the effectiveness of CBT-projects. For this reason two research questions have been formulated.

The research is divided into two stages as visualized in Figure 1. The first stage is designed to answer the question which factors determine the level of community involvement of JV CBT-projects. The factors for this question will partly be identified in the existing literature and will be complemented with factors identified during field work in SA. The first research question is:

- *“Which factors can determine the level of community involvement in a JV CBT-project in SA?”*

The second question is developed to find out what the effect of the existing level of community involvement is on the effectiveness of the CBT-project. The second research question is:

- *“To what extent can level of community involvement in decision-making determine the effectiveness of a JV CBT-project in SA?”*

To answer these questions properly, the concepts in the questions need to be defined. This will be done in the next section: the Literature review.

3.0 Literature review

This chapter will discuss the current literature about CBT and CBNRM, and more especially attention for CBT in form of a JV. Furthermore, local communities in context of SA will be explained. Besides that, different frameworks to assess the level of community involvement will be discussed. The last part of this chapter elaborates on effectiveness of CBT.

3.1 CBNRM & CBT

CBNRM is focused on giving the local community the power and managerial skills to manage their natural resources (common pool resources) (Suich, 2013; Virtanen, 2005). The focus on economic benefit for the local community seems less than with CBT, because CBT always encompasses a business that is utilizing tourism. As the name suggests CBT is a concept where local communities play an important role in tourism related projects or companies. CBT is generally initiated on a small scale and is particularly suited for regional and rural areas. In many examples CBT-projects are used to favor local service providers and suppliers through tourism. This could mean that the company buys food or souvenirs from local suppliers. Therefore, CBT has a clear business model, earning money with tourism. It is focused on facilitating the interaction between the host community and the tourist. In addition, it is not unlikely that the project or company is (partly) owned and managed by the community itself. This means that the community, or a part of it, has (full) involvement in decision-making and benefit-sharing. (Asker et al., 2007)

The objectives of CBT and CBNRM are similar; community development and nature conservation (Asker et al., 2007). The differences exist in the way how these approaches try to achieve these objectives. Besides that, also the scale of the different approaches varies. In many cases CBNRM is initiated on a bigger scale and can have varying modes. In contrast to CBT, where tourism is the mode to earn money and is initiated on a smaller scale. CBT can be considered as a modus of CBNRM (Sebele, 2010). In this study, literature of both concepts is used.

Community Based Tourism Joint Ventures

As already explained, a JV is a specific business structure for a CBT project. The definition of JV CBT projects that is used in this research is: *'a contractual partnership between a community or local institution and (a) private investor(s), to work together in establishing and operating a single tourism enterprise'* (Ashley & Jones, 2001). Ashley & Jones (2001) also add that CBT JVs contribute to the company's product in terms of cultural and ethical value. As JVs are equitable arrangements, they tend to generate the best all-round benefits. Although, high levels of community involvement might negatively affect the transaction costs, because the cooperation with the community might need more time and effort than when the company was solely ran by private entrepreneurs (Mitchel & Ashley, 2010; Spenceley, 2008). Important for the benefits of a CBT JV is the business acumen of the private entrepreneurs that are involved. Private entrepreneurs also have experience and knowledge about the tourism sector and entrepreneurial and managerial skills. This makes them good partners, because the competition in the tourism sector is high (Snyman, 2012). Private entrepreneurs commonly have a profit focused strategy, in contrast to aid funded

projects who are not always focused on the cash flow. Aid funded projects tend to lose their efficiency, because the output of these projects is poorly monitored.

Besides these advantages of a CBT JV, Ashley & Jones (2001) also mention some critical factors for success. They mentioned the following factors: tourism market trends, national policy context, local institutions, company philosophy, facilitation, and committed individuals. Ashley & Jones (2001) acknowledge the fact that not all of these factors have to be present in every CBT JV to be successful, and the factors can also take varying forms. National policy context refers to policies that enable or constrain the local community to be involved in tourism. Local institutions refer to the partners that are involved in the project and who have to be consulted prior decision-making. Palacios (2013) adds a viable business strategy as important factor for success. Apart from these success factors, the size of the community and the company plays an important role. If the size of the community is relatively big it will affect the potential for collective benefits for the whole community (Spenceley & Goodwin, 2007). In this sense relatively means that only a fraction of the community members is employed in the company and the turnover is too small to realize collective benefits for the entire community. These critical factors for success need to be taken into account when assessing the success of a CBT-project.

Mtapari & Giampocelli (2013) argue that in CBT JVs the community members must be in charge in order to avoid domination by the elite or external actors. Besides that, they argue that the external partners should only facilitate the people with services like marketing, but must not be a part of the actual venture. Besides that, they also argue that every CBT JV needs a facilitator, who is someone or an organization who helps the community to start their business.

3.2 Community involvement

Local community involvement can be defined as the involvement of local communities in benefit sharing and decision-making (Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000). This research will only focus on the involvement in decision-making, because implications for the effectiveness of JV projects are scarcely described. The reason for this is that high involvement in CBT-projects in developing countries is rarely found (Li, 2006). The case in this research is a CBT-project that has a JV as business structure. Therefore, one might expect that there is a considerable level of involvement in decision-making, but this needs to be measured. To start, different approaches to local community involvement will be discussed. These approaches discuss different perspectives on the motivation for entrepreneurs to start a business in cooperation with a local community. The approaches consider the question; why should you involve the local community? The answer to this question helps to give an insight to the willingness of the private entrepreneur to help the local community to develop.

Approaches to local community involvement

Local community involvement could be approached in three different categories. The first one is from the rational choice literature that suggests that host community participation is bad for the business. Entrepreneurs want to offer and ‘produce’ exclusive goods, like the ultimate wildlife experience. As local community development and nature conservation (goals of CBT-projects) mainly means the production of common goods (who are non-excludable) entrepreneurs are not enthusiastic to produce them. This means that involvement of local communities within a tourism project is not good for the benefit of the business.

The second approach is from the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) literature that suggests that community involvement in tourism has a positive impact on the business activities. It is argued that involvement of the local community will lead to a respectful relationship between the local community and the entrepreneur. The local community will embrace the activities of the entrepreneur and the tourism sector as a whole. This will avoid conflicts between the entrepreneur and the local community.

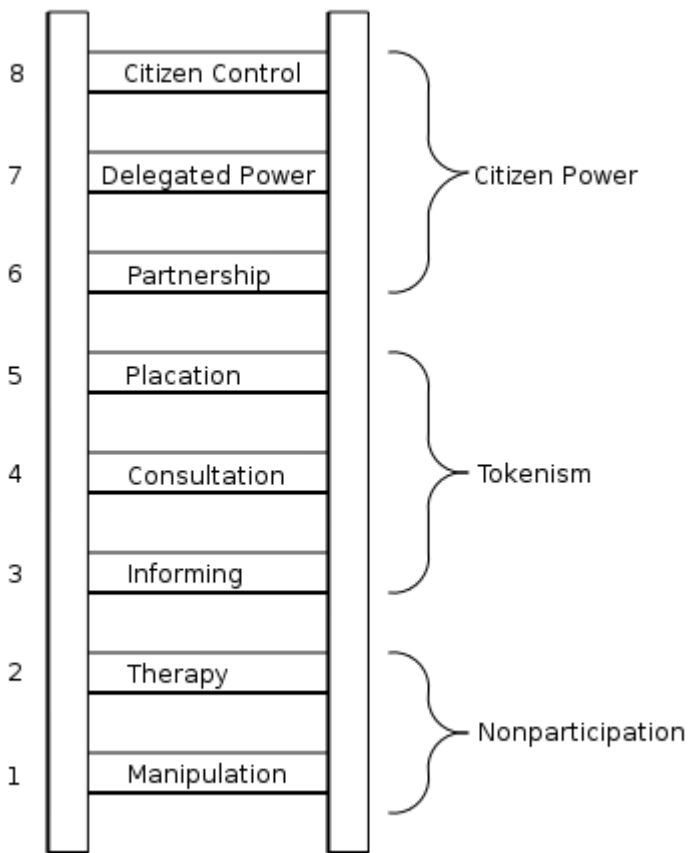
The third approach is from the Corporate Community Involvement (CCI) literature which has a more altruistic perspective on community involvement. The literature states that entrepreneurs should not decide on economic motives, whether they should involve the community, but the entrepreneur has the moral responsibility of sharing the benefits with the local community. CCI is defined as: “corporations supporting the community by providing financial, material, or human skills through modes such as corporate donations, strategic philanthropy, employee volunteering, and community-driven development” (Muthuri, 2007, p. 178). Companies tend to use this strategy to create a positive image and to generate goodwill. (Smits, 2013)

Involvement in decision-making

This section is used to discuss different possibilities to measure the level of community involvement in decision-making. Several typologies of community or citizen involvement in decision-making have been developed. The most widely used typology is the ladder of participation from Arnstein (1969).

Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation

Figure 3 visualizes a typology for citizen participation by Arnstein (1969). This typology has been the standard for assessing participation in developed countries for decades (Tritter & McCallum, 2006). The ladder is sub-divided



into three different stages: non-participation, tokenism, and citizen power. The lowest two rungs are manipulation (1) and therapy (2), these are considered as non-participation. The levels comprise a situation wherein the manager will try to educate or cure the participants instead of giving them any form of decision power. The manager will use participation as a misrepresented means of public relations. Rungs three and four, informing and consultation, are categorized as tokenism. This means that their voices in fact may hear and be heard, but the community will lack the power to insure that their voice will be heeded by the manager. Tokenism refers to a situation where the community doesn't have the power to actually change the status quo. Informing (3) means that the

community is informed about their responsibilities, rights, and options. This is a very important aspect of community involvement. Consultation (4) refers to a situation where the community is stimulated to expose their opinion about certain ideas. Placation (5) is another form of tokenism where

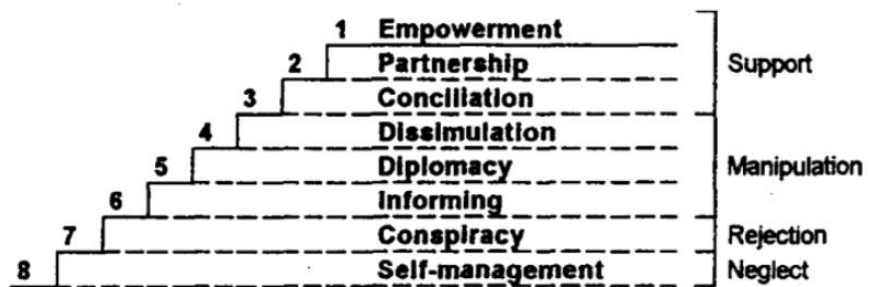
the rules enable people that don't have any power to be involved. The sixth rung, partnership, enables people to be part of negotiations and make them able to make trade-offs. The seventh and eighth rung, delegated power and citizen control, enable people to take place in decision-making

Figure 2: Ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969)

seats, or to have full managerial power. Delegated power (7) means that citizens are dominant in making decisions. Citizen control (8) means that the citizens have complete control over policy and management. (Arnstein, 1969)

Okazaki (2008) argues that the ladder is useful to identify the current level of local community involvement in community-based projects. Okazaki (2008) used Arnstein’s ladder to determine the level of participation in decision-making for a CBT-project on the Philippines. In contrast, other authors argue that Arnstein's ladder is an inappropriate measure to use in underdeveloped countries (Choguill, 1996; Lizarralde & Massyn, 2008). Therefore, Choguill (1996) customized Arnstein's ladder to make it applicable for underdeveloped countries (Figure 3). It needs to be mentioned that the author frequently mentioned the involvement of the government. Within this study the government is not involved at all, because a privately initiated project is considered. Although, for the purpose of this study this doesn’t seem a problem, because the government can simply be left out as an actor. The next part will discuss the ladder for community participation of Choguill (1996).

Choguill’s ladder of community participation in underdeveloped countries



The highest rung, (1) Empowerment, expects the local community to initiate

their own improvements with the assistance of outside organizations like NGOs. This should demonstrate their actual control of the situation. (2) Partnership refers to a situation where the members of the community and outside-actors agree to share decision-making responsibilities through structures like joint policy boards or other informal structures to solve conflicts. The third rung, Conciliation, occurs when the government, or other body, devises solutions that are validated by people from the local community. This means

Figure 3: Ladder of community participation in underdeveloped countries (Choguill, 1996)

that the government develops solutions, but to a certain extent the local community has influence on the implementation. Rung (4) is Dissimulation, this means that people from the community are placed on spots in the board or committees where they feel to have influence in decision-making. In fact the government puts them on that spot to educate them and engineer their support. The fifth rung is Diplomacy; in this situation the government often lacks financial resources or competences to properly involve the local community. This rung often refers to a situation where public hearings, visits to the neighborhood or attitude surveys are conducted. It is often pretended that the community will be heard, but in fact there is no assurance that this actually will happen. Informing is the sixth rung, which refers to a situation where there is a one-way flow of information from the officials to the community. The information is about their rights, responsibilities, and options, but

with no possibility for feedback or involvement into the project, that often already have been developed. It is a form of manipulation that also applies for rung seven and eight. Rung (7) is Conspiracy; no involvement in the initial phase of decision-making takes place. In addition, it seems that there is no will to help the people from the local community. Self-management is rung (8); it refers to a situation when the initiative does nothing to solve the problems of local communities. People from the local community try to develop their own projects in cooperation with NGOs while this initiative seeks no affiliation.

Choguill's ladder for community involvement in underdeveloped countries is the most applicable typology for this study. Although some studies have used Arnstein's ladder of community involvement to analyze involvement in underdeveloped countries, the most empirical evidence about community involvement in underdeveloped countries is established by using Choguill's ladder for community involvement (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007). In the next chapter Choguill's ladder of community involvement in underdeveloped countries will be used to measure community involvement in a CBT-project in SA.

3.3 Motivations for community involvement

The literature suggests different factors that can determine community involvement. In this section the literature on determinants affecting community involvement from comparable studies will be discussed. For these factors, it is most likely that they are also in place in the case study and they give guidance to the research. During the research the list might be complemented with determinants identified during the field work.

Suich (2013) has investigated the effectiveness of economic incentives for sustaining of CBNRM projects. She found that local community involvement can be determined by the benefits that local people receive from the project. If the direct benefits attain too few locals and are considered to be too low, and not equally distributed this will affect the level of involvement. Maraga, Kibwage & Oindo (2010) found similar factors for community involvement in afforestation projects in River Nyando basin, Kenya. The most important positive correlation they found was between tangible socio-economic benefits for the participants and their level of involvement.

Kimani & Kombo (2011) explored the factors that may enhance community involvement in the development of schools and income-generating projects in Kiambu District, Central Province of Kenya. They argued that several factors affect the local community involvement: transparency, accountability of project officials, effective communication with project members, eradication of corruption, and ensuring the realization of the expected projects' benefits.

Dyer et al. (2014) did research in different cases in SA to assess participatory practices in CBNRM. They found that two-way communication at all stages of engagement is essential. Besides that, charismatic leadership that is based on common respect and clarity about roles and responsibilities is crucial to make clear to the participants what the project aims and philosophy is. Besides that,

they also argue that identifying the appropriate methods for community representation is important. Furthermore, they argue that making explicit links between community engagement and the beneficial outcomes for the community is essential. This intersects with the factors of other authors, who argue that tangible economic benefit can determine the participation of local communities. This factor also intersects with knowledge about tourism and the concept of CBT what is further discovered by Goodwin & Santilli (2009).

Goodwin & Santilli (2009) analyzed a large variety of cases that could be regarded as CBT. They found several factors for success, but also factors affecting the participation of local communities. The most important are: insufficient knowledge about tourism and therefore not understanding benefits, skepticism and suspicion, lack of understanding and experience and, lack of familiarity with the concept. Skepticism and suspicion are firmly related to the charismatic leadership with common respect and clarity from Dyer et al. (2014). Not understanding benefits is related to making explicit links between community engagement and beneficial outcomes for the community by Dyer et al. (2014). Furthermore, it is tangent with ensuring the realization of the expected projects' benefits discussed by Kimani & Kombo (2011).

Sebele (2010) argues that sense of ownership is an important factor for communities to want to be involved in CBT. Projects can become a pride for the locals only if they have a sense of ownership of the project. This factor might be specifically interesting for this research as it considers a structure where members of the community are shareholders of 50% of the company.

Many of the above mentioned determinants have overlap or intersect. It is interesting to see that for some determinants it is likely that they have a relation with local community development. For example (socio) economic benefit probably can be related to local community development. This means that the reason why people want to be involved is that they want to develop themselves.

Regarding this literature overview the following factors (Table 1) are identified as factors that determine community involvement in CBT-projects.

Determinants	
Tangible (socio) economic benefit for the community	Sense of ownership
Transparency	Appropriate methods for participation
Communication	Knowledge about tourism
Trust	

Table 1: Determinants for community involvement

3.4 Indicators for effective CBT-projects

The effectiveness of CBT-projects can be defined by the level of community development and nature conservation that is derived from the project. In this section indicators for realization of these goals will be identified. Indicators are identified in comparable CBT- and CBNRM studies. First, indicators for local community development from CBT-projects will be discussed. Thereafter will be explained what nature conservation is, and how it will be approached.

Indicators for community development

Local community development can take many forms. Think, for example, of employment, healthcare, and education. In order to be able to measure the level of community development the indicators in Table 2 will be used. The indicators will be further discussed in this section. How these indicators will be measured is further explained in the Methodology. These indicators are used as guidance, during this research it might be possible that the case study reveals additional forms of benefit-sharing. The outcome of this part of the research gives information about the level of involvement in benefit-sharing.

Sebele (2010) identified several social and economic benefits for a CBT project in Botswana. The first benefit is employment for the local communities. CBT provides the people in the local community with jobs as cleaner, chef, guide, or waitress. As unemployment rates in these communities are often very high, this increase in employment opportunities is very welcome. The wages are used to pay school fees, food, clothes, and construction of housing (Ashley, 2000). This means that the salaries flow directly into the community what makes the other community members also benefit. Zapata et al. (2011) argues that tourism is labor-intensive and provides several job opportunities for young people and woman and new types of jobs and skills. Job opportunities for youngsters and woman are scarce, because most of the jobs consist of heavy labor. So besides creating additional income for the local community CBT can also benefit the local community in form of skills. The development of skills varies from learning cooking and computer literacy to guest treatment and speaking English. Training as a form of community development is also mentioned by Smits (2013).

Local development is mentioned by Sebele (2010) as a benefit for the community. Local development can take many different forms. Some examples are: donations to local schools in terms of cash, books or, educational support. Furthermore, any help in labor or financially to local clinics, orphanage, or nature conservation organizations can be regarded as local community development. Manyara & Jones (2007) add to this that improved infrastructures and access to clean drinking water can also be considered as benefits. In this research, it is considered that access to clean drinking water is an aspect of infrastructure. Infrastructure is also mentioned by Smits (2013). Smits (2013) also discussed intercultural contact between the community members and the tourist. This contact can learn both parties about the differences in culture and religion. Education as benefit from CBT-projects can have different forms, for example, that the project contributes to the schools in the community in terms of providing books or accommodation.

Another benefit for the community can be the utilization of local goods and services. The food that is served to the tourist can be of local farmers or shops who can take their benefit from the tourist. The tourist can be taken to the community for a tour, where they can spend their money on local goods like handcraft and food. Besides that, the tourist might also use local transport. This utilization of goods and services from the local community can be regarded as a benefit (Bah & Goodwin, 2003; Sebele, 2010; Smits, 2013).

The above discussed indicators are used to make a set of indicators that is used in this research to measure the level of community development from CBT-projects. The indicators are displayed in Table 2.

Indicators	
Employment	Infrastructure
Direct benefit distribution	Education
Indirect benefit distribution	Skills/Training
Healthcare	Intercultural contact

Table 2: Indicators for community development

Nature conservation

During the initial phase of this study it was proposed to use attitudes as an indicator for nature conservation. During the data collection it was noticed that the validity of this method was rather low. Therefore, the researcher aimed for another method to measure the level of nature conservation and to what extent it could be explained by the level of community involvement.

During the interviews the respondents will be asked direct question about what the project has achieved in terms of nature conservation. Therefore, it is useful to discuss what can be regarded as nature conservation. Oxford dictionaries defines nature conservation as: *“Preservation, protection, or restoration of the natural environment and of wildlife”*. In addition, it is useful to define natural environment. Oxford dictionaries defines environment as: *“the surroundings or conditions in which a person, animal, or plant lives or operates”*. (Oxford dictionaries, 2015) A natural environment can then be defined as the natural surrounding or conditions in which a person, animal, or plant lives or operates. An evident example of the natural environment is a forest, where animals are living and humans come to get food and firewood. It is likely that the project, used as a case study, is situated in a natural environment.

Causality between the level of involvement and nature conservation will be established by asking specific questions about the relation. These questions will be further discussed in the Operationalization section.

4.0 Research strategy

To answer the research questions a single case study will be conducted. There is not much research conducted in the field of privately initiated community-based projects in form of a JV and the relation between community involvement and effectiveness. Therefore the aim of this research is to explore this link in this new research field. Determinants and indicators from comparable studies will be identified in the Literature review. It is likely that these factors are also important for a JV CBT-projects, but this has to be tested. Qualitative studies are especially suited to explore new research fields, because they are 'rich, full, earthy, holistic, and real' (Miles, 1979). Miles & Huberman (1994) defined the following strengths of qualitative research:

- It is good for discovery, exploring new areas and developing hypothesis;
- It focuses on naturally occurring events in natural settings, so that we have a strong handle on what real life is like;
- It has the potential for revealing complexity; and
- It is well suited for locating meanings that people place on processes.

These strengths perfectly apply to this study as the purpose is to explore mechanisms in a new research field. As there is very little research in this field, there are no hypothesis to be tested. Besides that, qualitative research can be used to locate opinions of people and to do a recommendation for the case study.

4.1 Operationalization

This section will be used to operationalize the factors from the literature study that will be used to measure the different variables.

Operationalization of community involvement

The first set of variables is the determinants for community involvement. These factors can be identified by asking questions and leave space for elaboration and additional factors that cause members want to be involved. Examples of questions are mentioned in the operationalization column.

Determinant	Operationalization
Tangible (socio) economic benefit for the community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What kind of economic benefit do you gain from the project? • If you wouldn't receive this, would you be eager to participate in the project?
Transparency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the project transparent enough, in terms of decision-making and benefit-sharing, for you to want to be involved?
Communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does communication between the local community and the project takes place? • Do you think that this communication is sufficient for the required knowledge about the project to be involved?
Trust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you trust the entrepreneurs of the project enough to want to be involved? • How important was your level of trust for your involvement?
Appropriate methods for participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you think that the methods used are appropriate for your involvement? • Is the method for involvement important for your involvement?
Knowledge about tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you think that your knowledge about tourism sufficient for involvement in this project?
Sense of ownership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you feel that you own (a part) of the company? • What does this mean to you?

Table 3: Operationalization determinants for community involvement

These questions will be used to introduce the different determinants. The researcher will ask for elaboration if the respondent indicates that this determinant is important for him.

Operationalization of involvement in decision-making

Determining the level of community involvement in decision-making will be done by asking direct questions about the characteristics of each level during the interviews with the community members. The strategy is to start asking questions about the lowest level (manipulation). If these questions can be answered with yes the interviewer will ask a question about the next level, and so on. Besides these questions, observations of the researcher are an important source of input to determine the level of community involvement. In addition, it is plausible that business structure is very important for the level of community involvement, this will be discussed in the Results section.

Rung	Operationalization/characterization
Manipulation	Community has no power and is (wrongly) educated
Therapy	Community has no power
Informing	Community is informed and can give opinion but no insurance that the opinion is heard
Consultation	Encouraged to expose opinions about ideas
Placation	Everybody can be involved and is heard
Partnership	Community is part of negotiations and able to make trade-offs
Delegated power	Community is dominant in making decisions
Citizen control	Complete control over policy and management

Table 4: Operationalization for level of community involvement

Operationalization of community development

The third set of indicators determines the level of local community development. These questions are used to introduce the indicator. The researcher will ask additional questions for more in-depth information

Indicator	Operationalization
Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have employment opportunities increased for you because of the camp?
Direct revenue distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are there projects or regulations regarding direct distribution of revenues?
Indirect revenue distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is the camp utilizing local products, services or materials and providing room for increased tourism spending?
Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does the camp improve the local infrastructure e.g. transportation, communications, access to and provisions of goods and services?
Healthcare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does the camp improve (access to) local healthcare?
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does the camp improve (access to) local education?
Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does the camp provide training opportunities?
Intercultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does the camp enhance intercultural relations between tourists and the local community?

Table 5: Operationalization for indicators of community development

Operationalization of nature conservation

Nature conservation will be measured by asking specific questions about how the respondents think that the company has contributed to nature conservation. To start, one of the following questions was asked: *“how does the company contribute to nature conservation?”* or *“what environmental actions have been changed since the start of the project?”*. If the respondent indicated that the project contributes to nature conservation, the researcher will ask for elaboration. An additional question could be: *“what was the role of the company in establishing this form of nature conservation?”*. It is important to ask what the respondent regards as nature, and nature conservation. The definition of the respondent has to be comparable to the definition given in the Literature review of this thesis. To establish causality between the level of community involvement and nature conservation additional questions have to be asked. An example of a question could be: *“to what extent was the community involved in the decision to start this form of nature conservation?”*. An additional question is: *“what was the role of the local community in establishing this form of nature conservation?”*.

Besides that, the respondents will be asked what they have learned in terms of nature conservation from the camp. This knowledge can also be regarded as a form of benefit (Smits, 2013).

4.2 Case study

The case that is selected for this research is the Wild Olive Tree Camp (WOTC) in Mpumalanga, SA. The camp consists of 15 safari tents and is bordered by Manyeleti Game Reserve, which is part of the Kruger National Park. This is a camp that accommodates and organizes safaris for tourist. The camp is established through a JV between members of the Mnisi tribe and JYE Wildlife Developments BV. Mnisi is the family name of a tribe that covers 17 villages in the region south-east of Manyeleti Game Reserve. The members of the Mnisi tribe are united in a cooperative, all the cooperative members are from the community of Welverdiend. JYE Wildlife Developments BV is a company devoted to developing private nature reserves and wildlife estates in SA. The company is founded by Jurgen Elbertse who is my contact person and supervisor at the site.

The cooperative

The cooperative was founded in 2001, when they applied for government funding in order to build a tourism resort. This application was approved and they started the development of a tourism resort. After a few years the resort was finished for 75%, but the government stopped funding the cooperative. In fact, some of the facilities of the resort were ready to be used, but because of lacking knowledge and expertise the resort was abandoned. In 2010 a NGO started a project to build a training camp in the same area. The NGO asked the cooperative to be their partner and employed several members of the cooperative and people from Welverdiend. Besides the NGO and the cooperative, also external contractors and consultants were involved in the project. After several months none of all the employees were paid their salaries and the NGO was declared bankrupt. Several actors suspected the NGO of corruption, but it was never officially proven. The external partners and the cooperative were left behind with a partly built tented camp. A consultant and contractor that worked on the project have joined together in JYE Wildlife Developments BV and established a JV with the cooperative and confiscated the tented camp. They decided to develop a bush camp to accommodate tourist with accompanying activities. Not all the members of the cooperative bought their share in the company with money, some also earned their share by labor. Since March 2014 the camp is fully operational. At this moment the camp employs 9 fulltime and 2 part-time employees from Welverdiend of whom some are also members of the cooperative.

The cooperative & JYE Wildlife Developments BV

The WOTC is a JV between the cooperative from Welverdiend and JYE Wildlife Developments BV. The JV is on a 50/50 basis, what means that 50% is owned by the community and 50% is owned by the private entrepreneurs. Both parties agreed on a contractual *partnership* for 15 years. The cooperative and JYE Wildlife Developments B.V. are recognized as ‘the company’. It can be hypothesized that both parties have 50% decision-making power, because of the 50/50 structure. Although, this will be measured using the typologies earlier discussed. The entire camp is built, co-owned (50%), and managed by solely members of the Welverdiend community. For this reason the camp can be regarded as a JV CBT-project (Ashley & Jones, 2001).

Welverdiend and the Mnisi tribe

Welverdiend is a community that falls under the authority of the Mnisi tribe. Mnisi is the family name of the royal family, where the chief is coming from. The chief takes decisions about, for example, infrastructure and environmental issues. He is a very important person for the people living under his authority. Every community has an Induna (headman), who takes the more simple decisions about community issues. If a community member has a fight with his neighbor, he goes to the induna who will try to solve the problems. If he cannot solve the problems, the community members have to go to the chief. In the communities it is very common to listen to what older people tell you about what to do. The philosophy is that older people have more life experience and therefore are more knowledgeable. Not listening to older people might be interpreted as disrespectful. This traditional way of thinking is slowly changing, but still widely spread in the rural areas of SA.

4.3 Data collection

Data is collected by doing interviews with members of the local community that are affected by the CBT-project. This means that the respondent is actually employed in the project or, for example, sells firewood to the project. The respondents are assigned during the first week at the project. Furthermore, policy board members are interviewed in order to determine: the channels for communication, transparency, method for participation, initiated projects and so on. The depth in this study is generated by 'active' individual interviews. In an 'active' interview the respondent is encouraged to direct the conversation within an area of interest chosen by the researcher (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004). This type of interviewing gives respondents more the feeling of an open conversation instead of a real interview. This left more space for the respondents to elaborate on aspects they think are important. This gave the research an even more in-depth analysis. In case that the people in the community did not speak English a translator was used. Besides interviews, also observations have been made during the data collection. The researcher stayed in the WOTC for 10 weeks. During this stay, he got in contact with the people from the project and in the village Welverdiend. The contact was established by attending social activities in Welverdiend. These connections were used to assign respondents for the interviews. Besides that, during the social activities the researcher gathered information about what people in the community think about the WOTC.

Names of respondents are not shown in this thesis, in order to guarantee confidentiality. For this reason the different type of respondent have codes in the results section. The following codes have been used: **CEX**: executive member of the cooperative, not employed. **CEM**: cooperative member and employee. **EM**: employee. **PE**: private entrepreneur. **COM**: community member, not employed. **COP**: cooperative member, not employed.

4.4 Data analysis

The interviews are recorded using a cell phone. The recordings are interpreted by the researcher and annotations during the interviews contribute to a quick retrieval of statements from respondents. Data analysis is conducted by structured references to interviews with respondents. Statements will be compared amongst the different respondents. Intersecting statements will be bundled and explained in the Results section. The results will be presented with structured references to the statements that people made. To clearly reflect the opinions and statements of the respondents, quotes will be used in the Results section whenever possible. In addition, tables of the results will help to interpret the results of the data collection.

5.0 Results

This section will discuss the analysis of the data collected during the data collection in the WOTC. The first section examines how the decision-making process for the WOTC takes place and how the community is involved in this process. The second section will analyze the motivations for involvement of the community members. The third section will analyze the benefits for the community that are identified. The last section will study the issue of nature conservation for this project.

5.1 Decision-making process & community involvement

As already explained, the company is a JV, in this case this means that 50% is from two private entrepreneurs and the other 50% is owned by 17 members of the Mnisi tribe, who are united in a cooperative. This business structure allows the local community to be involved in decision-making on an equal level as the private entrepreneurs.

In the WOTC, two of these 17 members represent the cooperative as executive managers. These executive managers, in *partnership* with the entrepreneurs, deal with the daily decisions that have to be made. The respondents indicate that the responsibilities regarding decision-making are shared through a policy board. The policy board consists of the two private entrepreneurs and the two executive managers of the cooperative who represent the cooperative. Decisions can only be made by acceptance of every member of the policy board. (CEX1, PE7, COP10, CEX11, COP12) During the interview PE7 showed a contract that has to be signed by every member of the policy board, before a decision is approved.

In addition, the cooperative members also have to discuss about the decision they want to take. If the cooperative has to make a decision and there is no consensus, majority rules. In practice, it has not yet happened that there was no consensus about decision-making. CEX11 states:

“Together with the entire cooperative, we have to come up with the decision”.

Bigger decisions have to be discussed with the other members of the cooperative. The distinction between “smaller” and “bigger” decision is based on common sense. In a personal conversation CEX1 calls building a swimming pool a big decision, and building some garden for vegetables a small decision. Getting the entire cooperative together is hard, different agendas, high number of members, and mobility constraints make it difficult to have meetings on a regular basis. Although, the members of the cooperative are informed on a regular basis about the small decisions and state of affairs within the company. (CEX11)

This indicates that they want to be involved in decision making. The willingness to be involved from the community and the business structure together creates a situation where the local community is involved in decision-making.

Regarding these statements of the respondents and personal observations at the WOTC, it can be concluded that the level of community involvement can be assessed as a *partnership* regarding the ladder of Choguill (1996). Choguill defines a *partnership* as: “a situation where members of the

community and outside-actors agree to share decision-making responsibilities through structures like joint policy boards or other informal structures to solve conflicts". It needs to be mentioned that only the cooperative members have a vote in decision-making, because they own shares.

The approach to community involvement by the private entrepreneurs

Another important consideration is the motive of the entrepreneurs to involve the community. PE7 clearly states that his approach to CBT is that he wants to use his knowledge to help the community members to develop, helping these people gives him a lot of gratification. PE7 stated:

"If these two boxes (successful business and gratification) are checked, then I'm happy".

He also argued that the motivation of the employees is very important to keep him motivated. The private entrepreneurs helped the community with confiscating the partly built training camp without asking anything for themselves. PE7 argues that this created a lot of goodwill in the community, local government and related institutions. Because the relation with local governments and institutions is good, this creates a lot more opportunities. The motivation of the private entrepreneurs can best be approached by a CCI point of view. The entrepreneurs are helping the community developing a business, because they think that it is a good thing to help these people. The main objective of the entrepreneurs is empowering people by transferring knowledge to them.

5.2 Motivation for involvement

The motivation for involvement among the members of the cooperative and people that are only employed in the WOTC differ. In this section the determinants for involvement will be discussed.

Tangible (socio) economic benefit for the community

Many of the employees at the WOTC indicate that they are involved, because they want to earn money for a living (CEM2, CEM3, EM5, EM6). EM6 states:

"Yeah, first I want to earn money, ..., I also want to learn".

The members of the cooperative don't earn money at the camp at this moment except the ones that are employed at the camp. All revenue is directly invested back into the camp. The cooperative members indicate that they are involved to help eradicate, especially youth, unemployment (CEX1, CEX11, COP12). Furthermore, helping people to develop themselves and their skills is also mentioned as motivation for involvement, what can be regarded as social benefit (CEX1).

Trust

For the members of the cooperative it was especially important that they trust the people where they were starting a business with (CEX1, CEM3, CEM5, CEX11). Before they started the JV the cooperative members and the private entrepreneurs already knew each other. This was due to the cooperation in a previous project, this is described in the background information about the case study. As stated by CEX1:

“They (the private entrepreneurs) worked here before we started the partnership (JV) and they showed the passion.... They really want to help the community”.

Trust grew when the members of the cooperative saw quick development after the start of the JV (CEM2, CEM3, CEM4). CEM2:

“I trust them, now we are here because of them. They do training to us... Sometimes we thought they are just using us, but now we know they are not. They push us to make business, to get better jobs, to get salary at the end of the month”.

For the private entrepreneurs establishing trust was also very important. PE7 stated that trust was established as follows:

“Put your money where your mouth is. This is what we want, this is what we are going to do, and subsequently do so”.

Furthermore, PE7 argues that the way in which the *partnership* was established is also important for trust between both parties. PE7 states that: when he noticed that the wages of the employees were not paid he could have easily confiscated the camp and make sure that everybody gets paid from this money and leave. But what JYE Wildlife Developments did was confiscate the camp together with the community and start a JV with the community, without taking any money for their own unpaid wages.

Communication

Communication between the executive members from the cooperative and the private entrepreneurs is by means of a policy board meeting. This is usually once every month. The executive of the cooperative reports about these meetings to the other cooperative members. Besides that, information about the development of the camp is also briefly reported to the chief and the community development forum (CDF). The CDF is an organization in the community that takes care about community development issues. None of the respondents indicated that this communication was essential for their involvement in the project. This might be caused by the fact that this communication is very common to them and that they do not realize how important it really is to them. Besides these formal ways of communication, the community members also chat about the camp. During personal conversations it was noticed that some people in the community think that it is unfair that the WOTC is using the property. Although, the WOTC applied for the land in the correct way. Some community members argue that the WOTC is using their land to

earn money. But in fact, only the employees are earning money. The cooperative members agreed that after the camp is fully developed and starts to benefit the cooperative members will help the community. This is stated in the business plan what is approved by several authorities. (COP12)

Transparency

Transparency is guaranteed by signing board resolutions for the decisions that have been made. These board resolutions are signed by the policy board. The resolutions are open to everybody. In addition, all the plans and estimated benefits are documented in a business plan. So, prior the business started an agreement with all the members of the cooperative was compiled with the plans for the company. This was not mentioned by any of the respondents as a motivation for involvement. Furthermore, COM13 mentioned that he likes the way how the policy board of the WOTC is acting. He argues that everybody who is interested is welcome and that they are very transparent. Regarding this statement, it can be argued that transparency is important for local community support.

Appropriate methods for involvement

The JV business structure is one of the main methods for involvement of the community. This method seems appropriate, because the decisions are made in collaboration between the cooperative and the private entrepreneurs. The business structure is essential for this level of involvement, because it is very unlikely that a private entrepreneur will devote decision-power to the community when this is not legally obligated. Although, none of the respondents indicated that this was essential for their involvement.

Knowledge about tourism

Only three of the respondents indicated that they had knowledge about tourism prior the start of the JV (CEX1, CEM4, CEX11). Two of these three have a diploma in tourism related studies (CEX1, CEX11). For them it was relevant for the choice to be involved in this tourism business, but not essential. They argued that it was a logical choice, because tourism is one of the few sectors to get a job in this area. Trust was more important. Regarding knowledge, there are some interesting statements that are useful for this research, CEX1 stated:

“When the project started, I just graduated from community tourism. It was my passion to have a project where local people can say this is how we managed to do. I was like knowledgeable, but not having expertise, or experience, in terms of marketing etc.. I was not exposed to those kind of things, so it was still a big challenge to start something like this. It would be very hard to penetrate, especially, in the international market”.

This indicates that, although the community members had graduated from tourism schools they still needed assistance to attract international tourists. In addition, CEX1 states:

“We have been running the lodge. We have a lot of expertise on the ground, but what is missing, is in terms of marketing. I think we need to be exposed more on marketing, so we can able to market the tourist, after the 15 year contract. So that we are able to go beyond that”.

Sense of ownership

This determinant for involvement was not very widely found in the literature. Although, for the community that was involved in this project, it seems very important (CEX1, CEM2, CEM3, CEM5, PE7, COP10). There are different reasons why people argue that sense of ownership is important to them. Besides sense of ownership, some respondents also indicated that ownership was important for them. This is a fair argument, because the members of the cooperative own 50% of the company. CEM2 and CEM5 indicated that ownership is important to them, because when the company grows the value of their shares also grow. CEM2 stated:

“I just want to earn money, getting some shares when the business grow up”.

This means that when they work hard, the company can grow, subsequently their shares will be more valuable. It can be argued that sense of ownership contributes to the motivation of the cooperative members that are employed. CEM3 stated that it is important for him that he helped building the camp and owns a small part of it. Therefore, he feels proud of himself and the community. COP10 argues that because he is involved in the decision-making process, he feels part of the company. In addition, COP10 states:

“I don't think I want to be a part of that cooperative if I'm not involved in decision-making”.

This means that his involvement in decision-making leads to sense of ownership. PE7 argued that sense of ownership is crucial to the business. If people feel that they own the business, the motivation to work is much higher than when they just work for their money.

Conclusion

Table 6: Results: Motivations for community involvement

	Economic benefit	Trust	Communication	Transparency	Knowledge about tourism	Sense of ownership
CEX1		X	X	X	X	X
CEM2	X	X				X
CEM3	X	X				X
CEM4	X	X		X	X	
CEM5	X	X				X
EM6	X	X				
PE7		X				X
COM8						
COM9						
COP10		X				X
CEX11		X	X	X	X	X
COP12		X	X	X		
COM13						

Table 1 shows the results of the motivations for involvement in this CBT-project. The private entrepreneur is also included, because he mentioned that he thinks that trust is an important motivation for involvement. The non-employed cooperative members didn't mention economic benefit for themselves as motivation for involvement. Although, most of them did mention that economic benefit for other members in the community is important for their involvement. It is remarkable that not none of the community members mentioned that the method for involvement is important for their motivation to be involved. This factor seems especially important for their level of involvement, because this method (JV) enables the cooperative members to be involved on an equal level. It is likely that some of the cooperative members would not be involved in this project without this method of involvement. Sense of ownership, or ownership, seems a crucial factor for the people to get involved on a high level in decision-making. Because people own a part of the company they have a sense of ownership. Because, they own a part of the company, they have the legal right to be involved in decision-making. In addition, economic benefit is also a crucial factor for involvement, and for some respondents also for their involvement in a JV. Involvement in the JV means owning shares, if the business is successful this will lead to increased value of the share. Furthermore, owning shares of the JV means a legal right to be involved in decision-making.

5.3 Community benefits

Two different types of benefits can be identified for this project. Community wide benefits, or collective benefits, are benefits that flow to a larger group of people in the community. Personal benefits are benefits that only trickle down to one person and occasionally some relatives.

Employment

The most important personal benefit of the people that work at the camp is their salary in terms of financial benefit (CEM2, CEM3, CEM5, EM6). Snyman (2012) found that each employees' salary trickles down to approximately 7 relatives of the employee. The salaries at the WOTC are not paid by the company itself at this moment, but by an external NGO that funds projects in the region close to Kruger National Park. At this moment 9 people receive a fulltime salary, and 2 people receive a part-time salary. This means that approximately 80 people directly benefit from the salaries paid by the WOTC.

Direct revenue distribution

At this moment the project is not generating money that can be donated to the community. The revenue of the WOTC is directly invested into the company itself, this is mainly because there was hardly any startup capital. There are 3 phases of direct revenue distribution captured in the business strategy. The first phase is that the revenue is invested in the company. The second phase is that the shareholders and employees start to benefit from the company. The third phase is that the people in the community start to benefit. At this moment the company is in phase 1. (COP12) It needs to be mentioned that it is not a major objective of the company to donate money to the community. The philosophy is to help people get jobs. Although, it is to the members of the cooperative to decide what they want to do with their share (50%) of the profits (PE7). This means that at this moment there is no direct revenue distribution.

Indirect revenue distribution

Indirect revenue distribution in form of utilizing local goods and services does take place. The WOTC arranges community tours whereby the tourists have a tour around different places in the community. CEX1 states:

“It (the community tour) is also helping them in terms of economic help. Because people spend money out there, they have got lunches, sometimes they have got beers. So, everybody is profiting out of it”.

Examples of places where tourists spend their money are: traditional households, tavern's (local pubs), schools, traditional dancers, and the induna (the headman). All people that are visited during the tour get paid for this. Some only for their time, others also for provided services like cooking. In addition, when tourist are in the community they get the chance to buy local handcraft or buy goods from the local shops (CEX1, CEM2, CEX11).

Healthcare and Infrastructure

The WOTC does not contribute to any form of healthcare or infrastructural projects. Therefore, these indicators have been left out of Table 4.

Education

Several schools in Welverdiend received benefits from the WOTC in terms of supporting educational goods and services. One school received books from the project (CEM5). Another school received 10 computers from a tourist who visited the school (CEX1, PE7, CEX11). These two examples are incidental types of benefits. Last year, the WOTC started to give the school children the chance to go on a game drive in Manyeleti Game Reserve. During this game drive the children are taught about flora and fauna in their own country (CEX1, CEM4). Besides these donations to the schools, also the church received toys for children as donation via the WOTC (CEM5).

Training and skills

Another important benefit for the employees is training and skills. The people working on the project learn all different kinds of skills related to running a bush camp. A stay in the camp includes two meals, breakfast and dinner, both meals are prepared from scratch. Therefore, the employees in the kitchen increased their knowledge and experience about activities related to cooking (EM6). The entire camp is built by the staff. Some of them had little experience with building facilities, but most of them didn't. Besides that the employees learned building skills, this also contributed to their pride of the camp and their sense of ownership. Many employees indicated that helping to build the camp was important for them to feel really involved in the project (CEM3, CEM4, EM6). In addition, all the maintenance in the camp is done by one of the private entrepreneurs in collaboration with community employees. Whereby it is assured that the community employees gather experience and knowledge about construction work (informal conversations & personal observations).

Management of the camp is also done by employees of the local community. Tasks like financial administration, stock administration, working schedules, guest administration, and day-to-day management of the employees are included in this function. Leadership- and computer skills are gathered by the employees with these tasks (CEM2). CEX1 stated:

“When we look at people like CEM2, she was not computer illiterate, but when you look now. She is more comfortable with computers, she can use the internet, email, and all those kinds of things.

So, like I said in the beginning, most of the people, they are learning. They are ending up in managerial positions”.

The training and skills that people get during their work at the WOTC is significant. The private entrepreneurs are focused on transferring their knowledge to the cooperative and employees.

Marketing is mainly done by one of the private entrepreneurs (Personal communication, CEX1). For this camp marketing means: maintaining internet platforms like www.booking.com, and the website of the camp.

Intercultural relations

Intercultural relations occur during the community tours that are offered and arranged by the WOTC (CEX1, COM8, CEX11, COP12). CEX1 states:

“Those village tours that we are conducting, they provide that kind of relations (intercultural relations)”.

Most of the community members speak English and otherwise the guide is able to translate. Therefore, it is possible to see what culture and religion means to somebody and exchange ideas about it. During these conversations the community members can exchange ideas and maybe even build a network. In addition, they get the chance to get in contact with people from the Western world, who are a majority of the tourist coming to Africa. Although it needs to be mentioned that only a small proportion of the community members get in touch with the tourist. In a personal conversation with an employee (non-cooperative) I heard that, according to the induna he had a really interesting conversation about ideas for development in the community with tourist from the WOTC. This emphasizes the beneficial character that these community tours have. Besides that, all the employees at the camp are from the community, this means that at the camp there is also some intercultural action.

Conclusion

Table 4 reflects the results from the in-depth interviews. Not all answers reflected in the table are discussed in the analysis. Answers that have not been discussed were similar with answers that have been discussed. Important to notice that if somebody identifies a benefit, this does not have to mean that the respondent is benefiting from this type of benefit.

Table 7: Results: indicators for community development

	Employment	Indirect benefit distribution	Education	Training & skill	Intercultural relations
CEX1	X	X	X	X	X
CEM2	X	X		X	
CEM3	X			X	
CEM4	X		X	X	
CEM5	X		X	X	
EM6	X			X	
PE7	X	X	X	X	
COM8	X				X
COM9	X	X			X
COP 10				X	
CEX 11		X	X	X	X
COP 12	X			X	
COM 13			X		

Employment and training can be regarded as merely personal benefit to the employees at the WOTC. Although, the salary and knowledge that they gather can trickle down to relatives. Employment that trickles down from utilizing local goods and services is also a form of personal benefit. The benefits that are received by public institutions, like the school and church, can be regarded as collective benefits, because these benefits are flowing to a large part of the community. In addition, intercultural relations can also be considered as a community wide benefit, because all community members can get in touch with the tourist during the community tours.

In sum, it can be concluded that at this moment the most benefits flow towards the employees in form of salary and training. The community members that are involved in the community tour also earn money. Realized benefits are mainly personal benefits, although there are some community wide benefits like material donations and services to schools and churches. The community wide benefits are considerably lower than the personal benefits. Training and skills can directly be linked to the level of involvement in decision-making. The executive members of the cooperative are taught about running a business, this is a very important benefit for the community. Besides that, the cooperative is highly involved in decision-making this enhances the sense of ownership and motivation from the employees. This has a positive effect on the success of the business. Although, the relation between motivation and more benefits has not been examined in this study.

5.4 Nature conservation

The interviews revealed that nature conservation is not a main objective of this project. Creating jobs and providing people with a salary is the main objective of this project. Different respondent showed that they know why nature is important for themselves and for the business. Although, this does not directly trickle down from knowledge acquired in the camp. One respondent indicated that she learned that cutting down trees is bad for the environment. This knowledge was gathered during a training of South African National Parks (SANParks) (EM6). In addition, the camp does contribute to nature conservation in terms of forest conservation, but this cannot be related to the level of involvement in decision-making.

CEM3 stated:

“Here we have the trees, if you go out to the places where we plant the millimees (crops), you don’t see any big trees like this (pointing at a tree of approximately of 12-15 meters high)”.

Because the people from the community have got permission to use the land where the WOTC is located, they protect it against deforestation. CEM2 states:

“Because now you see here (the WOTC), we were just getting firewood here, but now it’s the camp!”.

People who are living in the community need firewood to cook, they log this wood in the surrounding area of the village. Before the WOTC was situated at that site it was used to log firewood (CEM2). CEM1 states:

“If you look at this place (the WOTC) and the other places near here. You can see that this place have been looked after, that is why it is still bushy”.

The environment cannot cope with the pressure caused by logging and there is a shortage of firewood. Commonly too young trees are logged, because there are no big (dead) trees left. Although, logging young trees is forbidden by law (CEX1). CEM2 states:

“We have to buy the firewood, because now we don’t have bush nearby to get some firewood”.

Besides the contribution to nature conservation, CEM3 also highlights that it is important for the guests that this area looks like Manyeleti and Kruger National Park. Manyeleti and Kruger National Park are very densely vegetated areas. In addition, CEM1 states:

“If you remove environment or conservation, you are not going to make money”.

Besides this, one respondent indicated that a motivation for his involvement is to teach community members, and especially children, how to conserve nature (CEM4). This attitude is not specifically developed by the involvement in the project. Although, it is clear that he has a positive attitude towards nature conservation and it can be executed by means of the project.

In sum, the WOTC does contribute to nature conservation in terms of forest protection. Furthermore, some of the employees know about nature conservation, but there is no direct relation between level of community involvement and issues regarding nature conservation. Furthermore, the community is not allowed to log firewood on the land of the WOTC anymore. The community members might regard this as a negative impact of the camp.

6.0 Discussion

The purpose of this study was two-fold; which factors determine the level of community involvement, and what is the relation between the level of community involvement in decision-making and community development and nature conservation. To answer these questions interviews with community members involved in a CBT-project are conducted. This section will discuss the validity of the method and literature that has been used to answer the research questions. Some speculative conclusion will also be discussed.

6.1 Motivation for involvement

For the first question, determinants from the literature were identified. These factors were discussed during the interviews. The determinants that were identified in the literature seem to determine community involvement, but not specifically the level of involvement. This might limit the internal validity of the first part of this research. Although, the conclusions about community involvement are still useful. This study examines a JV, what in principle means that the community members are involved in decision-making according their shares. If cooperative members identified factors for involvement, this means that these factors determine involvement in a JV. A JV means that the participants have a legal right to be involved in decision-making. As the level of involvement in decision-making is high (*partnership*) this means that there is relation between the determinants and level of involvement. This section will partly be used to discuss possible relations between the determinants for involvement and the level of involvement.

Economic benefit

It can be argued that people from the community want to be involved, because they receive an economic benefit. In addition, cooperative members indicated that it is important for them to own shares, because this can lead to higher economic benefits. Owning shares means that the cooperative members legally have the right to be involved in decision-making. Therefore, it can be argued that this type of business structure enhances involvement in decision-making, because of the higher economic benefit. Although, it needs to be mentioned that this business structure not always lead to higher involvement in decision-making. It is likely that the people want to have a vote in the company that they (partly) own. On the other hand, if the community legally has the right to be involved, this does not have to mean that they are actually involved. The community members might be not confident about their own skills and experience in order to take decisions. But this seems not the situation in the case study, because the community is involved on a high level, and they want to make decisions.

Sense of ownership

Besides economic benefit, sense of ownership is recognized by the respondents as important determinants for involvement. Sense of ownership is indicated as an important determinant for involvement. It is likely that the people want to be involved in decision-making on a high level in order to have an even higher sense of ownership. One respondent stated: “If I’m not involved in decision-making, I don’t want to be involved in the project” (COP10). In addition, he stated that

being the co-owner of the company is really important to him. Because he is a co-owner, he is involved in decision-making, therefore his ownership, or sense of ownership, is very important for his involvement. Within a JV it is important to notice that people not only have a sense of ownership, they do actually own a small part of the company. Regarding this case it is also important that the employees helped to build the camp. This also highly contributes to their sense of ownership and pride, this does not only apply to the cooperative members.

Trust

Trust was also identified as important determinant for involvement. The community members wanted to start a JV with the private entrepreneurs, because they trust them. Trust seems especially important in a JV, because the community has to invest their own money and effort. After the events that happened to the cooperative in Welverdiend, trust seems even more important.

Helping the community

During the interviews there was an opportunity for elaboration on other determinants. It was interesting to notice that the non-employed cooperative members mentioned: “helping community members to get a job and earn a living”. It has to be noticed that respondents who indicated this, were educated and had good jobs. This was the only additional determinant for involvement. This could be, because people are not always totally aware of their motivations for involvement, but are able to recognize the motivations when exposed to them.

6.2 Community benefits

The second question discussed the relation between level of involvement in decision-making and community development. The level of community involvement was assessed using the ladder of community participation in developing countries by Choguill (1996). This method turned out to be very useful as the definitions developed by Choguill for different level of involvement were recognizable in the WOTC. The level of community development was assessed using indicators found in the literature. The majority of the factors was present in the case study. Although, some factors were not applicable, this was mainly due to the size and the phase of the project. This project was still in a start-up phase, therefore the community wide benefits were rather low. Benefits from the WOTC were directly invested back into the camp. Therefore, it might be interesting to conduct the same study again in five years, to see whether benefits flow to the entire community or not.

Training and skills

High involvement in decision-making is especially important for the sustainability of the company. The sustainability is achieved by teaching the community members how to run the business themselves, this is community development in the form of training skills. The question is: “Do the community members benefit more when they are involved in decision-making”. Yes, they do, but not only because of high involvement in decision-making. It is also related to the business structure. Because the community (partly) owns the company, their motivation to make it a success is higher than when they do not own the company. If the business fails, they will lose their money. In sum,

it is the combination of a JV business structure and high involvement in decision-making that leads to high community development in terms of training and skills about running a business. This relation is a contribution to the literature about JV CBT tourism, because this relation was not found during the literature review. It needs to be noted that the size of the company is crucial for the amount of benefits that can flow towards the community. A bush camp like the WOTC can employ approximately 10 community members, this is a rather low proportion of the community. Although, the perspective is promising, because the project is still in startup phase (established in 2014), while benefits are already considerable.

Awareness about benefits

Regarding the benefits towards the community it is important that the community realizes what kind of benefits they receive. Some respondents indicate that the majority of the community members solely see cash money as a benefit towards the community. Donations, like books, toys etc. are not recognized as benefits from the project (COP10). This was also found during the literature review. Goodwin & Santilli (2009) found that people might not want to be involved, because they don't understand the benefits of the project. In addition, Dyer et al. (2014) found that a clear link between community engagement and community benefit is essential for community involvement. Therefore, it seems important that the community members are taught, for example, about the necessity of computers and books for the education of their children.

Nature conservation

It was intended to use attitude towards nature conservation as an indicator for nature conservation. This turned out to be a less suitable method to measure the effectiveness of nature conservation. The project only consisted of 11 employees in total. These are the only people that could have an attitude that was changed by the company. The impact of these employees is very small, considering that there live 4.000 people in Welverdiend. In addition, the assumed relation between attitudes and certain types of behavior was too complex to use within this study. Therefore, the researcher aimed on natural situations that have been changed since the company started his activities. The impact of these activities is more likely to have any impact on the natural environment in the surrounding of the company.

Community structure

The structure within the community is also an important issue that needs attention when developing a CBT-project in SA. Traditionally it is very common to listen to what older people tell you what to do. It is important that within a company, younger people get the chance to make decisions themselves. Making their own decisions will empower them what is important for their capacities to learn how to run their own business. If older people always have a vote in decision-making this will affect the development of young people. In addition, Snyman (2012) found that community structures need be stable and equal to ensure successful community participation.

Technical limitations

The interviews with the community members were conducted in English. Although, the general level of English of the community members is sufficient, using a different language than mother tongue might cause misunderstandings. This has been minimized by paraphrasing the respondents whenever possible. During some of the interviews a translator helped with the interpretation.

The respondents were identified by using contacts that were established with people in the camp. This was the only possibility to infiltrate into the community during this research. Although, the researcher tried to create the most complete and comprehensive group of respondents, some respondents might not be reached, because of how the respondents were found and approached for cooperation. In order to select a diverse group of respondents the relations and structures within the community have been explored. The researcher identified several respondents himself, by networking and using the snowball technique.

Many people of the camp itself have been interviewed, besides that they have knowledge about the project, they also have an asset. This could mean that they are biased in their opinion about the project. This has been minimized by conducting interviews with people from the community who have no assets or involvement in the camp, in order to get a more comprehensive perspective on the situation.

Because of time constraints, a single case study has been used to answer the research questions. A limitation of a single case study is that the external validity of the conclusions from this study is rather low. Although, the conclusions are applicable in CBT-projects in SA. SA and the area surrounding Kruger- and other wildlife parks are especially important for development of CBT-projects, because poverty rates are high and one of the sectors for job creation is tourism. Furthermore, there was only one measurement, because of time constraints. The disadvantage of one measurement is that it is impossible to investigate what kind of effect changes of certain variables have. Therefore, it was not possible to measure the effectiveness of different levels of involvement. Although, the conclusions of this research are still useful, because the conclusions can lead to recommendations for the development of JV CBT companies.

Conclusion

Regarding this study, CBT with a JV as business structure seems a promising concept to realize sustainable income for poor rural communities. This structure makes sure that the communities legally have 50% of the decision-making power, what corresponds with a *partnership* as defined by Choguill (1996). This forces the communities to make decisions, and learn about everything that is related to their business. In addition, they have to invest themselves what increases their motivation. It is important to keep the community fully involved in all decisions, as it is possible that the communities lean on the success of the private entrepreneurs' decisions.

7.0 Conclusion

This chapter is used to answer the two research questions and subsequently discuss general conclusions from this research. The chapter will be concluded with general recommendations regarding effective CBT-projects.

7.1 Motivations for involvement

The first research question to be answered is:

“Which factors determine the level of community involvement in a JV CBT-project?”

As already discussed in the Results chapter, the level of community involvement is a *partnership*. Both parties have an equal vote in decision-making. This level of involvement has a direct link to the business structure of the project, a JV. This means that in this case study the determinants for involvement, determine the involvement in a JV. There are three important factors that determine the involvement of community members: sense of ownership, trust, and tangible (socio) economic benefit.

Sense of ownership

Sense of ownership is an important determinant for the community members for involvement in the WOTC. This is particularly interesting, because the business is structured as a JV. It seems obvious that the cooperative members have a high sense of ownership, because they do actually own a part of the company. Besides that, the community members are highly involved in decision-making, because of the business structure. That means that for the community members the business structure is an important factor for their involvement. Although, what is remarkable is that only two of the 17 members of the cooperative are part of the joint policy board, or the executive. The other 15 members are involved in decision-making, because meetings are organized. During these meetings the cooperative decide about what decisions they take. But it seems that not all of the cooperative members indicated that sense of ownership is important to them. Especially the cooperative members that indicated that they are not very high involved in decision-making, indicated that sense of ownership was not really important to them. This could imply that the members that want a high sense of ownership make sure that they attend the cooperative meetings, and therefore are higher involved in decision-making.

It can be concluded that, a sense of ownership is a determinant for involvement in a JV CBT-project. In this case the involvement is high, so sense of ownership leads to high involvement in decision-making. In addition, sense of ownership also enhances motivation of people to be more disciplined in doing their job. More disciplined employees will lead to higher quality of the company's products and services. What can positively contributes to potential economic benefit from the company.

Trust

Furthermore, trust was also identified as an important determinant for involvement in this JV project. It seems that for a JV, trust is even more important than for other business structures. The cooperative members had to invest money and effort in order to establish a JV with the private entrepreneurs. If there was no mutual trust between the parties, the project would have never existed. Besides that, the motivation of the entrepreneurs for involvement of the community also seems important for the level of community development. If willingness to help the community is low at the side of the entrepreneurs this will negatively affect the effectivity of the project.

To enhance the local community support it is important to clearly communicate with the community members. Without clear communication, rumors and incorrect information about the project can spread quickly in the community. Especially, information about benefits that will flow to the community are important, because that is what the community wants from the project.

Tangible (socio) economic benefit

Tangible (socio) economic benefit is the most important determinant for employees to be involved in the project. This cannot directly be linked to the level of involvement, because not all employees are cooperative members. Although, some of the cooperative members that were also employed at the WOTC indicated that it was important to them that they could be a shareholder. As a shareholder, you are involved in decision-making. Besides earning money from employment, later on they can also earn money from the shares in the company. Regarding this statement, it seems that for some of the respondents being a co-owner is essential for their involvement.

7.2 Local community development

The second research question to be answered is:

- *'To what extent can level of community involvement in decision-making determine the effectiveness of CBT-projects?'*

Using Choguill's (1996) ladder for community participation the level of community involvement in this case study can be labeled as a *partnership*. This section will discuss the relation between the different indicators for effectiveness of CBT-projects and the level of community involvement in decision-making.

Education, knowledge & experience

The level of knowledge and experience of the community members is not sufficient to successfully run a business like a bush camp (CEX1, COP12). Therefore, they need the cooperation from knowledgeable and experienced entrepreneurs. During the decision-making process they can learn how they can run a business. It is important to make the community members think about important business related decisions, this will give them considerable experience and knowledge about running a business. When the local community is not involved on such a high level this will probably speed up the decision-making process and the expansion of the business. Nevertheless,

the involved employees will not learn how they could run their own business, or take over this one in the future. This means that if the community is not involved the help is not sustainable. When the entrepreneurs leave, the community members will be left behind with a business they cannot run themselves. In the case of the WOTC, there is a possibility that the private entrepreneurs will sell their shares to the cooperative or other community members. Afterwards, the company will be completely community-owned. Therefore, it is essential for the sustainability of CBT enterprises to involve the community on a level so that they can learn and run the business themselves. Brohman (1996) argued that one of the problems in Third World tourism is the dependency on aid in terms of money from Western countries. Consequent dependency on aid can lead to financially unhealthy businesses.

Knowledge transfer is the key to successful CBT-projects and avoiding dependency on aid. In addition, if the cooperative members were not involved on *partnership* level this would undermine their authority and will have a direct effect on their motivation. Roberts (2011) argued that participation in decision-making is essential for the sustainability of community-based projects. He argues that it increases the buy-in into tourism projects and gives them the chance to design their own lives. In JVs, it is the other way around, because people buy-in into the company they can take part in decision-making. This mechanism seems more promising, because private entrepreneurs are not encouraged to involve community members in decision-making when they didn't invest money or effort in the company. Besides that, the community members are less likely to be motivated and perform well.

In sum, under the right conditions high level of involvement will lead to a higher level of benefit in terms of training and skills for community members. The right conditions are private entrepreneurs that want to learn things to the community, and community members that want to learn things.

Marketing

For the WOTC it seems essential to also involve the community in the marketing of the camp. CEX1 also indicated this issue, as described in the Results section. Marketing is crucial for tourism enterprises like this, because competition is very high in this sector (Palacios, 2013). The majority of the customers is from either Europe or America. Local communities don't have any knowledge about the Western world and don't know how to reach these people. Marketing is an important issue where the knowledge of the community is lacking (Issac & Sterren, 2004). Without help from knowledgeable private entrepreneurs a business like this would be futureless.

Employment, revenue distribution, education & intercultural relations

The effect of the level of involvement (*partnership*) on the above indicators for community development has been measured during this research. There was no positive link found between level of involvement and these indicators. In contrast, especially during the start-up phase high involvement could lead to lower community benefits. It is likely that decision-making takes more

time when the community is involved on a high level. This extra time will delay the potential expansion of the company, what has a negative effect on the benefits. Although, in the long run these factors could be positively affected by high involvement. Because the community members learn how to run a business they might start one themselves what can lead to higher community benefits.

Local community support

Besides that the high involvement in decision-making contributes to the knowledge and skills regarding business and management of the community members, high involvement is also important for the relation with the community. The high involvement has a positive effect on the relation between the company, the local government, and the people living in the community. If the cooperative members were not involved on a *partnership* level, it is likely that the community members get a negative attitude towards the cooperative members and the company, because it would look like that they are the marionettes of the private entrepreneurs. For this reason it is important that the cooperative members can clearly prove that they had an equal share of voting in the decisions within the company.

In addition, the people from the local community have knowledge about social structures in the community. Therefore, they know who to approach the community for acceptance of their project. Mitchell and Eagles (2001) argued that considerable local support and participation in tourism decision-making are linked to issues of ownership and control. So if the community members have considerable control over the project they are more likely to support the project. Snyman (2014) and Mbaiwa (2008) both addressed incorrect rumors as a treat to JV CBT-projects and their benefits. It is likely that incorrect rumors occur when the community members are not supporting the project. Therefore, involvement in decision-making can avoid these incorrect rumors.

Nature conservation

Nature conservation has increased, because of the development of the project. Especially forests have been protected by the WOTC. Although, there is no direct link between level of community involvement and nature conservation. It might be argued that because of high involvement the community members accept the forest protection of the WOTC and are not illegally logging near the camp.

7.3 General conclusion & recommendations

In sum, high involvement in decision-making of a JV CBT-project can be determined by higher economic benefit, sense of ownership, and trust. All three determinants motivate community members to start a JV (level of involvement: *partnership*) as a business structure. Furthermore, high involvement in decision-making can explain the experience and knowledge about running a bush camp as a benefit from JV CBT-projects. Higher benefits in the form of experience and skills regarding business development are very valuable. Community members with more skills are empowered and less dependent on help from foreign entrepreneurs. High involvement in decision-making does not have a positive effect on employment, revenue distribution, education, and

education from JV CBT-projects in the short run. Although, in the long run, it is expected that high involvement will have a positive effect on above mentioned indicators. A suggestion for further research is to examine what the long term effect is of high involvement in decision-making in JV CBT-projects. Another interesting suggestion for further research is to examine to what extent the knowledge and skills of highly involved community members is sufficient to start their own successful business.

A JV can be a highly effective business structure to help local communities to develop. Although, there are some important remarks. It is recommendable to have a 50%/50% structure, as both parties have an equal vote in this situation. This will create a more stable situation. Besides this, motivation from both parties is very important. The community must be eager to learn things and to invest money into the company. If the community members invest money this will dedicate them to the company. Furthermore, the motivation of the private entrepreneurs should be helping the community. It is possible to earn money with this type of business, but it is likely that it will take more time and effort than when the community is not involved. Although, increasing amounts of tourist favor CBT companies as responsible travel destinations.

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