

RESEARCH DISCUSSION PAPER  
Number 10  
November 1995

---

# Tourism, communities, and the potential impacts on local incomes and conservation.

by

Caroline Ashley

---

Directorate of Environmental Affairs  
Ministry of Environment and Tourism  
Private Bag 13306  
Windhoek, Namibia

This series of Research Discussion Papers is intended to present preliminary, new, or topical information and ideas for discussion and debate. The contents are not necessarily the final views or firm positions of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism. Comments and feedback will be welcomed.

## **PREFACE**

**This paper is a revised version of a presentation entitled "Community-based tourism as a strategy for CBNRM: options and potential for achieving conservation and development through non-consumptive tourism in Namibia" that was prepared for "The Commons without the Tragedy," the 1995 Annual Conference of the Regional Natural Resources Management Programme (USAID). That presentation, in turn, drew heavily on an earlier DEA Research Discussion Paper (RDP), "Promoting Community Based Tourism: Why, What and How,"<sup>3</sup> which explored the potential benefits of different types of tourism enterprises on communal land and the factors affecting their viability and profitability. Some key results are summarised here, particularly in section B.**

**The current paper summarises some key results from the earlier RDP, concerning the costs and benefits of different tourism enterprises, and then takes the analysis further by presenting recent research on the economic potential of tourism regionally and nationally (based on Barnes 1995). The research is preliminary and based on rough estimates, but it gives an overview of the potential of different types of tourism, and of tourism compared to other natural resource uses. More detailed analysis of the results for particular regions is underway. These regionally-specific findings have not been incorporated into this paper, but are available from the DEA as research continues.**

**Much has happened to develop Community-based tourism since the earlier RDP was written a year ago, and even since the substance of this paper was presented in April. New enterprises have emerged, the conservancy policy approved, and tourism policy developed: this paper is not only updated to reflect this progress, but the final section also explains the strategies being used to promote CBT and outlines future steps.**

**Comments and feedback will be welcomed.**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

**The material in this and previous papers rest on the hard work of many people in the CBNRM programme in Namibia, within communities, NGOs, donors and Government. The findings presented here, which broadly confirm the existing strategies, are intended to help in developing the work further, and prioritising different areas and activities.**

**Particular credit is due to my colleague Jon Barnes, Resource Economist in the Directorate of Environmental Affairs, seconded by the WWF-US (USAID-funded) LIFE programme, constructed the economic and financial models of enterprises and regional natural resource uses, from which so much can be derived. Thanks also to Michael Humavindu (UNAM), who assisted with the estimates of population and per capita incomes.**

## **ACRONYMS**

CBNRM	Community based natural resource management (programme)
CBT	Community based tourism
CE	Community enterprise
CTO	Community Tourism Officer
IRDNC	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation
LIFE	Living in a Finite Environment programme (of WWF-USAID)
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Namibia
NACOBTA	Namibia Community Based Tourism Association
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PTO	Permission to Occupy (government lease agreement for small business premises).

N\$1 = 1 South African Rand = US\$0.27

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page no.
<b>SUMMARY</b>	1
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	2
<b>A: BACKGROUND</b>	
A.1 Environmental, Political and Economic Context	3
A.2 The Community Based Natural Resource Management Programme	5
A.3 The Emergence of Community Based Tourism	7
<b>B: COMPARISON OF APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM</b>	
B.1 Current Examples in Namibia	9
B.2 Potential Impacts of Different Approaches	
(i) financial	12
(ii) social	19
B.3. Implications for achieving three CBT objectives:	
(i) local development	21
(ii) conservation	22
(iii) tourism development	23
<b>C: NON-CONSUMPTIVE TOURISM COMPARED TO OTHER RESOURCE USES</b>	
C.1 Non-consumptive and Consumptive Resource Use	24
C.2 Tourism and Agriculture	30
<b>D: CONSTRAINTS AND STRATEGIES IN PROMOTING CBT</b>	
D.1 Constraints	32
D.2 Strategies and Ways Forward	34
<b>E: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION</b>	39
<b>REFERENCES</b>	41
<b>APPENDIX</b>	
Estimates of income from non-agricultural resource uses in 4 communal areas	42
<b>FIGURES</b>	
1 Maps showing land tenure, mean rainfall and tourism zones	4
2 The emergence of community based tourism from three perspectives	7
3 Sources of estimated current local incomes from tourism	13
4 Potential increases in estimated local income from tourism activities	15
5 Potential local tourism income with and without conservancies in former Damaraland	16
6 Regional differences in amount and source of potential local tourism income	18
7 Estimated current local incomes from non-consumptive tourism, consumptive tourism, and resource harvesting.	25
8 Estimated potential local incomes from non-consumptive tourism, consumptive tourism, and resource harvesting.	27
9 Sources of estimated total local income from non-agricultural resource use	28
<b>TABLES</b>	
1 Different types of tourism on communal land	10
2 Benefits and costs of different approaches	11
3 Constraints and strategies in promoting CBT	32

## SUMMARY

There is potential for considerable expansion of community benefits from tourism in Namibia. For example, incomes earned by local workers and communities from tourism enterprises could increase three-fold in the communal areas of Caprivi, Bushmanland, and Kunene -- even without any increase in the natural resource base or decrease in agricultural land-use -- based on estimates by Barnes.<sup>5</sup> By raising local incomes and developing skills, this expansion can contribute to sustainable local development and community based conservation. At the same time, involvement of local people in the industry improves the tourism product and enhances popular support for the industry.

Wages paid to local staff by private operations, such as up-market lodges, will continue to account for the bulk of local incomes from tourism. However, income that is earned and controlled by the community is probably more significant at boosting local development and conservation because it can be distributed more widely, linked more visibly to wildlife conservation, and involves development of local skills, institutions and decision-making. This income can be earned from campsites, crafts and other community enterprises (N\$2-20,000 per year), voluntary revenue-sharing by lodges (N\$10-15,000 per year), and joint ventures between communities and investors (N\$20-80,000 per year). Barnes' estimates of current and potential tourism activities Caprivi, Bushmanland and Kunene indicate that crafts income could double and other community-enterprises expand five-fold. Emergence of joint ventures will depend on communities forming conservancies.

Tourism currently generates five times as much local income as safari hunting and other consumptive uses of wildlife and potentially could generate ten times as much, in the regions analysed. Therefore it is appropriate as a major strategy for the community based conservation programme (although in specific areas hunting can be the best option). Local harvesting of other resources currently probably generates more local income than tourism in Caprivi and Bushmanland. Although it has less potential to expand, it should not be ignored in community conservation programmes.

Local income from tourism in the four communal areas analysed could increase from N\$2 million to N\$7 million if existing potential is exploited. If averaged across all the rural residents, this amounts to around N\$50 per household -- clearly not enough to be an alternative to agriculture. However, in practice the opportunities and incomes are geographically concentrated: in prime tourism sites, a joint venture lodge in a 14,000 ha concession could earn a community over N\$10 per hectare which would probably make it well worth the transition from agriculture to tourism. Across high potential areas, such as the Uniab catchment area outside the Skeleton Coast Park, annual income could average N\$5,000 per resident. This suggests that efforts should be focused on identifying and developing high potential zones for tourism development, while simultaneously ensuring wildlife movement and habitat are maintained in the larger surrounding area. Key questions to be addressed in maintaining mixed use areas include the degree of complementarity between wildlife and livestock, and the broad distribution of benefits generated in prime areas to those in mixed-use areas as incentives for conservation.

Much has already been done, at both local and policy level, to promote community based tourism. However, many constraints remain. Communities need more information, skills, and rights over land and wildlife to engage equally with tourists and private operators. Private operators also need information and incentives. So there is much that Government can do to set a conducive policy environment, facilitate communication, and ensure government procedures and regulations accommodate needs of community-based tourism.

## INTRODUCTION

Community based tourism is developing rapidly in Namibia. There are a dozen or more community tourism enterprises, many more emerging, a handful of partnerships between private investors and local communities, and a new tourism policy emerging with potential to boost community involvement in the industry. Community based tourism (CBT) is seen as a strategy to promote development *and* conservation in communal areas. Whereas community based resource management programmes elsewhere in southern Africa have focused on consumptive use of wildlife (hunting), the main current and potential source of community income from wildlife in Namibia seems to be non-consumptive (wildlife-viewing) tourism. Hence its importance to the community-based conservation programme.

This paper aims to do two things: it describes and assesses Namibia's experience of CBT to date, outlining the options, constraints, and strategies being pursued. It also presents findings on the potential of CBT to generate local income for residents of communal areas and discusses whether and how these financial benefits can contribute to the objectives of enhanced local development and conservation.

Section A provides essential background on Namibia's Community Based Natural Resource Management Programme (CBNRM) and the emergence of community based tourism. Section B describes the different types of tourism on communal land, summarises the costs and benefits of each, and compares the relative contribution to economic, social and conservation objectives. It highlights issues that are critical if CBT is to lead to improved conservation of natural resources locally. Section C looks at the significance of community tourism in the bigger picture, comparing it to other CBNRM strategies, such as hunting, and to agriculture as a land use. Section D explores the constraints to be tackled in promoting community tourism, and the various ways in which these are being addressed in Namibia at the local and policy level. Finally, the conclusion highlights some key themes and a few lessons learned.

## **A: BACKGROUND**

### **A.1. ENVIRONMENTAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT**

The most important background facts are the aridity of Namibia, the classification of 40% of the land as communal, and the planned development of tourism, particularly in communal areas. These are all illustrated in the maps in Figure 1.

#### **Namibia is the most arid country in Africa south of the Sahara**

78% of Namibia is classified as arid and 21% as semi-arid.<sup>6</sup> Rainfall varies from virtually zero in the coastal desert strip, 100-250 mm per year mean (but in practice highly variable) in the south west farming areas, up to 600 mm or more per year in the north east. There are no perennial rivers between the northern and southern borders. This is a problem for farmers, but less so for tourists and biologists: there are beautiful deserts and a diverse range of wildlife (though at lower densities than elsewhere in Africa). Arid-adapted species, such as ostrich, springbok, oryx and "desert elephant" are found in the desert, along with a rich diversity of invertebrates and reptiles and most of Namibia's endemic species. Plains game are found in the central savannah, while the relatively richer flora in the north east supports species such as buffalo, roan, sable, tsessebe, hippo and large herds of seasonal elephants. Agriculture, however, in such an environment with little water and poor soils is precarious. Crops are grown in the north, but most of the country is only suitable for extensive livestock or game. Livestock are central, both economically and culturally, in most of the communal areas.

#### **In communal areas, land and wildlife "belong to the state"**

Namibia gained independence from South Africa in March 1990. Much of the previous land tenure system remains. 40% of the country is classified as communal land (formerly "homelands"), while commercial farming on around 6,000 farms occupies 45%. Of the remainder, 13% is proclaimed as parks and reserves, and 2% is restricted for diamond mining.<sup>6</sup> Residents of communal land have rights to use but not own resources such as land and trees. However, they have no automatic rights over wildlife<sup>(1)</sup>, which is "the property of the state." The Government, not the residents, allocates hunting and tourism concessions and earns the revenue. This alienation of people from wildlife has been one factor contributing to declines in wildlife numbers in communal areas.

#### **Tourism is one of the fastest growing sectors of the economy**

Tourism contributes approximately 5% to Gross Domestic Product and 12% to foreign exchange earnings (the bulk of both comes from mining).<sup>13</sup> Most tourists come for viewing wildlife and wilderness (non-consumptive tourism) rather than for hunting and angling (consumptive tourism). Though the national parks and reserves act as a focal point, guest farms and hunting farms are increasingly common in commercial areas, while communal areas offer dramatic landscapes and wildlife in a less managed habitat for more adventurous eco-tourists.

---

<sup>6</sup> Residents can apply for a permit from the Ministry of Environment and Tourism to hunt wildlife in their area.



Approximately 300,000 tourists visit Namibia each year, and this could double by 2002.<sup>9</sup> In order to manage this expanding industry, the Government commissioned a comprehensive review of tourism policy. The resulting tourism development strategy proposes a para-statal organisation to run resorts in parks, and a private sector-government Namibian Tourism Board to train, promote, and regulate the industry, both within the framework of tourism policy set by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET). Approved in a White Paper, these proposals are now being converted into legislation. The strategy emphasises the development of low-impact high-paying tourism. It outlines tourism development zones and tourism control zones, many of which overlap with communal land.

## **A.2. COMMUNITY BASED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT:**

Historically, the Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism (as it was called) was "preservationist", focusing on fences between people and parks as the means to conservation. After Independence, and in line with the new Constitution (box 1) a national Community Based Natural Resource Management Programme (CBNRM) began -- initially a small pilot programme in the Ministry building on long-standing work of some NGOs in communal areas.

**The goal of the CBNRM programme is:**

*The protection of bio-diversity and maintenance of ecosystems and life support processes through sustainable use of natural resources for the benefit of rural communities.*

**To achieve this the programme has the following objectives:**

- a *to enable rural communities to share in the control and management of natural resources such as wildlife, forests and fish.*
- b *to enable rural communities to derive an economic benefit from the sustainable use and management of living natural resources.*
- c *to facilitate the development of suitable community institutions which can manage natural resources*
- d *to reduce the conflicts and competition for land and resources that threaten protected areas*
- e *to maintain and develop the natural resource base.*

**The new Constitution commits the state to**

*"... actively promote and maintain the welfare of the people by adopting, inter alia, policies aimed at the following: maintenance of ecosystems, essential ecological processes, and biological diversity of Namibia and utilisation of living natural resources on a sustainable basis for the benefit of all Namibians, both present and future."*

**Box 1**

The Ministry's role is to support rather than implement CBNRM. Field work is done mainly by staff of non-governmental organisations, working with local residents, leaders and particularly Community Game Guards. The Ministry and several NGOs are supported by the WWF-US Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE) Program, funded by US-AID.

The programme is active in Kunene Region (former Kaokoland and Damaraland) in the west, and in Caprivi and eastern Otjozondjupa (former Bushmanland) in the East, and is soon to expand to Omusati Region in the north. To date, the programme has focused mainly on wildlife, though last

year thatching grass was collected for sale in Caprivi, women resource monitors are now working on local use of subsistence resources, and craft makers supported within the programme use wood and other craft materials.

The programme builds on the common property resource management approach, which recognises that many natural resources are neither "open access" to all nor individually owned. The effectiveness of collective management depends on both internal and external factors: the skills, management techniques, and institutional strength of the collective, and the degree of support it gets from outside in some form of tenure, recognition, and right to manage and benefit from resources.

### **Progress to date:**

*Developing skills and capacity to manage natural resources:* Considerable progress has been made in developing skills and capacity for resource management: Community Game Guards monitor wildlife and report poaching to traditional leaders and project staff. Environmental committees and other institutions have been established, skills upgraded, and liaison with MET improved.

*Developing benefits/incentives:* the philosophy of the programme is that effective incentives for rural communities to conserve wildlife and other resources rest on four conditions:

- sustainable management/conservation improves their livelihoods
- the benefits exceed the costs
- rural people have a significant degree of ownership or control over the resource;
- resources have cultural and aesthetic value.

Only if the first three exist, can the latter usually be afforded.

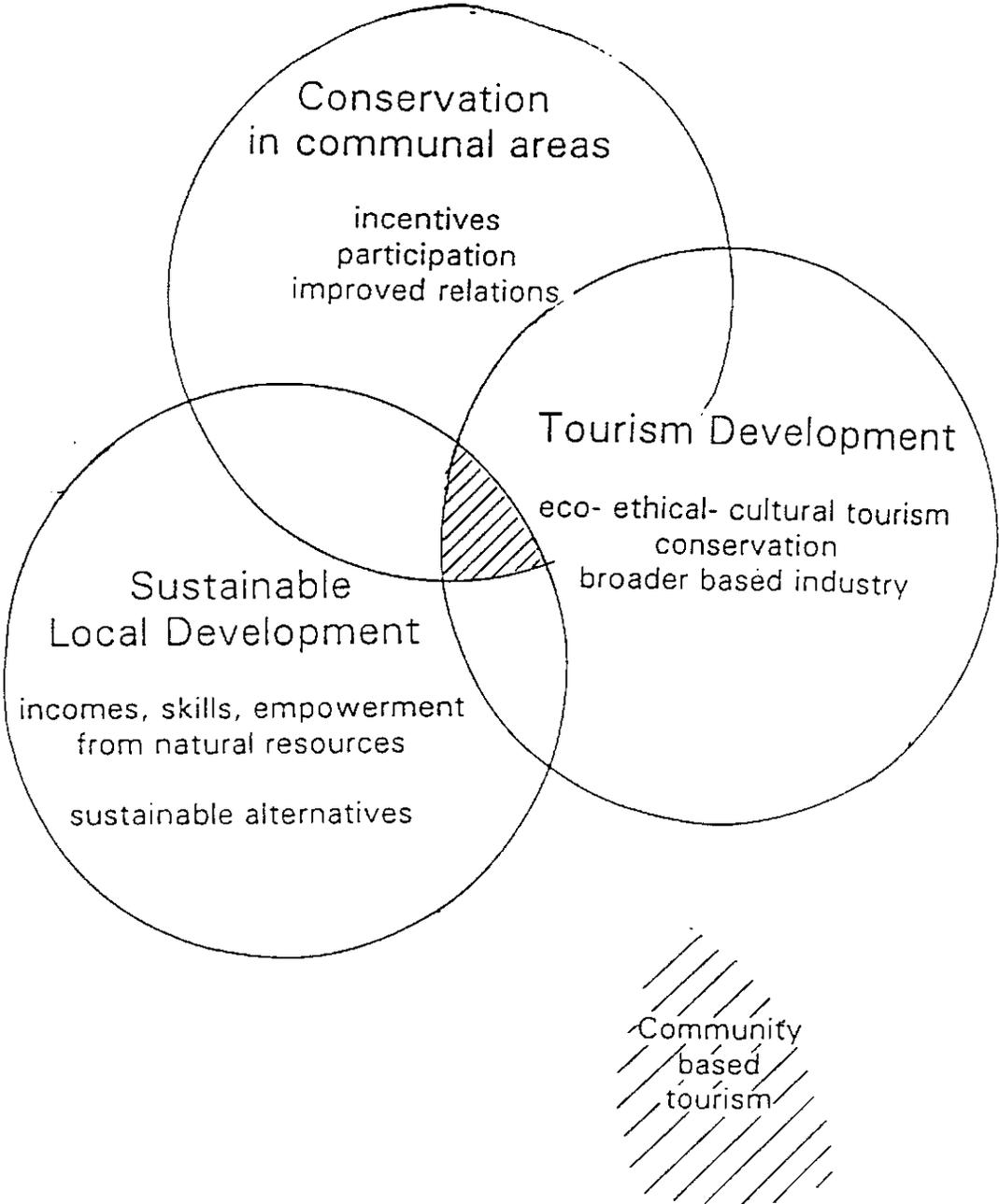
So far, the Namibian programme has focused mainly on *social* rather than *financial* benefits (cash or subsistence) from wildlife, and on the cultural and aesthetic values. This partly reflects the interests of local communities (who, for example, "want our children to see wildlife"), but also the fact that, until now there has been no legal mechanism giving communities rights to utilise or profit from wildlife. Recently, in the face of rising and frustrated expectations of tangible benefits, the programme has focused more on enterprises, such as campsites, grass thatch sale, and a traditional village for tourists, that can get going without such legal rights.

*Developing rights:* in order to promote the common property resource approach to wildlife management within the context of state-owned communal land, the CBNRM programme developed and promoted the "conservancy" approach: if a community forms itself into a conservancy, with a defined boundary, and a management plan agreed by the MET, it will be granted rights to utilise and benefit from wildlife within its boundaries. These rights include non-consumptive uses -- such as the right to use or lease tourism concessions -- as well as consumptive use. Cabinet approved the policy in March 1995 and amendments to the relevant legislation are underway to enable implementation to begin.<sup>10</sup>

### **A.3 THE EMERGENCE OF COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM**

Although community-based tourism is a key strategy for conservation, it is important to recognise that it is of growing importance to two other perspectives as well: promotion of local development, and improvement of the tourism industry in Namibia, as illustrated in Figure 2:

Figure 2: the emergence of community based tourism from three perspectives



### **(i) Conservation in communal areas**

Tourism is one means of generating direct financial benefits from wildlife. Even before conservancies are established, local people can start earning money from campsites, crafts etc. Financial benefits are necessary (though not sufficient) if the benefits of wildlife are to exceed the costs and hence boost incentives for conservation. It is important to note though that if money is to act as a conservation incentive, it must be widely distributed across the resource users/managers *and* the link with wildlife broadly perceived. Also that CBNRM objectives listed above emphasise local *control* over resources, not just earnings.

Tourism can also generate social benefits and enhance capacity necessary for local management of resources, such as management skills, institutional strength, capacity to interact with the private sector, and collective decision-making on land use. For all these reasons, the CBNRM Programme is increasingly focusing on tourism developments.

### **(ii) Tourism development**

The tourism strategy recognises that much of Namibia's tourism potential -- and natural resource base -- is in communal lands, and that broader participation in the industry and its profits is essential if the industry and the wildlife base are going to get the popular support they need. In addition, Namibia cannot compete internationally just on wildlife. Diversifying and developing our own product means emphasising desert, wilderness, and cultural assets, and appealing more to the "eco-tourist" who wants environmentally and socially responsible tourism. Therefore the tourism development strategy emphasises local benefits from tourism and a number of private operators are seeking links with local residents.

### **(iii) Sustainable local development**

Given living standards in communal areas, there is an urgent need to alleviate poverty and improve welfare. Tourism is the only international industry where the customer travels to the product and lack of modern development can be an asset. So it is one of the few industries that is actually suited to more remote rural areas lacking infrastructure, where job opportunities are meagre. It also has the potential to be more sustainable than many other grand development schemes proposed. Therefore, development NGOs and institutions (for example, Oxfam Canada, Namibia Development Trust) are increasingly promoting local tourism enterprises.

## **Defining Community Based Tourism**

Community involvement in tourism has received attention from each of these perspectives over recent years, however in 1994, the overlap became more evident and community based tourism emerged as a specific approach (and acronym). It is important to note that there is no universally-agreed definition. In this paper, and the CBNRM programme generally, it is *involvement of residents of communal areas in tourism*-- which defines the difference between "*community based tourism*" and tourism in communal areas. The latter certainly influences the achievement of each of the three objectives above, but in the former, the fact that residents have a degree of *control* over the resource and the benefits gives CBT extra potential for generating social development, popular support for the tourism industry, and empowering communities to

manage natural resources. However, even from this perspective there are no clear boundaries: if benefits are confined to one or two local households, or if local decision-making is simply giving a private sector "partner" the go-ahead ... to what extent is this *community-based* tourism?

The following sections explore different approaches to tourism on communal land --- including but not confined to community "based" -- to compare their potential contribution to the three perspectives: local development, conservation, and tourism.

## **B: COMPARISON OF APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY TOURISM**

### **B1: CURRENT EXAMPLES IN NAMIBIA**

Tourism enterprises in communal areas can be described in four broad categories<sup>3</sup> as shown in Table 1:

**Table 1: different types of tourism on communal land**

Different approaches	Existing/planned examples
<b>1. Private concession on communal land</b>	
Typical luxury wildlife-viewing lodge or tented camp. Employs local staff	Several examples, particularly in Caprivi and Kunene
Hunting concession with professional hunters	Recent practice in Caprivi, Kunene, and Eastern Bushmanland
<b>2. Private investor voluntarily shares revenue with the community</b>	
Luxury lodge voluntarily pays a bed night levy to the local community	One in East Caprivi N\$5/night (paid), one in Kunene N\$12/night (collected), others developing.
Safari operators pay a voluntary levy when clients pass through a community	Long-standing agreement between one operator and a Himba community, Kunene
<b>3. Partnership between outside investor and local community.</b>	
Luxury lodge established as a joint venture between entrepreneur and community. Agree on revenue-share/other benefits in return for land and resource use.	Developing in Kunene. More likely once conservancies are formed.
Safari company includes community enterprise in its package and pays for services and/or start-up investment.	Ju'hoansi take specialised tour groups leopard tracking (Bushmanland). Tour company built and provides clients for a local campsite (Kunene).
<b>4. Locally-controlled enterprise</b>	
Community campsite, developed with NGO assistance	A few in operation, several developing
Cultural services at a basic tentsite: guided walks, local dances, and photos.	Eastern Bushmanland
Demonstration Traditional Village	East Caprivi, Kunene, Okavango
Craft centre, craft producer group, informal craft production and sales	Organised groups include craft centres (Caprivi, Kunene), woodcarvers cooperative (Okavango), needlework groups (Hardap). Also craft sales within other enterprises, and widespread informal production and sales
Local tourism guides (walking, mokoro) Bed and breakfast in a "traditional home."	Both just beginning

*Note: these are not rigid categories. A lodge donating a bed night levy (category 2) could easily develop into a 2-way partnership (category 3), and vice versa, a proposed "partnership" may amount to little more than a bed-night levy (category 2) or employment of local people (category 1). A community-controlled enterprise (category 4) can equally be seen as a partnership if it receives customers or resources from a private venture -- as in East Caprivi where a private lodge supplied funds and assistance for the Traditional Village and still supplies most of the visitors.*

## B.2 THE POTENTIAL IMPACT OF DIFFERENT APPROACHES

Each approach entails different costs and benefits, and hence vary in their contribution to the three broad objectives of CBT -- benefits to communities, conservation, and Namibian tourism. Table 2 summarises some of the main social and financial costs and benefits.

Table 2: Benefits and Costs of Different approaches<sup>3</sup>

Enterprise Benefits/ Costs	Private lodge	Revenue-sharing private venture	Private-community partnership	Community enterprise
<b>Economic:</b> (N\$ <sup>4</sup> p.a.) - local wages - other local income	N\$50 - 80,000  X	→ N\$15-20,000 <sup>1</sup>	→ N\$40 - 80,000 <sup>2</sup>	} N\$ 2,000 - N\$20,000 + per community } N\$500-1,000 per craft HH
<b>Social:</b> - skill and institutional development - local rights control ownership	X  X	only in revenue distribution  X no rights ? control of revenue X no ownership	in negotiation, management & distribution  rights ? some control & ownership	in management & distribution  if not privatised by an individual
<b>Costs</b>	loss of land and resources for local people	loss of land; community lacks rights	difficult; time & effort risk of failure needs support	difficult; time and effort risk of failure may need help

- 1 For example, a N\$5 bed-night levy for a lodge charging around N\$200 per night or N\$10 for a more exclusive but smaller lodge charging N\$400 per night. Based on generalised enterprise models, these are estimated to be viable for a lodge operator, particularly if the levy boosts tourist appeal or wins reciprocal local benefits. In the only specific Namibian example to date, Lianshulu Lodge distributed N\$26,000 collected in 1994 and part of 1993.
- 2 For example, a N\$25-bed night levy from an up-market lodge, or 15-30% profit share. These are estimated to be viable for the operator if communities can offer some security on land/wildlife/tourism assets, or the lodge attracts "ethical tourists." In conservancies, communities could negotiate a higher share. They would also be able to develop partnerships in hunting: if the community gets half of the concession fee (with half still going to the state), this would earn up to N\$100,000 per hunting camp.
- 3 Summarised from Ashley & Garland 1994, which contains more detailed assessment of the costs, benefits, and viability of each type of enterprise.

## a) Financial benefits

### *Impact at the enterprise level*

Any kind of up-market lodge will inject significant wage income into the local community of N\$50-80,000 per year, as Table 1 shows. These wages far exceed income from community enterprises. A voluntary revenue-share will provide a small additional community income, a joint-venture income a substantial (50-100%) increase but still staff wages remain very significant. However, as discussed below the revenue/profit-share may be more significant for local development.

Except in the case of crafts, it is difficult to indicate the level of benefits from an enterprise at the *household* level, as all depends on the number of households and villages involved in any of the above enterprises. As there is no standard producer community for either tourism or wildlife in Namibia, the definition and size of a "community" is very much an open question. The bed-night levy recently distributed by Lianshulu Lodge amounted to N\$35 per household (about the cost of a 25kg bag of mealie meal) as the N\$26,000 was shared across five villages and 746 households. Earnings of a small community enterprise generating around N\$6,000 a year could pay for full-time wages to two people, or a head of cattle for ten households, or a 25kg bag of mealie meal for 170. In the case of a lodge, workers from 10-15 local households may earn around N\$300-400 per month each.

### *Impact at the regional level*

Based on these estimates for individual enterprises it is possible to build up a bigger picture, and assess the potential of different types of tourism enterprises to boost local income across a region. Which ones generate most income in total? Which have most potential to increase significantly? This depends not only on the amount per enterprise, but on the actual and potential number of enterprises in a region. Based on a survey of current tourism operations and financial models of enterprises (some more rough and ready than others), Jon Barnes<sup>5</sup> estimated total local earnings from tourism in four communal areas (see map in Appendix)

- Caprivi Region
- "former Bushmanland" (Tsumkwe District, eastern Otjozondjupa Region, north of latitude 22)
- "former Damaraland" (all of Khorixas District in Kunene Region, the western communal land in Erongo Region, and the West Coast Recreation Area)
- Opuwo District (former Kaokoland, now northern Kunene Region).

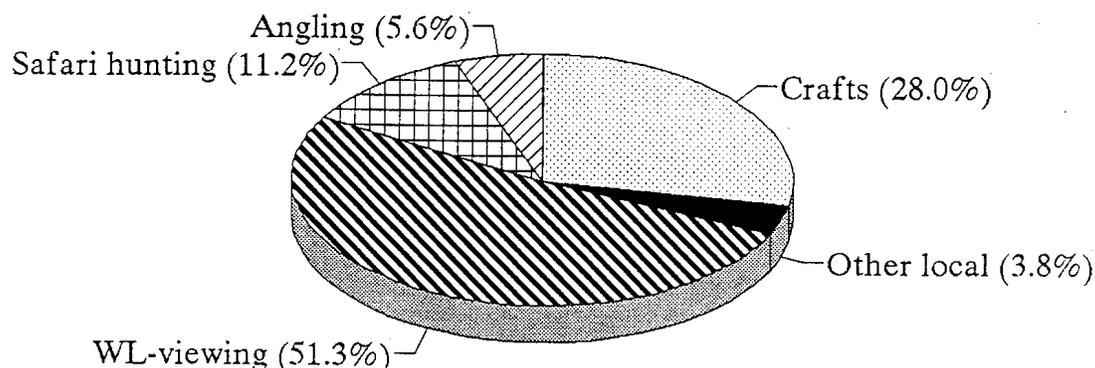
### *Current earnings:*

- tourism in the four areas is currently generating over N\$2 million for local people from wages, sale of crafts and other resources and services<sup>(2)</sup>.

---

<sup>(2)</sup> *Indirect* earnings from the sectors that support tourism, such as petrol stations, drinks, etc are not included. Employment in both government and private tourism camps is included, but employment in managing the national parks and resources is not.

**Fig 3: Sources of estimated current local incomes from tourism in four communal areas, (Namibia, 1994)**



Total estimated income is N\$2.2 million.  
The estimates cover Caprivi, former Damaraland,  
Opuwo District, and former Bushmanland

1. In this and subsequent graphs:

*Angling* fishing lodges run by private operators

*Safari hunting* trophy hunting concessions allocated by government to private operators

*WL-viewing* tourism enterprises run by government or private operators, for wildlife- and wilderness-viewing tourists

*Crafts* production & sale of crafts and provision of cultural demonstrations by local people for tourists

*Other local* community and local enterprises other than crafts & culture: e.g. campsites, guided walks, mainly for wildlife- and wilderness-viewing tourists.

i.e. the first three are operated by the formal private sector or government, the latter two by local residents.

2: the analysis applies to the geographical areas of *former* Damaraland, Kaokoland, and Bushmanland, not to the geographical areas of the new regions, Kunene and Otjozondjupa, therefore the former names of communal areas have to be used, except in the case of Kaokoland which fits the boundaries of the new Opuwo District. Rough estimates of the rural populations are 70,000 in Caprivi (excluding Katima Mulilo), 2,000 in former Bushmanland, 33,000 in former Damaraland, and 26,000 in Opuwo District,<sup>14</sup> making 130,000 in total.

3. "local income" refers to both wages and profits earned by those who live, and always have lived, in the communal area (not, for example, a lodge owner who has moved there), and their institutions.

*Relative importance of the different income sources (Figure 3):*

- income from private sector and government operations accounts for two thirds of the total current local income. This is virtually all wages, and three quarters of it derive from wildlife-viewing operations, as opposed to hunting and fishing.
- the one third derived from local enterprises is virtually all crafts, as other community enterprises are only just getting going.

*Potential to increase:*

However, in the future, this picture might change. Based on estimates of tourism carrying capacity given no change in the resource base, Barnes also estimated the number of *potential* enterprises and income they would generate<sup>(3)</sup>, assuming no increase in the resource base. Figure 4 compares the current and potential local income from each type of activity. It is interesting to note that:

- all types of tourism earnings have potential to increase, even without an increase in the resource base.
- crafts income might double, but income from other local enterprises could increase five-fold;
- there is still potential for several new lodges and other up-market facilities, which would increase local incomes four-fold.

*Significance of Conservancies*

- 80% of this estimated local income from up-market lodges is wages, as it is assumed that most private (not government) wildlife-viewing enterprises share some revenue in future, but very few joint ventures develop.<sup>(4)</sup> Under such assumptions, the N\$0.8 million or so of *non-wage* income is about half of total earnings from local enterprises (crafts and other combined). However, if joint ventures *and* revenue-sharing develop, this non-wage income would at least double.
- if revenue-sharing or partnerships develop in the hunting and angling tourism sector, local income from these sectors will also increase slightly. To date, this is not emerging in Namibia, but once conservancies are established, they will have rights in hunting areas and across the regions could earn a few hundred thousand dollars a year from hunting concession fees.

---

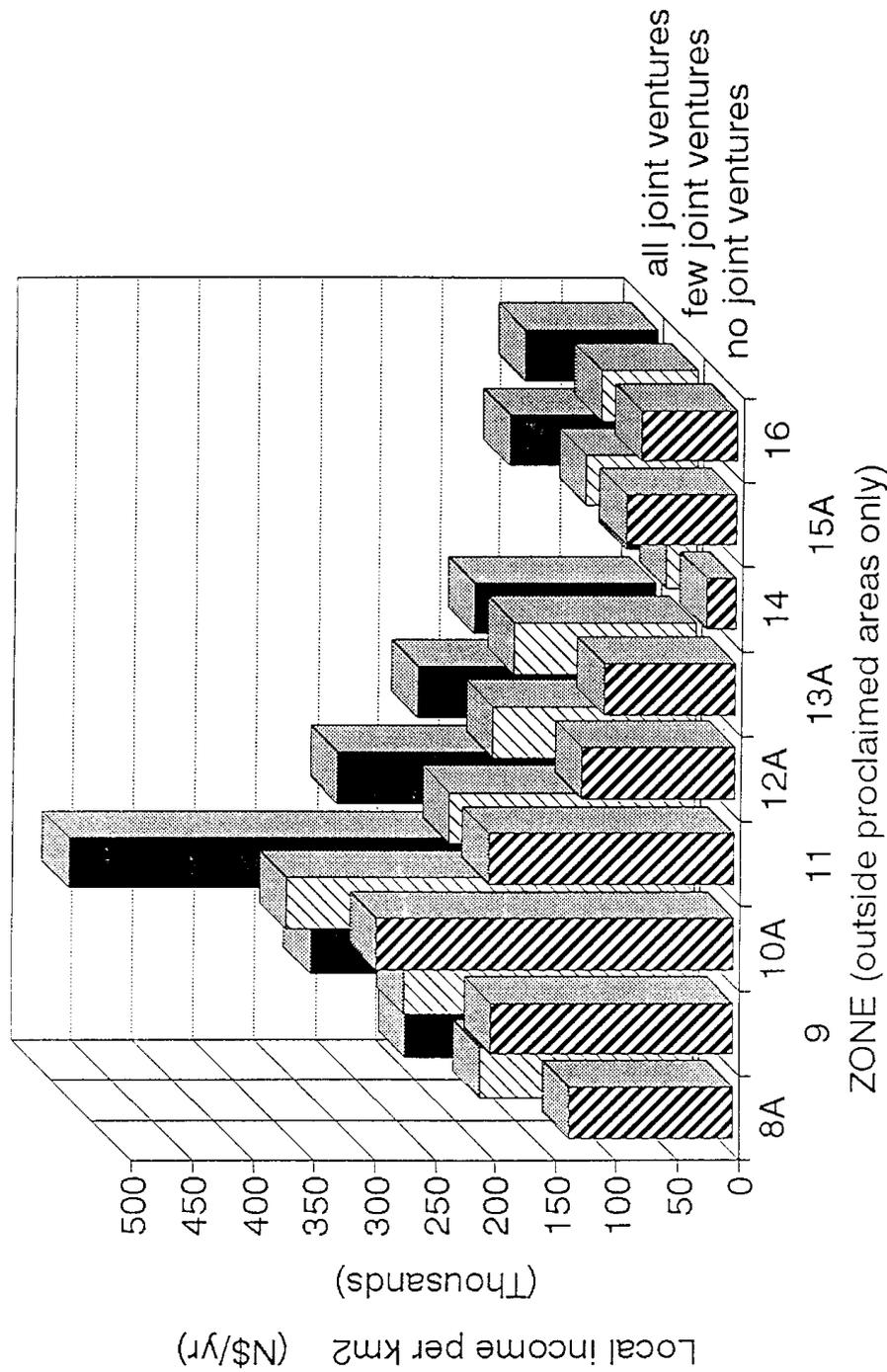
<sup>(3)</sup> Obviously if the resource base expands both enterprises and benefits can increase further. There is also potential for prices and profits per enterprise to rise, as they are low by comparison with Botswana (Ashley, Barnes, Healy, 1994), but no change in profitability per enterprise is assumed in the estimates here.

<sup>(4)</sup> Alternatively, assuming a good sprinkling of joint ventures but no revenue-sharing from other lodges gives the same results.



**Figure 4: Potential increase in estimated local income from various tourism activities in four communal areas (Namibia, 1994).**

*Potential* assumes an increase in the number of tourism enterprises, and limited revenue-sharing from private sector ventures, and no increase in the resource base. In total, estimated current income is N\$2.2 million; potential income, N\$6.7 million. The estimates cover Caprivi, former Damaraland, Opuwo, and former Bushmanland. See tables in appendix for details.



**Figure 5 Potential local income from tourism and wildlife in former Damaraland with and without conservancies (Namibia, 1994).**

Estimates include consumptive and non-consumptive uses of wildlife but exclude resource harvesting. By forming conservancies, communities are assumed to receive a concession fee or revenue share of N\$40,000 per up-market lodge (note: lower than the N\$80,000 used in the basic enterprise models for all regions), N\$30,000 per tented camp, and N\$30,000 per hunting concession.

Figure 5 indicates the relative importance of communities earning concession fees from joint ventures with tourism and hunting operations in the area of former Damaraland. Total potential local income from wildlife and tourism in the area is estimated at roughly N\$1.2 million per year with no joint ventures and N\$1.8 million per year with all concessions as joint ventures.<sup>(5)</sup> The latter will only be possible if communities across the region establish conservancies to gain concessionary rights (which is also more likely to lead to conservation, an increase in the resource base, and hence further increases in enterprises and earnings).

#### *Differences between regions*

It is also important to note differences between regions. Total tourism income, whether calculated per region or per square kilometre, current or potential, is highest in Caprivi<sup>(6)</sup>, where the more dense vegetation gives a higher carrying capacity of wildlife and tourists. Former Bushmanland is the region with the lowest current and potential tourism earnings, but highest rate of increase (550%). Within these totals, the relative importance of different types of activities varies. Figure 6 compares estimated potential local tourism income across the four regions, by type of tourism activity. Crafts would be particularly important in Bushmanland, building on local skills, while wildlife-viewing dominates potential earnings in the more arid western areas, where wildlife densities are low, but scenic and adventure tourism potential is high.

#### *Income per resident*

In general, potential income *per resident* is higher in former Damaraland where population density is lower. If all the estimated local income from tourism was spread equally across the population in former Damaraland (which of course is impossible in practice), the estimates<sup>(7)</sup> indicate that:

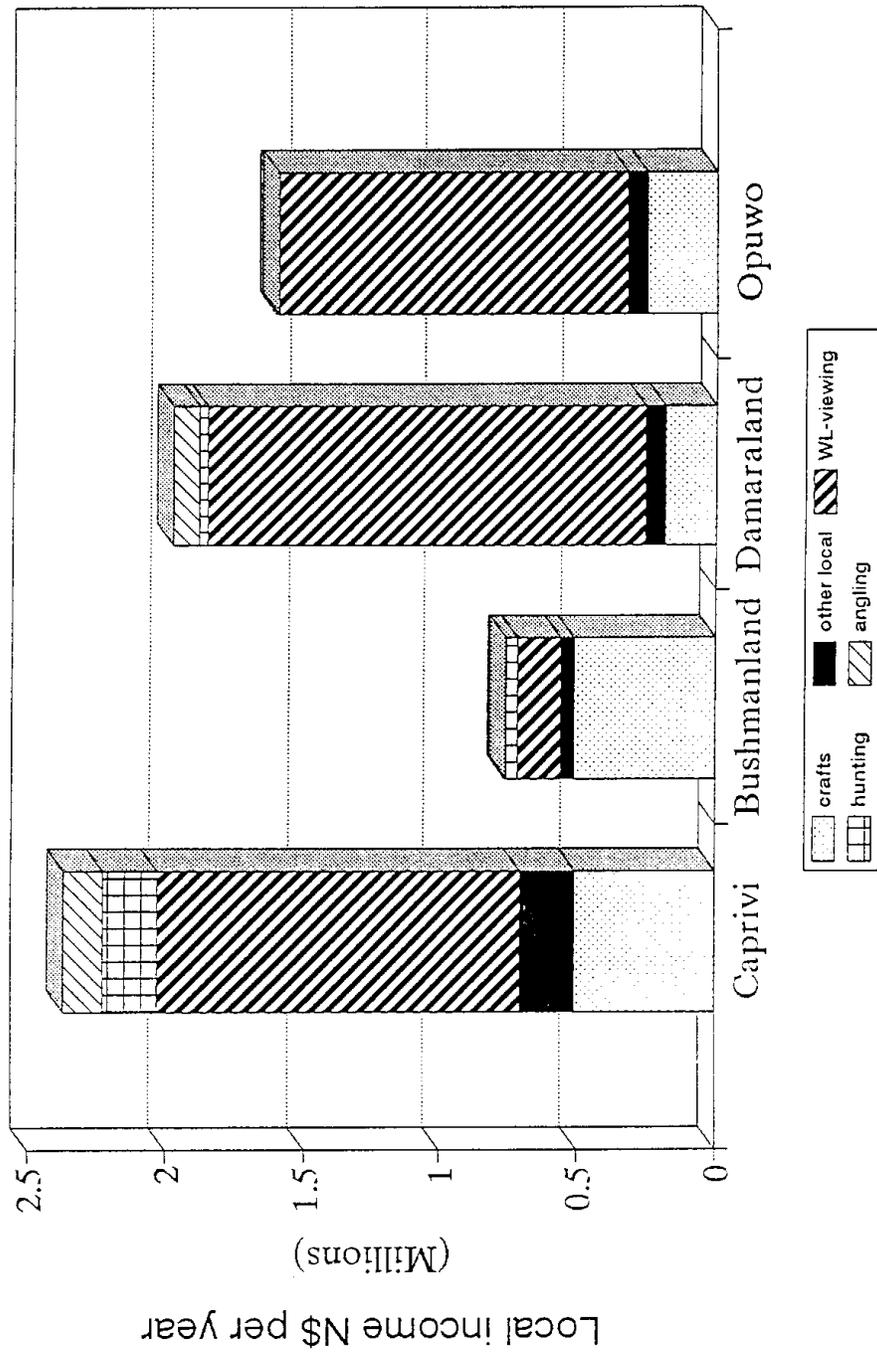
- tourism income per resident per year would be around N\$15 now and N\$60 in the potential scenario (with no increase in the resource base).
- These averages hide vast differences, with potential income ranging from only N\$2 per resident in the eastern end of the Ugab with higher population and fewer tourism opportunities, up to over N\$1,200 in the high utilisation West Coast Recreation Area, and to nearly N\$5,000 per resident in the upper Uniab catchment with low population and high tourism capacity. Between these extremes, tourism in most zones of former Damaraland would generate between N\$100 and N\$230 per person per year, with generally higher potential in areas adjacent to the Skeleton Coast Park and Etosha.

---

<sup>(5)</sup> For these rough estimates it is assumed that every up-market lodge pays N\$40,000 per year to the community holding the concessionary rights, every tented camp pays N\$30,000 and hunting concession pays N\$30,000. In practice these amounts would vary across areas.

<sup>(6)</sup> In Caprivi, tourism income per km<sup>2</sup> is estimated at N\$49 currently and N\$161 potentially, compared to N\$9 and N\$33 in former Damaraland (Barnes, 1995)

<sup>(7)</sup> details of estimates can be found in the tables in the Appendix.



**Figure 6: Regional differences in the amount and source of potential local income from tourism by region and type of tourism activity (Namibia, 1994).**

As above, this represents the *potential* scenario, assuming tourism expands but not the resource base. Wildlife-viewing (WL-V), angling and hunting represent ventures operated by the private sector or government. Crafts and other local tourism enterprises are managed locally. See tables in appendix for details.

In Caprivi, the range goes from low potential income per capita of around N\$30<sup>(8)</sup> in several of the zones up to N\$100-300 in riverine areas, except on the west bank of the Kwando, a small core conservation area where around 200 people live, where potential income per resident could average around N\$2,000 per year. Across the Caprivi region, current tourism income averages around N\$15 per capita and potential income around N\$35 per capita per year.

This suggests that in zones with *medium potential*, average tourism income per household could increase from one or two hundred dollars per year to around N\$500 to N\$2000 per year (which could of course in practice mean a few thousand per year for half the households and nothing for half) and somewhat more if the resource base improves. It is estimated that annual total consumption per household in rural and subsistence farming households is around N\$7,000 - 8,000 per year, and in the poorest 20% of households around N\$2,000 per year.<sup>7</sup> This indicates that tourism could make a substantial contribution to household incomes but not revolutionise them. In zones with *high potential*, which are generally adjacent to protected areas, the order of magnitude is nearer N\$10,000 per household per year or more making tourism a critical development strategy.

## b) Social benefits

### *Control and distribution of local income*

Estimates above suggest that wages of local staff are likely to be greater in total than income earned by communities collectively. However, *income* earned by a shared community fund is qualitatively different because its use can be *controlled* by the community and it can be *distributed more widely* across the households. i.e. it is more likely to reach and involve a broader cross-section of the community than formal sector wages. For example, a lodge might employ a dozen or so local staff, but the bed-night levy from Lianshulu Lodge reached 5 villages with a total of 746 households.<sup>(9)</sup> Simply the fact that there *is* revenue to distribute can catalyse institutional development and decision-making -- as well as conflict. In the area around Lianshulu Lodge, five communities had to agree together on inter-village distribution of the bed-levy, and each village decided on intra-village distribution.

This kind of shared income can be generated by a joint venture, revenue-sharing lodge, or community enterprise, though the amount varies enormously: only the more developed community enterprises, such as a traditional village, would be able to earn as much community profit as a bed-night levy from a lodge (N\$15-20,000 or so), while a partnership will earn two to four times as much again.

In the case of community enterprises, such as campsite or traditional villages, there is a balance between maximising shared income or "community profit" and maximising wages of local staff. Some enterprises have high expenditure on local wages leaving little "profit" or are in fact loose groups of individual earners without a shared fund. Although in theory community profits can be more widely distributed than wages, in fact they often sit in the pot or worse. In some existing enterprises run as community businesses, such as Lizauli Traditional Village in Caprivi and Makuri campsite in Bushmanland, jobs are maximised and earnings quickly and relatively

<sup>(8)</sup> population estimates exclude the urban population of Katima Mulilo and income estimates exclude tourism hotels in Katima, as the purpose of analysis is to inform rural-based CBNRM programmes.

<sup>(9)</sup> of which at least 200 are receiving household dividends, and the others a stake in a village project.

widely distributed, whereas a process for sharing earned profits has not yet been designed. In these instances, wages are a useful distribution mechanism and it can be argued that all the revenue is locally "controlled" as the decision to use most of it for wages is the community's. In other cases, some enterprises and/or their profits become controlled by one or two individuals, with wages the only leakage out to others in the community.

Where local enterprises comprise individuals, such as guides or craft-makers, the distribution of earnings depends on the distribution of skills. If, as in some craft-producing areas or in the case of traditional dancing at Makuri campsite, the skills are widely dispersed across households, the resulting distribution of revenue is similar to a community household dividend. However, the *process* and control of distribution is quite different, as entitlement comes with input, not membership. Distribution then is much easier, and 100% of the earnings are likely to reach households, but it does not develop community institutions, collective decision-making about benefit distribution, and management skills.

In other circumstances, wages will reach fewer people than shared community profit. If tourism services require specialised skills, such as guiding, fewer residents will benefit directly in the form of earnings. In some "community" enterprises, one or two households control the jobs and earn all the wages, with community benefit supposed to be derived from a profit share, so when wages consume most of the revenue, there is little profit for wider distribution.<sup>(10)</sup>

The preceding analysis suggests that for maximising total local income any lodge is good, though a joint venture probably the best. But if boosting collective income and widely distributed income is a priority, then the advantages of joint ventures and revenue-shares over private lodges, and importance of community enterprises are greater than indicated by the bald figures.

#### *Control of the enterprise, development of skills and institutions*

As Table 2 indicated, community enterprises and joint venture partnership are more likely to develop skills and institutions than private ventures. They have to in order to succeed, although the community may lose some control to the private partner or to a local entrepreneur and so be less involved. With a revenue-sharing enterprise, the community is only involved in revenue distribution, not in negotiating or managing the enterprise, and does not have entitlements to the money. Nevertheless, revenue-sharing involves much more community interaction than just employing a dozen staff, and has potential to develop in all kinds of directions.

On the other hand, high community involvement can also be seen as a *cost* in time and effort. For example, one community in Kunene has already spent a lot of time negotiating with one potential lodge operator who withdrew, and now is going through the slow process of forming itself into a legal body in order to enter a contract with a second interested operator. The risk of wasted time and effort in the event of failure is high for both joint ventures and community enterprises -- though at least a community enterprise can get going more quickly and at the community's pace.

---

<sup>(10)</sup> Wide distribution cannot be the only concern. *Incentives* for good management and efficient work are essential to the success of most enterprise, and will generally require that manager and staff get the bulk of the benefits. One way to reconcile this tension between equity and efficiency is for an enterprise to be leased to a local entrepreneur, and run as a private business, in return for a concession agreement and fee paid to the entire community.

### B.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR ACHIEVING THE THREE OBJECTIVES OF CBT

With this analysis of the financial and social impacts in mind, the different approaches can be compared by asking the question:

*to what extent do different types of tourism contribute to...*

- (i) *... local development?*  
*i.e. boosting welfare, incomes, and empowerment in the communal areas through significant and widely dispersed income, and local control and skill development.*
- (ii) *... conservation?*  
*i.e. encouraging community commitment to wildlife conservation and sustainable management of the natural resource base, through tangible benefits clearly derived from the resource base reaching all/most resource users, and through institutional strengthening.*
- (iii) *... Namibian tourism development?*  
*i.e. diversifying and developing the Namibian tourism product, particularly eco-tourism, and ensuring the long term sustainability of its resource base, through cultural tourism development, broader participation, and conservation incentives.*

#### (i) Potential to boost local development

The analysis indicates that there is no single ideal type of tourism on communal land that should be exclusively promoted. The appropriate strategy will always depend on the local situation. From the financial perspective, the above analysis suggests that expansion of private sector tourism on communal land could triple or quadruple local earnings from the industry, mainly in the form of wages. Also that however much non-wage income is gained through community efforts, formal sector wages will continue to dominate. However, development does not just depend on the amount of money but on its control and distribution. *To increase the more widely-dispersed and locally-controlled earnings of communities and informal-sector workers, there is much to be done: local crafts are important because the basis already exists, they provide a significant share of locally-controlled income, and earnings reach producers directly. Other community enterprises are important because of their potential for five-fold expansion. Revenue-sharing and partnerships with the private sector are important because the potential income matches that of community enterprises including crafts, and could far exceed it if appropriate institutions, mechanisms, and rights are developed.*

For enhancing local skills and institutions, both community enterprises and private-community partnerships are important. However, the demands on skills and institutions might be too great in some cases. Revenue-sharing arrangements should not be ignored, and even they require a great deal of effort (the recent successful and well-publicised first distribution of bed-night levies from Lianshulu Lodge in Caprivi took a year in preparation). Even though the community lacks control of a voluntary revenue-share, the process demands institutional development, can catalyse further initiatives, and is more feasible in the current context.

In any situation it is better to focus on an *appropriate combination of enterprises* than one specific approach. Private and community enterprises can (and do) complement each other. Private lodges are invaluable for bringing the customers to craft, cultural, and guiding enterprises. On the other hand competition for prime resources and customers can also hinder

community developments, so this potential conflict needs to be taken into account in the planning process. Of course promoting enterprises is just the beginning: helping them achieve their "potential" to generate income, develop management and institutions, and distribute revenue fairly is the real challenge.

## (ii) Potential to boost conservation

The philosophy of community-based conservation is that local residents need to receive benefits from wildlife that exceed the costs, and which should be tangible, demonstrably derived from the resource base, broadly distributed across resource users, and controlled by the community. This is to provide not only financial incentives, but also the sense of responsibility and empowerment that enhance conservation. Therefore the above factors that promote social development (broad distribution and control of income, management of the enterprise, and development of skills) are equally relevant for promoting conservation. i.e. revenue-sharing lodges and joint ventures are qualitatively different to a totally private lodge in achieving these objectives, but all depends on how much they can fulfil this potential in practice.

However, there are two additional considerations from the conservation perspective: the strength of the perceived link with wildlife, and the comparative costs and benefits of wildlife.

*Link with wildlife:* Whether or not the income is perceived to be from wildlife will vary. Through direct involvement in a community tourism enterprise, people will gain a better understanding of tourists and probably of the importance of wildlife and wilderness in attracting them. However, enterprises providing accommodation or cultural services are not specifically utilising wildlife, so the link is indirect, and many of new skills gained will be in enterprise management rather than resource management. In contrast, a private lodge or camp usually includes wildlife-viewing or hunting directly and an agreement with a private tourism operator should emphasise issues of wildlife management and land-use. For example, at the distribution ceremonies of the Lianshulu bed-night levy, the lodge manager emphasised that tourists had -- and would continue to -- visit due to the wildlife in the area.

*Benefits v costs of conservation:* Research in Caprivi into four years of wildlife damage (1991-1994) estimates that the thirteen or so most affected villages on the east bank of the Kwando<sup>15</sup> lose around N\$1,000 worth of crops per village per year through elephant damage. Losses of livestock to predators cost another N\$2,000 or so per village, except for the four villages on the norther border of Mamili National Park where lions attacks are more common. This means that for most communities, facing average total losses of around N\$3,000 per year, a very small enterprise, a one fifth share of an annual bed-levy, or one employee in a lodge, would provide comparable benefits -- for the village *as a whole* (the worst hit communities would require a successful community enterprise, a full bed-levy, or a share of a joint venture to achieve such balance).

In fact, along the east bank of the Kwando, it is estimated that local residents already earn around N\$300,000 per year from tourists in the form of craft sales and wages -- four times the estimated agricultural losses from wildlife of around N\$70,000 per year since 1991. If tourism increases to potential, total local income could be eight or ten times the costs of wildlife.

However, local residents certainly do not perceive that benefits of wildlife are already four times greater than costs. This is doubtless because tourism income is likely be *distributed and*

*perceived quite differently* from the costs of wildlife. Even if collective income is shared equally across all households, wage income will be concentrated among a minority, and it is still perfectly possible that losses for individual farming families exceed any benefit. Furthermore, wages and other tourism income are less public and the link with wildlife not demonstrated and discussed. The link between lost crops and elephants is all too evident.

This suggests that the benefits of wildlife are more likely to exceed the costs at the household level, in perception and in practice, if communities can control and distribute the income themselves in accordance with their perception of fairness, if the link with wildlife is emphasised, and if, in the aggregate, benefits exceed costs sufficiently that households getting below-average benefit get enough to match their agricultural losses. This re-emphasises the significance of shared community income over local wages, because of the potential for broader distribution and publicity, and the importance of publicising the links between tourism income and wildlife.

Balancing costs and benefits of wildlife, whether at the household, village or regional level, is clearly only one aspect of promoting more sustainable resource management. Irrespective of the scale, distribution and perception of local tourism income, its conservation impact will also depend on the relative significance of cash income versus agriculture, and of financial benefits versus social and aesthetic benefits of wildlife to people in the area, and on many other issues including tenure, rights, institutional capacity and the importance of agriculture. Incentives for conservation also depend on the opportunity costs of using land and resources for wildlife rather than agriculture -- an issue discussed in Section C.

### **(iii) Potential benefits to tourism**

Namibia's tourism strategy aims to increase both the capacity of the tourism industry, and the quality and diversity of the product. It is particularly aimed at higher-paying overseas tourists. Private lodges expand up-market capacity, irrespective of revenue shares or partnerships, whereas community campsites generally cater to the low-budget self-drivers. However, cultural and ethical tourism opportunities are currently scarce in Namibia ("where are the real people" say some tourists) and initiatives involving communities are essential to fill this gap.

In the long term, community involvement is essential to tourism development for two reasons: firstly to provide incentives for conservation of the resources on which tourism depends, as described above. And secondly, to demonstrate that tourism is contributing to development for the majority and deserves political and economic support. From this perspective, the factors that promote conservation -- such as broadly distributed, visible, and locally controlled income -- also promote tourism. Widespread popular support probably depends partly on the increasing the quantity of local benefits, and partly on increasing their visibility. The former requires making full use of potential tourism carrying capacity, as outlined in the potential scenario above. For the latter -- increased visibility of local benefit -- community enterprises and joint community-private initiatives probably offer greater potential than developments that generate only local staff wages.

**In summary**, the different forms of community based tourism can contribute to a diverse range of benefits and objectives. However, the analysis above suggests there may be some different views on the optimal approach between the different perspectives. For broad social

development, the strategy might be a range of community enterprises and local revenue-sharing agreements, whereas to maximise economic growth in communal areas, private lodges would be the priority to boost wages. A conservation perspective would encompass the social development objectives as a means to improving resource management commitment and capacity, and would probably also focus on joint ventures in critical conservation areas to generate high benefits for a majority of resource users. Finally, in achieving tourism benefits, community enterprises are important, but perhaps not at the expense of private sector developments which enhance capacity in the luxury market. Both the tourism and conservation perspectives emphasise the need to raise awareness of the link with wildlife and build resource management skills, whereas for a human/economic development approach this is just one among many aspects of ensuring long-term sustainability.

### **C: NON-CONSUMPTIVE TOURISM COMPARED TO OTHER RESOURCE USES**

Although non-consumptive tourism can undoubtedly generate benefits, are they significant? are they enough to provide incentives for conservation? The relevance of tourism to communities, conservation, and the country depends on how it compares to consumptive uses of natural resources, such as hunting or local harvesting, and to other land-uses, such as agriculture. These questions cannot be answered yet, but some preliminary information is available, to enable some subjective and speculative comments.

#### **C.1 NON-CONSUMPTIVE AND CONSUMPTIVE RESOURCE USE**

In other community-based conservation programmes, such as the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe, consumptive use of wildlife (hunting) has accounted for the bulk of community benefits.<sup>8</sup> In Namibia, given the different resource base, non-consumptive utilisation of wildlife appears to be the primary option.

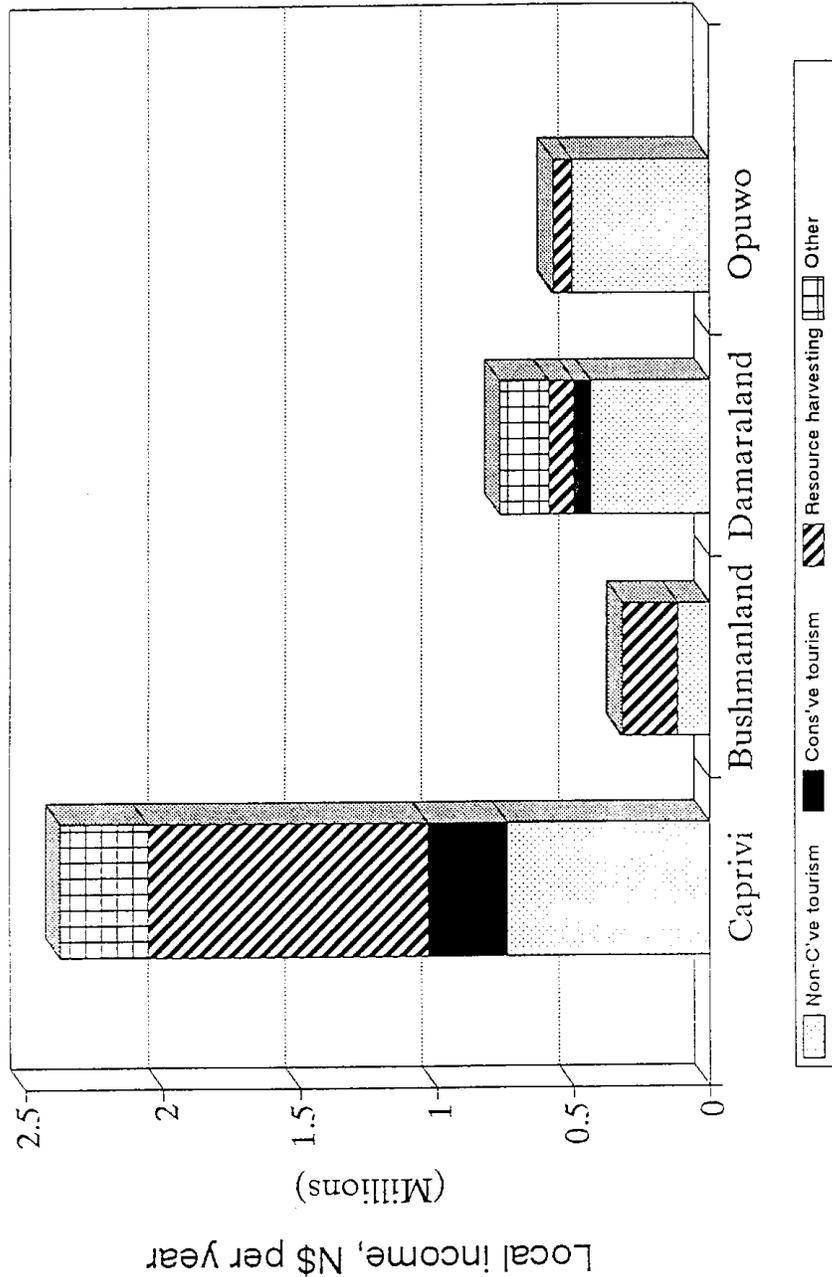
#### **How do the financial benefits compare?**

Rough estimates are available of community income derived from virtually all non-agricultural resource uses in the 4 communal areas described above.<sup>5</sup> For the purposes of comparison, these can be grouped into three categories:

- *non-consumptive tourism* (which for this purpose includes crafts)
- *consumptive tourism* (safari hunting and angling)
- *local harvesting of natural resources* for subsistence or sale

Quantifying the amount and value of subsistence uses is invariably difficult and somewhat arbitrary, but is too important to be ignored in CBNRM strategies. Barnes' estimates cover local use of timber, thatching grass, palms, reeds, fish, bush meat, other veld foods.

Figure 7 shows estimates of current local income deriving from all non-agricultural natural resource use in the four communal areas, broken down into these three categories and "other" which is commercial timber, and urban tourism-related hotels (which are assumed to be less relevant to CBNRM in rural areas).



**Figure 7: Comparison of estimated local income currently derived from non-consumptive tourism, consumptive tourism, and local harvesting of non-agricultural resources across four communal areas (Namibia, 1994).**

Non-consumptive tourism includes all local tourism enterprises (campsites, crafts etc), plus private/government ventures for wildlife-viewing tourists. Total: N\$1.8 mn.  
 Consumptive tourism represents hunting and fishing ventures. Total: N\$0.36 million.  
 Resource harvesting includes income from both subsistence use and local sale of timber, thatching grass, palms, reeds, fish, and other veld products. Total: N\$1.4 mn.  
 Other is commercial timber production, and urban tourist hotels. Total: N\$0.5 million. See tables in appendix for details.

The rough estimates illustrated indicate that:

- In Caprivi and Bushmanland, current estimated income from harvesting resources exceeds that from non-consumptive tourism (due to the relative diversity and productivity of vegetation in the former, and traditional gathering and hunting way of life in the latter). However, in former Damaraland and Opuwo, current income from non-consumptive tourism is estimated to far outweigh resource harvesting.<sup>(1)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> Estimates of local income from subsistence use of resources in the Kunene region are amongst the most preliminary of all the

- Overall, non-consumptive tourism accounts for N\$1.8 million, or 44% of estimated local income from non-agricultural natural resources in the four areas, and local resource harvesting for N\$1.4 million, or 35%.
- In all four areas, local income from consumptive tourism is small relative to non-consumptive tourism.

Figure 8 shows estimated *potential* income from natural resource uses. In this scenario, non-consumptive tourism is the largest component of local income in all four regions. It is particularly significant in the more arid regions in Kunene (former Damaraland and Opuwo District). In Bushmanland, it is assumed that non-consumptive tourism grows faster at the expense of hunting, so the former exceeds the latter. But as conditions there can also be appropriate to a higher share of hunting, the reverse could also be true.

Overall, non-consumptive tourism is estimated to contribute over two thirds of the total estimated potential income from non-agricultural natural resources in the four regions: N\$6 million compared to N\$0.5 million from consumptive tourism and N\$1.6 million from resource harvesting, as illustrated in Figure 9. Even if the estimates of income from resource harvesting and hunting are under-estimated by a factor of two, non-consumptive tourism still accounts for over half of total estimated income.

### Overall comparison with consumptive use of wildlife

The reasons for the much higher financial potential of non-consumptive tourism compared to safari hunting were touched on in Section B. Essentially, it is the habitat and diversity, as much as the density, of wildlife that attracts tourists. Hunting off-take is limited to the maximum sustainable yield, at best, while in prime areas, tourism benefits per unit can be pushed quite high. Wildlife density is low partly due to over-utilisation, so could increase, but is also constrained by aridity. This suggests that the strategy of promoting CBT is a sensible one, but it should nevertheless be noted that for a specific conservancy, leasing or exploiting hunting rights could still be the most profitable option.

---

components of the database. Further analysis is planned.

---

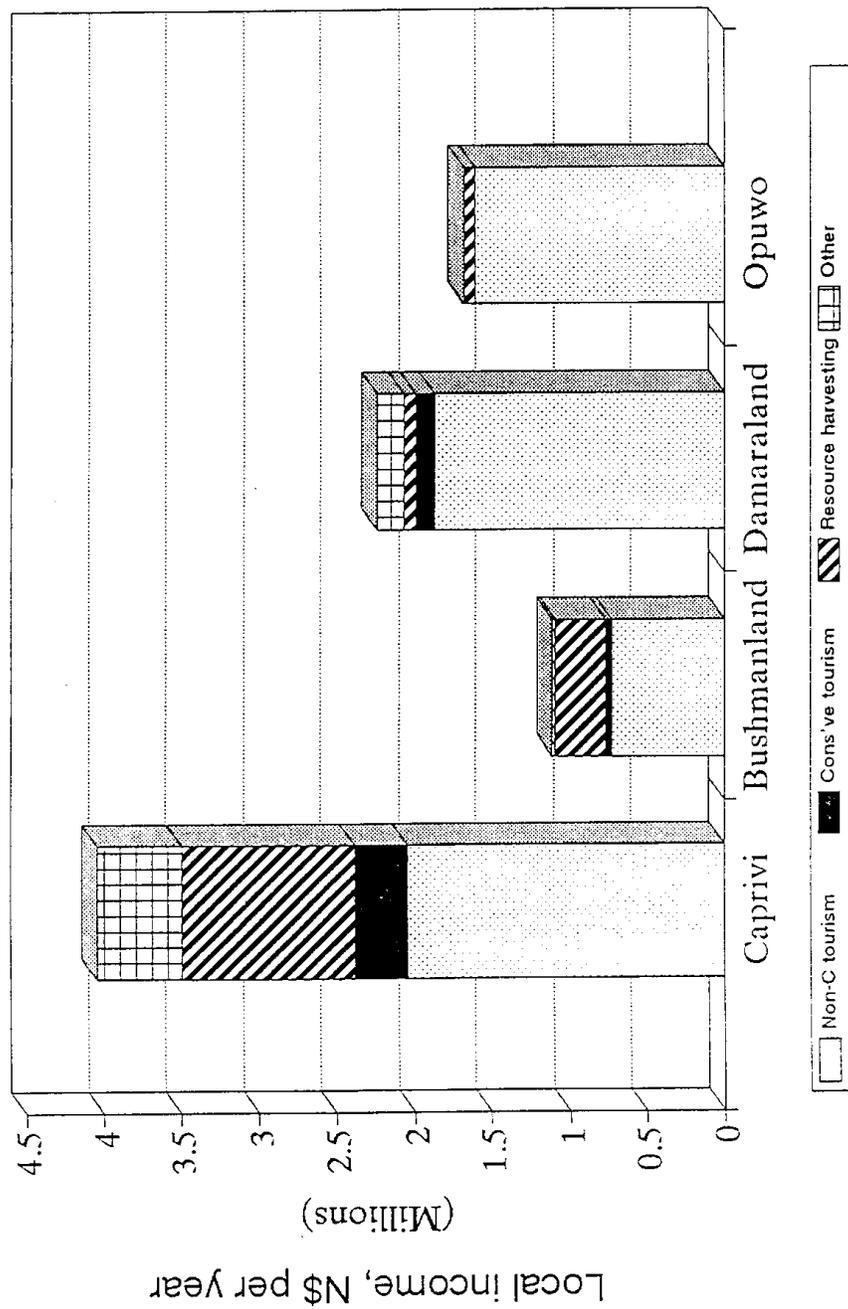
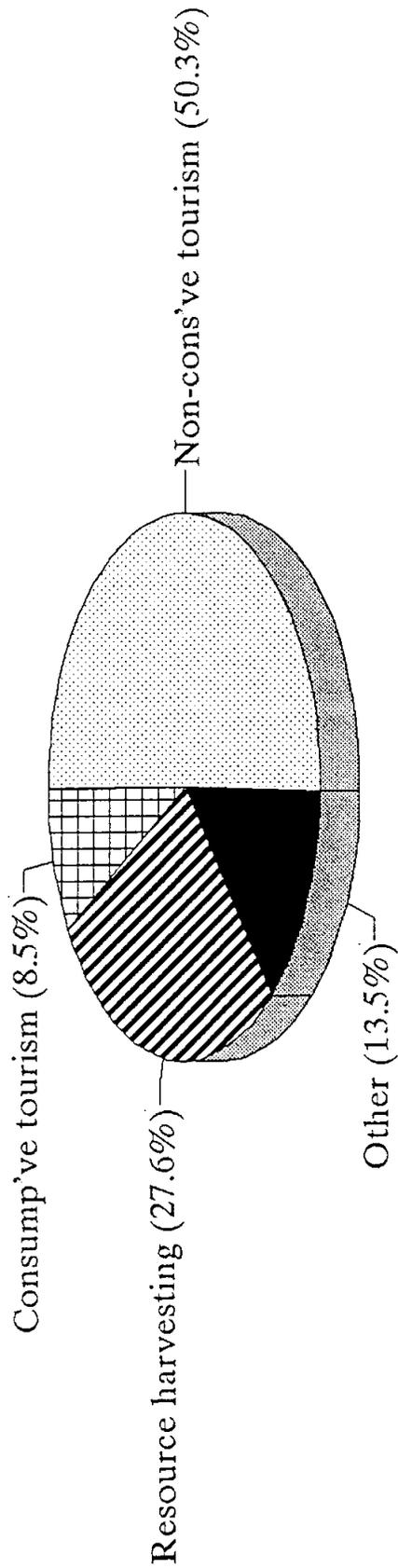


Figure 8: Comparison of estimated local income that could *potentially* be derived from non-consumptive tourism, consumptive tourism, and local harvesting of non-agricultural resources across four communal areas (Namibia, 1994).

Estimated totals for each resource use are: consumptive tourism, N\$6.2 million; non-consumptive tourism, N\$0.5 million; resource harvesting, N\$1.6 million. See tables in appendix for details.



**Figure 9 Sources of total estimated potential local income from non-agricultural natural resources**

(Namibia, 1994)

Total income represented here is N\$9.1 million.

The estimates cover Caprivi, former Damaraland, Opuwo, and former Bushmanland.

Apart from financial comparisons, it is interesting to note some similarities and differences in institutional and social issues when comparing CBT in Namibia with CBNRM strategies elsewhere<sup>(12)</sup> that focus on community use and leasing of hunting rights:

- *Proprietorship and tenure:* one of the advantages of CBT is that communities have been able to initiate enterprises and partnerships with the private sector *without* the conservancy mechanism and legal rights of ownership or tenure in place. An enterprise, such as a campsite or traditional village, needs to be in a tourism area and needs secure tenure at the specific site through a "Permission to Occupy" but can develop without proprietorship over the wildlife resources. Communities are important to private operators not because of their wildlife rights but because of their de facto control of land-use, potential threat to conservation, and specifically, their right to practice agriculture anywhere on communal land, which can undermine a tourism venture.

Nevertheless, proprietorship and tenure over resources would strengthen the hand of communities enormously in benefiting from and participating in tourism. However, in non-consumptive tourism it is as much access to *prime sites* -- ie. land, wildlife habitat -- as to wildlife itself that matters. Therefore, the inclusion in the conservancy policy of *rights to tourism concessions* as well as to wildlife is critical. However, given that neighbouring agricultural communities still have the negative power described above -- *land tenure* is necessary for full security of investments.

- *Scale of community institutions:* management of a hunting concession requires a relatively large geographical unit, but effective management of a tourism enterprise or partnership requires a small local management body -- perhaps even a single individual or household. Such a body is unlikely to cover the entire wildlife management area. Therefore the challenge is not so much getting benefits to "trickle down" from district councils back to the local level, as in Zimbabwe, but to get "trickle up" from small management institutions for CBT to the wider community of wildlife managers.
- *Skills required:* CBT requires different skills to community involvement in hunting. On the positive side, communities can start small with skills they have and develop gradually. Rather than a stark choice between leasing out rights or operating a fully professional venture themselves, there is a broad continuum of tourism enterprises and partnerships ventures, and it is clear that some communities and local operators are moving along it. Whereas trophy hunting can't be done by halves, camping, guiding, craft-making can be done at different scales, and can expand given time. Furthermore, the enterprise skills that communities need for CBT can be strengthened by a wide range of NGOs and the private sector, not just by the small pool of conservation NGOs. On the other hand, these enterprise skills are unlikely to include resource management skills so these are needed *in addition*.
- *benefits directly from wildlife to people:* as a conservation incentive, tourism income might be less effective than income from consumptive use of wildlife because the link to the resource is more indirect. On the other hand, it is probably easier for local residents to be actively involved in tourism enterprises and products than in a community agreement to lease out hunting rights. i.e. the wildlife-benefit link is weaker, but the people-benefit link perhaps stronger.

---

<sup>(12)</sup> based on critical issues for CBNRM identified in *The Commons Without the Tragedy*, Background Paper for the 1995 Annual Regional Conference of the Natural Resources Management Program (Steiner and Rihoy).

## Comparison with harvesting of non-wildlife resources

The comparison between income from tourism and local harvesting indicates the importance of addressing the latter in the CBNRM programme<sup>(13)</sup>. There appears to be much less potential for *increases* in sustainable harvesting compared to tourism income. As the benefits from resource harvesting are generally not new and not in cash form, they may be less tangible (in the eyes of both local and project/policy people). Nevertheless, the impacts of a gain (or loss) in resource harvesting is likely to have a direct impact on the daily welfare of the majority of households. It is also more likely to affect women and poorer households, who are least likely to get wage income from tourism. Resource harvesting therefore deserves exploration as a means to improving living standards and broadening commitment to conservation.

### C.2 TOURISM AND AGRICULTURE COMPARED

*"While anti-poaching may be the initial target, it is land-use planning that will eventually determine whether wildlife survives."* Steiner and Rihoy, 1995.

Can tourism generate sufficient benefits to maintain the resource base in the face of competing land-uses? This question certainly cannot be answered yet as we lack information on returns to agricultural land use. But the figures above give some indications:

#### An alternative at specific sites, a complement in general

A joint venture up-market lodge could generate community income (wages plus revenue share) of N\$150,000. If this income is attributed just to the 4 ha lodge site, the return to land is massive. If, more reasonably, it is attributed to land use of the whole concession area, say 14,000 ha, the return per hectare is over N\$10 per hectare -- still good. However, the viability of the lodge may depend on maintaining wildlife over a much larger area of thousands of square kilometres.<sup>(14)</sup> If the tourism income is averaged across the entire region, the return seems much less impressive. For example, potential tourism income averages out at N\$1.2 per ha and N\$34 per person across Caprivi; N\$0.33 and N\$60 for former Damaraland<sup>(15)</sup>.

This implies that at specific sites, particularly prime tourism sites, it can be well worth it for a community to substitute tourism for agriculture. But on a broader scale, tourism income will be a complement to agricultural income, not a substitute way of life<sup>(16)</sup>. This complementarity depends on maintaining wildlife stocks across the larger area -- i.e. maintaining multiple use zones where livestock and wildlife coexist. Therefore the priority is to identify:

---

<sup>(13)</sup> This is happening on a small scale. For example, women resource monitors in Caprivi are collecting information on use of thatching grass and other resources.

<sup>(14)</sup> for example, in Kunene, part of the tourism product is the chance of sighting desert elephants, which need a vast range.

<sup>(15)</sup> These estimates of potential income assume that current agricultural activities continue at present levels (except at the specific sites of lodges/camps) and there is no increase in the natural resource base. Obviously if there was a reduction in agriculture in order to transfer land to tourism and wildlife, tourism income would increase (though at a slower rate given that it would probably involve areas more marginal in terms of tourist attractiveness). This needs further exploration.

<sup>(16)</sup> Which would, in any case, be true for cultural reasons given the importance of livestock.

- which sites would be better used for tourism than agriculture
- the extent to which wildlife and agriculture can complement each other across large farming/residential areas, and ways to reduce the trade-offs.
- ways to ensure that wildlife *is* protected in the larger mixed-use area -- which comes back to the need to distribute tourism revenue broadly and in a way that emphasises the link with wildlife.

At the same time the core conservation areas need to be maintained as they act as magnet and motor for tourism development opportunities in the communal areas.

### **A complement well worth pursuing**

Tourism cannot provide the basics of maize, meat, and milk, but complements agricultural livelihoods by providing a little *cash income* that is so essential for school expenses, clothing, sugar, and other marketed goods. Another important advantage of tourism is its relative independence of drought cycles. It is certainly subject to risk and fluctuation, but the cycles are more affected by international markets than water and vegetation availability, so it can *diversify risk* and act as a drought buffer.

A further benefit of tourism is the potential for *increases* in community income, in contrast to agricultural incomes. Barnes' estimates suggest that there is significant potential for increased earnings in every region: seven-fold in Bushmanland, four-fold in Damaraland, three-fold in Kunene, and more than double in Caprivi. Overall, local income from tourism could more than triple.

Finally, it should be noted that *it's not just communities that need to be committed to tourism as a land-use*. Even if tourism is an appropriate complement to agriculture as a land-use and source of income from the perspective of communities, this will not necessarily affect land-use planning, as this is not in the control of communities. The perception and distribution of benefits of conservation amongst decision-makers also needs to be addressed!

## D: CONSTRAINTS AND STRATEGIES IN PROMOTING CBT

### D.1 CONSTRAINTS

Despite the potential, there are many factors constraining the emergence and profitability of CBT enterprises, and increased community involvement. The constraints, and ways in which we are trying to address them, are summarised in Table 3

Table 3: Constraints and strategies in promoting CBT

Constraints	Strategies for tackling constraints
<b>1. Community enterprises (CEs):</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· lack enterprise skills</li> <li>· lack access to markets</li> <li>· lack capital for investment</li> <li>· lack legal tenure over prime tourism sites</li> <li>· informal sector isn't recognised or supported</li> <li>· often can't compete with larger enterprises</li> <li>· internal disputes, "privatisation" "cooperatives don't work"</li> <li>· simply not profitable</li> </ul>	<p>NGOs; training; exposure to private sector</p> <p>Partnerships with private sector; Government promotion of CEs; NGO assistance</p> <p>NGOs, links to credit sources, start small and develop slowly</p> <p>Use existing system (PTOs), develop conservancies to gain concession rights</p> <p>Change policy to encourage, not suppress informal sector</p> <p>Use planning to give CEs space and time to develop. Seek out comparative advantage of CEs (e.g.cultural products)</p> <p>Community mobilisation &amp; training (NGOs); Combine individual management with shared revenue.</p> <p>Advise on increasing visitor numbers, adding value through more profitable services, balancing costs and revenues.</p>

/continued

Constraints	Strategies
<b>2. Community-private sector (PS) partnerships and revenue-sharing</b>	
<p><i>It's not mandatory</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Communities lack legal tenure and hence market power</li> <li>· PS not obliged to work with communities by government</li> </ul> <p><i>It might reduce profits</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· partnerships have to compete with non-revenue-sharing enterprises;</li> <li>· concession fees are paid to government; community revenue is a "double whammy."</li> <li>· reciprocal benefits not clear</li> </ul> <p><i>It's difficult</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Disputes about <i>who</i> should enter partnerships and receive revenue</li> <li>· PS operators lack time, skills; high transaction costs</li> </ul>	<p>Conservancies. Community PTOs. Emphasise de facto power/ contribution of communities to PS</p> <p>Conservancies; Change govt. policy and approval procedure</p> <p>Enhance profitability of partnerships: attract "ethical tourist," give marketing boost, increase and emphasise value of local benefits gained</p> <p>Reform govt. pricing and taxing policy to provide incentives</p> <p>Develop and publicise community contribution</p> <p>NGO mediation in specific cases; communities identify themselves as conservancies; assess existing institutions and need for new institutions</p> <p>Facilitate the process (NGOs, special funds?)</p>
<b>3. Community participation in tourism planning</b>	
<p><i>No tradition</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· no tradition of community voice in government planning</li> <li>· powerful formal sector tourism is historically white and excludes informal sector</li> </ul> <p><i>Few mechanisms</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· CBT &amp; informal sector not organised or represented</li> <li>· very weak regional planning</li> </ul>	<p>Set examples, create opportunities, write community participation into planning system</p> <p>Ensure informal sector is recognised and represented in policy-making and in private-sector organisations.</p> <p>Encourage links between CBT enterprises; Establishment of national CBT association (NACOBTA)</p>

## D.2 STRATEGY AND WAYS FORWARD

In the light of these constraints, strategy to promote CBT in Namibia has been to:

- 1 support community tourism enterprises at the local level
- 2 facilitate community-private sector partnerships
- 3 conduct and disseminate research to demonstrate the potential benefits and financial viability of CBT
- 4 secure appointment of a Community Based Tourism officer (CTO) in the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, to facilitate these actions further, and to develop broader links and networks.
- 5 influence policy to develop:
  - communities' tourism rights through conservancies;
  - incentives, obligations, and mechanisms encourage revenue-sharing and partnerships between communities and private sector.
  - tourism regulations that promote rather than squash informal tourism
  - an ongoing voice for communities in tourism policy fora.

The most recent additional strategy, initiated by community tourism enterprises is:

- 6 establishment of the Namibia Community Based Tourism Association (NACOBTA) to provide a forum and voice for community tourism enterprises.

### 1. Support to community enterprises

NGOs and LIFE programme staff are doing much of the field work with communities who are establishing enterprises. e.g. mobilisation, training, making loans, helping with marketing and leaflets. More NGOs are getting involved, particularly those with experience in enterprise development, such as CANAMCO (Oxfam Canada). An increasing number of donors, such as SWEDECORP are making funds available. The first national workshop for community tourism enterprises was held in April 1995, to bring communities and NGOs together and identify community needs. Further training programmes and workshops are planned and the Community Tourism Officer will facilitate links between enterprises and potential sources of support.

### 2. Facilitating partnerships

NGOs and MET are encouraging both communities and private investors to make links. In particular, NGOs are assisting on the vital questions of "who is the community?" and "who gets the benefits?" by helping communities decide these issues for themselves. e.g. IRDNC and LIFE staff helped local communities decide the process for the Lianshulu bed-night levy distribution. The community in Kunene Region that is negotiating with a private investor is being assisted in community organisation by IRDNC, in establishing a legal body by a lawyer from the Legal Assistance Centre, and in negotiating a financial deal by an economist from MET. A workshop on eco-tourism (socially and ecologically responsible tourism) was held in May, to bring together people from private sector, government, NGOs, and communities and an eco-tourism working group was established.

### 3. Research

Research focusing on the financial and social potential of CBT is being conducted and disseminated -- in more accessible formats as well as papers such as this: e.g. a one-page leaflet<sup>12</sup> and visual presentations.<sup>2</sup>

### 4. Community Tourism Officer (CTO)

Many people in MET, NGOs, and donors contribute to these various activities. However, the CTO, seconded by LIFE to the tourism planning unit of the MET as of March this year, is the only person whose job is dedicated to community tourism. This has made it possible to coordinate existing disparate activities, catalyse new ones, and keep the momentum going.

#### THE EFFECT OF TOURISM POLICY ON COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AN ILLUSTRATION BASED ON TOURISM GUIDES

One type of community-based tourism is local people acting as tourist guides: e.g. for walks, mokoro rides, wildlife tracking, veld-food gathering etc. This builds on local skills, involves little equipment and good profit, and diversifies the tourism product. Policy made in Windhoek could have an enormous impact on whether this potential is ever realised:

**The pessimistic scenario:**

New tourism policy establishes one category of "Tourism Guide" and one registration process, which involves a 12-module course, an examination, a significant fee, a driving license, and an appearance before the registrar in Windhoek. To act as a guide without such qualification and registration is illegal. Furthermore it is illegal for a safari company to use or market an unregistered guide. Result: skilled locals wanting to guide tourists in their home area cannot legally operate or register. If they set up informally, they can't be listed on promotional material produced by the government or Namibian Tourism Board, or get marketing assistance. They can't receive training from the industry's training association. Safari company's either can't use them, or use them in an "informal" basis at lower fees, and cannot state in their brochures that the holiday includes a local guide.

**The optimistic scenario:**

New tourism policy establishes several categories of guide, including "local guide" for those who will be skilled and eligible to guide tourist in a specific area only. The procedure for registering is designed to fit local needs (eg register in their region, low fee, through demonstration or oral qualification not written exams). The Namibian tourism training body either develops appropriate training courses or recognises an NGO who is providing the training. Result: skilled locals in communal regions gain the additional skills (language, interpretation) that they need, establish several guiding enterprises both independently and in partnership with safari companies. Potential earnings per person range from N\$50 to N\$300 for a day.

*Note: these two represent extreme scenarios. The reality in Namibia to date is that it has now been agreed that there will be several categories of guide. Procedures for registration and training remain to be finalised but the agreed objective is the optimistic scenario.*

Box 2

## 5. Influencing policy

It is evident from this list in Table 3 that government policy can constrain progress in many ways, and that influencing policy is an essential strategy, particularly now that the White Paper is being translated into legislation. Box 2 indicates the powerful positive and negative affects of policy, by illustrating two extreme scenarios. The White Paper contains several statements on the importance of broader distribution of the benefits of tourism e.g: "*high priority (is) afforded to the involvement of local individuals and communities in the tourism process and in benefits-sharing*".<sup>11</sup> However, it contained relatively few specific policies to ensure this. Therefore the current challenge is to translate the principles into positive legislation.

However, there are in turn, several constraints to influencing policy in favour of CBT. Those setting policy in government and formal sector tourism have little experience of CBT, and many other priorities. CBT is difficult, new, and some don't believe it will work. Policy develops quickly and it is easy for new policies to harm CBT by default without anyone intending or realising it. Finally, the tourism strategy's focus on growth and high quality generally favours large private sector developments.

Nevertheless, progress to date includes:

- an MET policy on promoting community based tourism approved in April 1995.
- broader awareness of community tourism as an issue among policy-makers.
- participation of the Community Tourism Officer in legislative-drafting committees and other planning committees.
- agreement that accommodation grading legislation should include a category appropriate to community camps and traditional accommodation, and that there should be several categories of tourism guide to accommodate "local" guides.
- agreement that the responsibilities of the new Namibian Tourism Board to promote, train and regulate the industry specifically include the informal and community sector.
- agreement that some mechanism is necessary to ensure revenue-sharing from private enterprises on communal land, though details remain debated.
- granting of the first tourism concession to a black Namibian and of Permission to Occupy (PTO) certificates to several communities for community tourism enterprises including one joint community-private venture.
- Government recognition of and support for NACOBTA.

Simultaneously, the MET policy on establishment of conservancies on communal land, which is critical to the development of CBT, has been approved by Cabinet.

### COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM POLICY

In order to provide a supportive framework for involving and benefiting residents of communal areas in tourism, MET will aim to:

- **increase community and informal sector representation in tourism bodies**  
*eg on Namibian Tourism Board, in Regional Tourism fora*
- **reflect community interests in tourism planning**  
*eg degree of community benefit as one criteria for judging PTO/concession application*
- **support community/local tourism enterprises**  
*eg training, marketing*
- **promote partnerships and sharing of benefits between communities and private operators**  
*eg financial incentives*
- **enhance local rights over tourism resources**  
*eg conservancies*
- **accommodate local initiatives in new regulations**  
*eg in accommodation and guide categories*
- **pro-actively open up opportunities for communities & informal sector**  
*Avoid closing down options by default*

And continue consulting, sharing information, and adapting to new opportunities etc in the process of implementing this policy.

**Box 3: Key points from Namibia's Policy to Promote Community Based Tourism,<sup>13</sup> approved by Minister and Permanent Secretary of MET in April 1995.**

## 6. Establishment of NACOBTA

At the workshop for community tourism enterprises in April 1995, participants decided they needed their own association to provide a forum for sharing ideas and a voice to liaise with government and the private sector. A Steering Committee was elected to work on arrangements and a Constitution, and a second workshop was held in October 1995 at which founding members were registered, NACOBTA's constitution approved, a management committee elected, and the organisation launched.

From here ...?

Needless to say, progress generates more questions than answers. Some of the issues that we are currently struggling with include:

- should the primary focus be on conservancies, in which specific communities will have resource rights and negotiating power, or on systems applicable across the communal areas for community benefit? How can conflicts between the two be avoided? Conservancies are more likely to build incentives and capacity for sustainable management of a common property resource such as wildlife, but the former could promote general development for more people more rapidly.

- even if formal-sector wages are not as important as other local income, dollar for dollar, their relative scale means they cannot be ignored. Should we encourage a more labour-intensive industry as well as revenue-sharing? How?
- to what extent are tourism assets a communal resource? what size of "community" should have rights to benefits from a scenic camping site? rock engravings? wildlife?
- how to reconcile small-scale for effective enterprise management with large-scale for natural resource management?
- how to treat local entrepreneurs going it alone?
- while encouraging conservancies and revenue-sharing *outside* Parks, how should we be sharing tourism benefits from *inside* parks with neighbouring communities?
- how can tourism income act more effectively as a conservation incentive? Is the distribution and use more important than the amount? How can we influence that without taking decision-making power away?
- how does tourism compare with hunting and agriculture? How can complementarity between tourism and agriculture be increased and conflicts reduced?

## E: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

There is enormous potential for community-based tourism in Namibia at present. Tourism in communal areas is taking off, and the eco-tourism market is growing. Many communities and individuals are initiating local enterprises, partnerships with private sector operators are developing, and NACOBTA is launched. Tourism policy is being revised and is generally supportive of CBT, while the conservancy policy has just been approved. Experience and research are indicating that tourism is a profitable and sustainable use of natural resources in many areas. As a result, there is interest in CBT from many quarters: private sector operators developing specific ventures, policy-makers developing the tourism industry, development NGOs promoting local enterprise, in addition to the CBNRM programme.

This paper has indicated the potential of community-based tourism to generate financial and social benefits for communities, and hence to achieve objectives of development and conservation. The fact that total local earnings from tourism could triple even without an increase in the wildlife base indicates that there is much potential currently unexploited. These potential earnings can outweigh the direct costs of wildlife damage to farms several times over. They should also be sufficient to make a switch from agriculture to tourism attractive in prime tourism areas, and make tourism a useful complement to agricultural income in other areas.

However, the extent to which expansion of tourism enterprises contributes to social development and local conservation will not only depend on the amount of earnings. Much depends on the extent to which earnings (whether wages or shared community income) are distributed across resource users, the link to wildlife perceived, local residents retain control of funds and enterprises, and are able to develop institutions and skills through their participation in tourism. This will vary with different types of tourism activities and with different implementation strategies.

So if increased financial benefits from tourism are necessary but not sufficient for encouraging local conservation, what kind of tourism should be promoted? In order to double, triple or quadruple the amount of money local residents earn, many more up-market lodges are needed to generate substantial local wages. These are likely to be private sector run. However, to increase the earnings that are shared and jointly controlled by community institutions and to increase local involvement in tourism, community enterprises and revenue-sharing partnerships with private operators are essential. Joint venture up-market lodges, in which the community earns up to 50% of the profit, score well in both ways -- earnings and involvement -- but will depend on communities securing tourism rights (and ideally land rights) and can involve high transaction costs.

As a strategy for CBNRM, in the Namibian context, non-consumptive tourism has much greater potential for community benefit than safari hunting. It probably also has higher potential for financial benefit than local harvesting of natural resources, though the significance of the latter should not be ignored. Comparing CBT to other CBNRM strategies, many of the fundamental challenges are the same: who owns what; who has the capacity to manage what; and who benefits and how? But some of the answers are slightly different when the focus is on non-consumptive tourism rather than hunting. For example, land rights are as important as wildlife rights. The scale of "producer community" needs to be small but may get too small, in which case the challenge is of "trickle up" not "trickle down."

This suggests that in promoting CBT within the CBNRM programme it is sensible to:

- identify prime sites appropriate for switching land-use from agriculture to tourism
- promote tourism as a complement to agriculture across larger areas through mixed-use systems -- based on more research of the complementarity of livestock and wildlife;
- promote a variety of enterprises and not only focus on the big bucks of luxury lodges nor the development glow of community local enterprises; nor ignore craft-making and other tourism services that can satellite around lodges/camps;
- help communities and private sector to generate funds, but then focus as much CBNRM effort in making the money work for conservation. i.e. by emphasising distribution, accountability, and the link to wildlife conservation.

However, the development of CBT faces several constraints, ranging from lack of local enterprise skills, lack of community rights over tourism resources, to policies that hinder the informal sector. Achieving the potential progress outlined above will depend on overcoming these constraints. Of necessity the strategies being used to promote CBT in Namibia are diverse, ranging from field work with community enterprises, to attempts to change tourism policy in Windhoek. New partnerships are developing between the various groups in government, NGOs, the private sector, and communities. As community based tourism is a recent development in Namibia, these strategies and new and evolving fast. However, there are already a few lessons for overall strategy that we can draw upon and share:

- Don't ignore policy and the fine print of legislation.
- Take advantage of the coincidence of interests in CBT amongst those seeking benefits to communities, benefits to conservation, and benefits to tourism, Develop partnerships. But at the same time, understand the differences in objectives and how these influence people's priorities and actions.
- Understand the private sector's perspective and profitability.
- Understand your customers, the tourism market, and how to reach them.
- Communities need market power. But even without legal rights, mutually beneficial deals can be negotiated with more forward-looking private operators.

## REFERENCES

1. Ashley,C., Barnes, J, & Healy,T. (August 1994)  
Profits, Equity, Growth and Sustainability: the economic potential of wildlife enterprises in Caprivi and other communal areas of Namibia, Research Discussion Paper no. 2, Directorate of Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Windhoek. 25pp
2. Ashley, C and Barnes, J (September 1995)  
Wildlife and tourism in former Damaraland: what economic benefits are and could be generated?, visual presentation, Directorate of Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Tourism.
3. Ashley,C. and Garland,E. (October 1994)  
Promoting community-based tourism development: Why, What and How? Research Discussion Paper no 4, Directorate of Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Windhoek. 37pp + appendices
4. Ashley, C. (1995)  
Revenue sharing between a tourism lodge and a community: what's a good deal?, visual presentation, Directorate of Environmental Affairs, MET, Windhoek. 20pp
5. Barnes,J.I. (1995)  
Current and potential use values for natural resources in some Namibian communal areas: a planning tool. Unpublished Paper, Directorate of Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Windhoek. 60pp.
6. Brown, C.J. (Ed) (1992)  
Namibia's Green Plan (draft); Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Republic of Namibia, Windhoek.
7. Central Statistical Office (1994)  
Living conditions in Namibia, 1993/94: Economic and Social Indicators from Namibia Household Income and Expenditure Survey, Preliminary Results, CSO, National Planning Commission, October 1994.
8. Child, B (1995)  
Communities, resources, and economic analysis: Lessons from CAMPEIRE for other community based natural resource management programmes in Southern Africa, paper presented to "The Commons without the Tragedy" Regional NRMP workshop, Botswana, April 1995. 5pp
9. Hoff and Overgaard, (1993)  
Namibia Tourism Development Study, Main Volume, Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism, Windhoek. 205pp.
10. Jones, B.T.B. January (1995)  
Wildlife management, Utilisation and Tourism in Communal Areas: Benefits to Communities and Improved Resource Management. Research Discussion Paper no.5, Directorate of Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Windhoek. 14pp + appendix.
11. Ministry of Environment and Tourism, (1994)  
White Paper on Tourism, MET, Windhoek, approved by Cabinet on 29/03 94. 29pp
12. Ministry of Environment and Tourism (1995a)  
The Economic Potential of Tourism in Namibia, leaflet, DEA, MET. 1 page.
13. Ministry of Environment and Tourism (1995b)  
Policy on Community Based Tourism, MET, Windhoek.
14. National Planning Commission (1994)  
1991 Population and Housing Census, Central Statistics Office, NPC, Windhoek. Several volumes.
15. O'Connell, C. (1995)  
East/West Caprivi Natural Resource Monitoring Project: Elephant/human conflicts, Final Technical Report, submitted to MET, September 1995. 41 pp plus appendices
16. Steiner, A. & Rihoy, E. March (1995)  
The Commons Without the Tragedy? Strategies for community based natural resources management in Southern Africa. Background Paper for the 1995 Annual Regional Conference of the Natural Resources Management Programme, SADC Wildlife Technical Coordination Unit, Malawi; USAID RNRMP. 24pp.

## APPENDIX

### Summary tables showing estimated income from tourism, wildlife and other non-agricultural natural resource uses in four communal areas of Namibia (Caprivi, former Bushmanland, former Damaraland and Opuwo District), 1994.

#### Methodology

Enterprise models of 28 non-agricultural natural resource uses were developed to provide estimates of the net economic contribution and net local income from each. The four regions studied were divided into 37 zones, based roughly on relative homogeneity in natural resources, human settlement and land use, and distinguishing protected areas from communal areas. The number of RNR-enterprises in each at present was documented, and then, based on assessment of physical conditions drawing on a range of data and specialist knowledge, the *potential* number with and without an increase in the resource base was estimated. Multiplying the benefits per enterprise by the number of enterprises gives estimates of current and potential benefits per zone, per region, per type of activity, now and in the future, as presented in the tables below. The database was compiled by Jon Barnes in collaboration with colleagues inside and outside the Ministry.

It should be noted that:

- estimates are of *net* contribution -- to national income and to local residents.
- no estimates of non-use values or consumer surplus are included.
- the financial and economic enterprise models are still being improved, and some are more rough and ready than others, as indicated in Table x. Enterprises were treated as standard units across the regions.
- estimates of potential enterprises assume existing agricultural activities remain constant and are complementary to the natural resource uses.

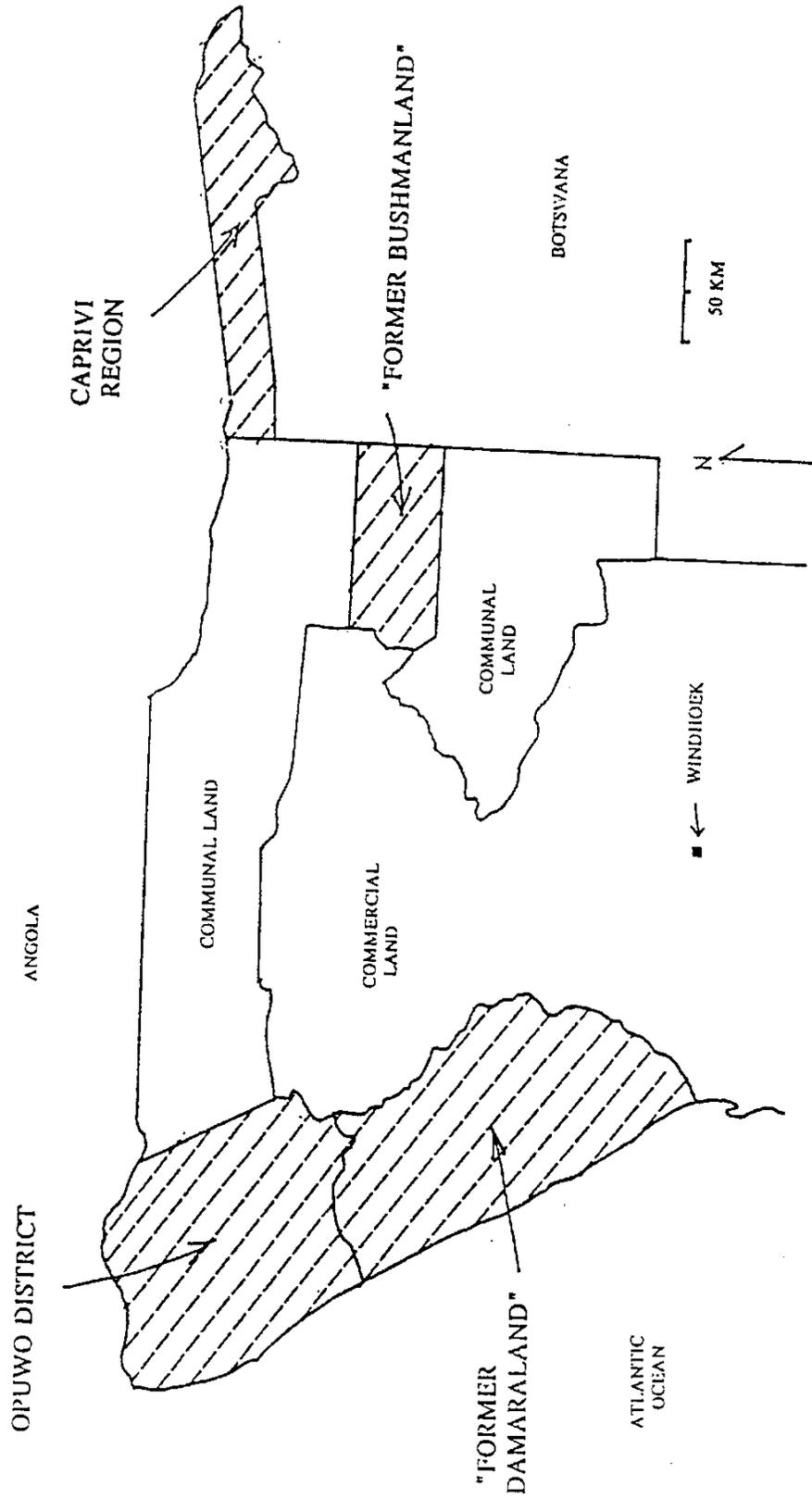
#### Summary results

The following tables summarise the results per region, and show comparisons between regions, between current and potential income, and between different types of tourism and other activities:

1. Current situation: net economic benefit and local income by type of enterprise and by region.
2. Current situation: relative contributions of different types of resource use by region.
3. Potential situation: net economic benefit and local income by type of enterprise and by region.
4. Potential situation: relative contribution of different types of resource use by region.
5. Current and potential tourism income by type of activity.
6. Current and potential income per capita, Caprivi and former Damaraland.
7. Net economic contribution and local income estimates for each enterprise unit.
8. Map showing study areas.

Further details of the methodology and results are available in *Current and potential use values for natural resources in some Namibian communal areas: a planning tool*, by Jon Barnes (1995) from the Directorate of Environmental Affairs.

THE FOUR STUDY AREAS AND 37 ZONES  
A: LOCATION OF THE FOUR STUDY AREAS



1. TOTAL EARNINGS PER REGION BY TYPE OF ENTERPRISE - CURRENT SITUATION

ENTERPRISE	TYPE	Im to c/hr	CAPRNI			EASTERN			OJODONDUMPA			DAMARLAHID			DPUWO			ALL REGIONS			
			HE	CY	CW	HE	CY	CW	HE	CY	CW	HE	CY	CW	HE	CY	CW	NE	CY	CW	
Up market birds viewing lodge	T H H	4	885,000	24,000	24,000	0	0	0	2	441,000	182,000	182,000	2	330,750	171,500	171,500	8	1,833,750	607,500	607,500	
Up market tented camp	T H H	2	282,600	64,800	64,800	0	0	0	1	140,300	32,400	32,400	7	482,100	228,800	228,800	10	1,403,000	324,000	324,000	
Community camps - developed	T H L	1	12,700	12,400	3,400	0	0	0	3	38,100	37,200	16,200	1	12,700	12,400	3,400	5	43,500	42,000	27,000	
Community camps - very basic	T H L	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Rest camp inside park	T H N	1	64,150	24,300	24,300	0	0	3,600	2	7,400	8,600	0	2	7,400	8,600	3,600	4	14,800	16,000	7,200	
Exclosure camps inside park	T H H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	132,300	48,600	48,600	0	0	0	0	3	108,150	72,800	27,800	
Simple camps inside park	T H H	1	12,700	9,400	9,400	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	63,300	27,000	27,000	1	63,300	27,000	27,000	
Joint venture lodge	T H H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	132,400	64,800	64,800	0	0	0	0	13	161,100	70,200	70,200	
Fishing lodge	T H H	4	420,800	87,200	87,200	0	0	0	1	105,225	24,300	24,300	0	0	0	0	0	5	258,125	121,500	121,500
Cafe production	T C L	139	62,818	118,425	0	52	37,118	38,740	0	64	33,278	47,080	0	72	37,548	53,640	0	947	180,941	258,210	
Craft marketing stalls	T H L	1	88,982	183,125	0	0	22,471	35,328	0	0	15,511	28,619	0	0	32,783	60,089	0	1	189,847	311,268	
Community guided meadows	T H L	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	3,875	5,200	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	3,875	5,200	
Traditional village	T H L	1	20,000	24,000	10,000	1	10,000	12,000	3,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	30,000	36,000	
Exclosure hiking trail	T H L	4	1,548,120	169,500	175,500	0	0	0	0	1	333,660	43,000	37,840	0	0	0	0	5	1,981,800	242,500	
Trophy hunting concession	N C L	17	8,925	12,750	48,083	0	91	47,817	68,310	0	0	0	28	15,225	21,750	0	182	85,738	136,770		
Small scale (semi-visit) hunting	N C L	1	128,880	48,083	48,083	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	128,880	48,083	
Timber production - commercial	N C L	40	21,000	20,000	0	15	7,875	11,250	0	54	28,330	40,500	0	24	12,600	18,000	0	133	68,825	96,750	
Small scale timber	N C L	45	23,873	31,750	0	0	0	0	0	2	523	750	0	7	1,848	2,825	0	45	23,825	32,750	
Sale of bushing grass	N C L	17	4,163	8,375	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	6,025	9,750	
Pines	N C L	28	13,850	18,500	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	14,175	20,250	
Other wild products, own use	N C L	113	59,225	84,750	0	177	92,823	132,750	0	27	14,175	20,250	0	44	23,100	30,000	0	361	188,325	270,750	
Fishing	N C L	1,115	585,375	836,250	270,000	0	0	0	0	2	496,000	180,000	180,000	0	0	0	0	1,115	585,375	836,250	
Urban hotel lodge (Palms M)	T H N	3	730,000	270,000	270,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2,220,000	450,000	
Exclosure walking area on buffer	T H L	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Government hiking trail	T H H	0	109,847	109,847	0	28	14,222	14,222	0	1	19,650	8,100	8,100	25	13,875	13,875	0	307	187,929	187,929	
CO2TE in crops/stock damage	T H H	201	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Total			4,886,458	2,264,701	1,074,732	0	238,828	344,788	8,600	0	1,841,154	747,223	374,240	1,506,393	971,989	364,300	0	8,240,487	3,860,287	1,899,962	
Total per square km			240	120	50	0	13	18	0	0	24	10	0	24	12	6	0	35	25	13	
Total gross benefits (excluding crops/stock costs)			4,896,413	2,274,648	1,074,732	0	254,050	358,010	8,600	0	1,830,009	585,564	364,300	1,320,009	965,564	364,300	0	8,713,828	4,088,198	1,899,933	

HE: net economic benefit  
 CY: community income  
 CW: of which, wages



3. TOTAL EARNINGS PER REGION BY TYPE OF ENTERPRISE - POTENTIAL WITH NO RESOURCE INCREASE

ENTERPRISE TYPE	GAPANI			LEITERN			OTHOZIDIDUAPA			GAMARALAND			DUFUANG			ALL REGIONS			
	No	18 800 sq km	CV	No	17 875 sq km	CV	No	58 105 sq km	CV	No	41 555 sq km	CV	No	150 305 sq km	CV	No	150 305 sq km	CV	
ENTERPRISE TYPE	1	18 800	182,000	1	17 875	172,000	1	58 105	545,000	1	41 555	390,000	1	150 305	1,410,000	1	150 305	1,410,000	
1. MC	5	70,100	49,500	5	40,750	0	4	1,521,250	14,500	4	1,691,500	24,800	13	3,447,500	72,800	25	3,447,500	72,800	
2. MC	4	50,800	49,500	11	40,750	44,500	0	4	52,800	48,600	0	0	0	10,800	10,800	10	127,000	124,000	
3. MC	5	18,600	25,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	38,800	43,200	
4. MC	2	172,200	48,600	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	454,600	57,200	
5. MC	3	317,500	132,500	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	1,048,500	511,000	
6. MC	2	25,400	15,800	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	408,800	85,200	
7. MC	2	441,000	341,000	200,000	152,000	81,000	0	1,102,500	812,000	425,000	0	0	0	243,000	243,000	11	2,435,500	1,781,000	
8. MC	6	821,300	105,800	108,000	158,000	158,000	0	409,500	92,000	92,000	0	0	0	0	0	10	1,552,200	249,000	
9. MC	1	142,300	281,000	0	0	0	0	15,800	15,800	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	142,300	281,000	
10. MC	1	142,300	281,000	0	0	0	0	15,800	15,800	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	142,300	281,000	
11. MC	30	15,235	21,250	0	0	0	0	17,800	25,500	0	0	0	21	11,525	15,200	95	48,875	71,250	
12. MC	2	40,500	49,500	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	15,225	21,250	
13. MC	4	1,548,800	149,800	175,000	175,000	10,000	0	152,000	64,800	0	0	0	4	90,000	16,000	11	250,000	244,000	
14. MC	4	2,100	3,000	1	398,500	55,000	0	250,500	32,500	0	0	0	3	152,400	24,800	6	304,800	141,600	
15. MC	2	508,800	187,500	187,500	84,000	24,000	0	5,725	8,250	0	0	0	17	8,825	12,750	148	78,571	102,388	
16. MC	10	24,800	15,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	57,972	21,627	
17. MC	1	2,800	15,000	0	0	0	0	30,400	43,500	0	0	0	31	16,013	22,825	228	125,212	148,815	
18. MC	21	3,513	7,815	0	0	0	0	1	283	375	0	0	10	3,273	3,625	22	11,950	11,600	
19. MC	21	11,035	15,350	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	555	750	0	261,136	273,620	
20. MC	162	86,518	124,225	0	0	0	0	21,788	31,225	0	0	0	58	30,293	42,275	497	261,136	273,620	
21. MC	1,160	828,602	810,600	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,160	828,602	810,600	
22. MC	4	985,600	310,500	0	0	0	0	492,000	183,000	183,000	0	0	0	0	0	4	1,477,600	549,500	
23. MC	2	63,840	81,417	11,500	0	0	0	18,000	8,100	8,100	0	0	0	2	85,640	92,160	2	1,477,600	549,500
24. MC	101	14,974	34,974	0	0	0	0	20,000	30,000	30,000	0	0	25	13,875	13,875	212	149,800	149,800	
Total		8,274,234	3,591,412	2,097,539	1,207,898	1,150,715	218,844	4,821,582	2,223,478	1,523,200	1,112,800	18	3,866,812	1,681,256	1,112,800	118	18,065,542	8,522,471	
Total per ha		440	192	112	68	64	12	84	38	27	27	18	20	10	7	0.78	118	58	
Total per km <sup>2</sup>		8,274,234	3,591,412	2,097,539	1,207,898	1,150,715	218,844	4,821,582	2,223,478	1,523,200	1,112,800	18	3,866,812	1,681,256	1,112,800	118	18,065,542	8,522,471	
Total per km <sup>2</sup>		440	192	112	68	64	12	84	38	27	27	18	20	10	7	0.78	118	58	
Total per km <sup>2</sup>		8,274,234	3,591,412	2,097,539	1,207,898	1,150,715	218,844	4,821,582	2,223,478	1,523,200	1,112,800	18	3,866,812	1,681,256	1,112,800	118	18,065,542	8,522,471	



**ESTIMATES OF PER CAPITA INCOME FROM TOURISM AND WILDLIFE IN CAPRIVI**

ZONES	1A	1B	2A	2B	3A	3B	4	5A	5B	6*	GRAND TOTALS
Sq.km	1,950	300	800	950	2,400	1,150	400	650	1,300	6,700	18,800
POPULATION	17,600	0	893	1,050	2,282	166	2,805	6,273	0	44,167	75,265
<b>AGGREGATE ZONE</b>	<b>1(A+B)</b>		<b>2(A+B)</b>		<b>3(A+B)</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>5(A+B)</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>REGION</b>
N\$ per year											
CURRENT TOURISM Y/ZONE	307,100		46,380		38,125	30,950	302,100	306,817		1,033,472	
CURRENT PER CAPITA Y/ZONE	17		52		43	11	48	5		14	
POTENTIAL TOURISM Y/ZONE	653,800		294,500		360,999	66,366	637,745	672,730		3,026,160	
POTENTIAL PER CAPITA Y/ZONE	37		303		1,942	31	102	22		34	

\* Population estimate for zone 6 includes the urban population of Gaborone. Urban tourism visits are also excluded from income estimates.

**ESTIMATES OF PER CAPITA INCOME FROM TOURISM AND WILDLIFE (FORMER DAMARALAND)**

ZONES	6A	6B	9	10A	10B	11	12A	12B	13A	13B	14	15A	15B	16	17	GRAND TOTALS	
Sq.km	2,548	1,324	2,485	4,125	2,852	6,504	2,241	1,426	2,037	1,324	6,315	5,041*	917	10,134	6,824	58,105	
POPULATION	965	0	2,029	91	0	1,053	378	0	286	0	11,546	860	0	15,572	184	32,965	
<b>AGGREGATE ZONE</b>	<b>8(A+B)</b>		<b>9</b>		<b>10(A+B)</b>		<b>11</b>	<b>12(A+B)</b>		<b>13(A+B)</b>		<b>14</b>	<b>15(A+B)</b>		<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>REGION</b>
N\$ per year																	
CURRENT COMMUNITY Y/ZONE	20,604		115,539		147,053	55,255	24,281	3,725	20,490	24,359	83,235	505,923					
CURRENT PER CAPITA COMMUNITY Y/ZONE	21		57		28	52	85	0	24	24	452	15					
POTENTIAL COMMUNITY Y/ZONE	227,267		238,325		443,341	201,390	175,189	23,754	130,551	77,640	233,790	1,944,469					
POTENTIAL PER CAPITA COMMUNITY Y/ZONE	231		1,177		4,872	191	613	2	152	5	1,271	59					

THE OVERALL ESTIMATES PER ZONE ARE BASED ON ESTIMATES OF ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL BENEFITS FROM EACH TYPE OF ENTERPRISE, AS FOLLOWS:

ENTERPRISE/ ACTIVITY TYPE	Standard unit size	Net Economic Benefit/annum N\$ p.a.	Community income/annum N\$ p.a.	of which, wages are: N\$ p.a.
Up-market wildlife-viewing lodge*	18 bed	220,500	81,000	81,000
Up-market tented camp*	16 bed	140,300	32,400	32,400
Community campsite - developed*	6 tentsites	12,700	12,400	5,400
Community campsite - very basic*	1-2 tentsite	3,700	4,000	1,800
Restcamp inside park***	Popa Falls	66,150	24,300	24,300
Exclusive campsite inside Park (NWR)**	1 tentsite	63,500	27,000	27,000
Simple campsite inside Park (NWR)**	2 sites	12,700	5,400	5,400
Joint venture lodge*	18 bed	220,500	162,000	81,000
Fishing lodge**	12 bed	105,225	24,300	24,300
Craft production**	Household	522	745	0
Craft marketing outlet**	190 households	118,643	217,500	0
Community guided walks***	Household	525	750	0
Community guided mokoros***	Household	525	750	0
Traditional village**	850 visitors/yr	20,000	24,000	10,000
Exclusive hiking trail***	1 trail	50,800	21,600	21,600
Trophy hunting concession**	1 Hunting camp	388,000	50,000	44,000
Small-scale (own use) hunting***	Household	525	750	0
Government hiking trail***	1 trail	19,050	8,100	8,100
Urban hotel/lodge (Katima M)***	20 beds	245,000	90,000	90,000
COSTS in waterpoint/stock damage**	Household	547	547	0

\* Estimates based on representative enterprise models

\*\* Estimates fairly rough, based on extrapolation from enterprise models from other areas

\*\*\* Estimates rough, based on extrapolation from models of other enterprises

dam-wl&t

26-Oct-95