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An approach to the Sustainable Development of the Kunene Region:

An exploratory case study of Community Based Natural Resource Management

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List of Acronyms

BLCF Business Linkages Challenge Fund

CBNRM Community-based Natural Resource Management

CBT Community-based Tourism

CLRA Communal Land Reform Act 5 of 2002

DFID Department for International Development

FDI Foreign Direct Investment

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GEF Global Environment Facility

IEM Integrated Ecosystem Management

ILD Institute for Liberty and Democracy

IMF International Monetary Fund

IRDNC Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation

JV Joint Venture

LIFE Living in a Finite Environment (USAID-funded programme administered by

the WWF in Namibia)

MDG Millennium Development Goal

MET Ministry of Environment and Tourism

NACOBTA Namibian Community-based Tourism Association

NACSO Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organizations

NGO Non-Governmental Organisation

NNF Namibia Nature Foundation

PPP Public Private Partnership

PSD Private Sector Development

PTO Permission to Occupy

SMEs Small and Medium-sized Enterprises

SRT Save the Rhino Trust

WB World Bank

WWF World Wide Fund for Nature

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

Effective management of Namibia's natural and human resources is critical to the nations' strategic growth and long-term competitiveness. In 1998, the Namibian Government adopted Vision 2030 as its roadmap for a brighter future (Office of the President 2004). Vision 2030 is intended to guide the country's five year development plans from National Development Plan (NDP) III to VII and to provide direction to government ministries, private sector, NGOs and local authorities. A key National Development Plan goal is "Poverty alleviation through enhanced natural resource management". The Vision 2030 process reconfirms this goal and defines the overall perspective for the natural resource sector as follows: Namibia shall develop its natural capital for the benefit of its social, economic and ecological well-being, by adopting strategies that:

- a) promote the sustainable, equitable and efficient use of natural resources;
- b) maximise Namibia's comparative advantages; and
- c) reduce all inappropriate resource-use practices.

In 2000, Namibia also committed to the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) whose major objective is to halve poverty in the country by 2015. The MDGs set global targets for poverty reduction with regard to education, health, gender equality and environmental sustainability (UN Development Programme 2005).

However, the socio-economic circumstances of the inhabitants of the Kunene region, north-west Namibia, remain problematic; high urban migration, high infant mortality, sub-standard living conditions and limited options for individual or group development, e.g. education and employment. Initiatives by government to overcome these challenges and to meet the goals for sustainable development and Vision 2030 include Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) which is a multi-faceted approach to conservation and rural development. The most important elements of CBNRM are:

- a) in making it possible for residents to derive income and other benefits from the use of these natural resources
- b) enabling local residents in communal areas to take management decisions themselves about the way they use their natural resources, and

c) providing communities the opportunity to manage their resources in an integrated way.

CBNRM is firmly entrenched in Namibia's national development plans and poverty reduction strategies, and community-based Conservancies¹ are an integral part of rural development strategies. In placing poverty reduction high on its development agenda, the Namibian government formulated the National Poverty Reduction Action Programme (NPRAP). CBNRM and community-based tourism have been recognized as important poverty-reduction mechanisms in Namibia's National Poverty Reduction Strategy. A stakeholder dialogue is essential to explore options for enhancing development and resource utilization policies.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Sub-Saharan Africa is the only region not on track to meet any of the Millennium Development Goals (UN Development Programme 2005). The Kunene has limited mineral, agricultural or industrial (i.e. commercial) potential and is ecologically sensitive. The CBNRM policy may provide a basis for sustainable economic development of the Kunene region consistent with the goals of Vision 2030.

1.2. Major Research Question

Can CBNRM provide the basis for development of the Kunene region in line with the vision, mission, goals and objectives of Vision 2030?

1.3. Minor Research Questions

- a) What is the current situation?
- b) How can CBNRM contribute to improvement?
- c) What alternative options exist?
- d) What implementation approaches exist?

1.4. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to identify CBNRM policy enhancements and implementation approaches that can advance the economic circumstances of the citizens of the Kunene region simultaneously prioritising development in harmony with the environment in support of

¹ Community-based Conservancies are self-defined common property management and social units.

national policy of poverty reduction, equitable distribution of wealth and greater prosperity for all Namibians.

1.5. Methodology

The core of the research in the period April to June 2007 revolved around in-depth study of the published literature in the fields of community-based conservation, pro-poor economic development and private sector investment. This review of the literature was followed by discussions with eminent persons resident in the Kunene in the form of semi-structured interviews regarding their personal opinions on the factors impeding the progress of pro-poor remote area socio-economic development. The research considered comparable situations, representative of economically deprived populations with similar causal systems. These were analysed and evaluated in the Namibian context. Key findings related to these factors were reviewed and the knowledge gained set out.

1.6. Limitations

The specific circumstances of the Kunene are relatively unique. The generalizability of the findings may be limited to the particular environment in question.

1.7. Structure of the study

Chapter One: Introduction

•Description of the background and problem statement



Chapter Two: Literature Review

•Review of the literature used in relation to development economics, private sector development and community-based conservation and the models used to to structure the case study and analysis chapters.



Chapter Three: Case Study

•Environmental scan and discussion of the case studies of rural development economics.



Chapter Four: Analysis

•Presents the findings of the case studies and their implications.



Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recomendations

•sets out the conclusions of the study together with recommendations, and



Chapter Six: Summary

•Reviews the goals set out in the introduction in a concise summary.

CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. National Policy framework

Namibia's Vision 2030 states, "The people of Namibia should be well developed, prosperous, healthy and confident in an atmosphere of interpersonal harmony, peace and political stability; and as a sovereign nation, Namibia is to be reckoned with as a high achiever in the community of nations. This Vision will be achieved through full mobilisation of the nation's human and natural resources in vigorous pursuit of sustainable development, peace, liberty and justice in the interest of our people, our neighbours and the international community" (Office of the President 2004). The thread of sustainable development runs through all the chapters. The ideals set out in the Vision do not set out day-to day operational guidelines on how they should be achieved, the 5-year National Development Plans are used as stepping stones to achieve the Vision.

2.2. Regional Policy Framework

Namibia's Communal Conservancy Program, which was formally introduced in 1998, offers a strategy of development, governance and state-building particularly in post-conflict societies (Ogbaharya 2006). By enabling and expanding the capacities and capabilities of the communities to manage resources, participate in democratic governance and resolve conflicts, Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) plays an important role in economic development. Because it stresses a form of partnership between state, local government structures, and local committees and their legitimate representatives, Ogbaharya (2006) claims CBNRM has potential to reverse the deficit of political legitimacy that many African states face.

Principle among the policies relevant to sustainable development and Vision 2030 is the Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996 that redressed the discrimination of the past and provides communal area residents the opportunity to acquire the same rights over wildlife as freehold farmers – leveling the playing field. "In Namibia, the Communal Conservancy Programme is a model of the CBNRM approach which is working towards restoring the link between conservation and rural development, and achieving biodiversity conservation within the framework of the National Development Plans, Vision 2030 and

Poverty Reduction Strategies" – Honorable Minister Willem Konjore, Minister of Environment and Tourism (NASCO 2006). However, the Environmental and Social Assessment of the World Bank/Global Environment Facility Project entitled Integrated Community-Based Ecosystem Management (ICEMA 2003) Namibia Final Report tables nine CBNRM issues:

- "The wildlife rights conferred on communal area Conservancies are limited and conditional and given the current absence of high financial benefit at the household level, do not provide a strong incentive for sustainable resource management.
- The lack of secure group land tenure also reduces the incentive for communal area residents to invest time, labour and money into sustainable resource management practices (including range management).
- The lack of secure group land tenure undermines the ability of Conservancies to enforce zoning of areas for wildlife and tourism as outsiders can easily move in with their livestock.
- Although original policy decisions by The Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) favoured giving existing tourism concessions to Conservancies, MET is reviewing its approach to concessions. It is important for the new approach to favour Conservancies.
- The absence of a clear and updated policy on CBNRM implementation has created uncertainties regarding the extent to which rights are devolved to communities and some inconsistencies in implementation.
- Although sectoral policies for community-based resource management are compatible
 with the Conservancy approach, there is a danger of a proliferation of sectorally-driven
 committees at community level.
- Community rights to control tourism within Conservancies remain weak under current legislation.
- There is a growing gap between the limited rights Conservancies have to deal with problem animals and the expectations of Conservancy members.
- There are many institutions at regional and local level that have overlapping authority over land and natural resource management, making it difficult for Conservancies to implement and enforce their management plans".

These gaps in the implementation of CBNRM substantiate the requirement for this exploratory study. Despite imperfections, Namibia's Community Based Conservancy

legislation granted communities the rights to the economic utilization of wildlife that occurred on their Conservancy. This economically incentivised communities, who previously bore the costs of hosting wildlife, but were denied legal benefit, to modify their behavior and husband their natural resources. Namibia has achieved considerable success in the implementation of CBNRM. This is largely due to the enabling policy framework and the network of government, NGO, CBO and private sector partners (ICEMA 2003). However, the promise is unfulfilled.

2.3. The de Soto approach

Deficient security of tenure inhibits investment climates; the Namibia government sponsored Millennium Challenge Account proposal to US Department of State for grant financing admits that "bureaucratic hurdles make [tourism] investments time-consuming and burdensome, especially on communal lands where insecurity around land tenure makes access to commercial loans very difficult" (National Planning Commission. 2007 Unpublished.)

The market-friendly approach to development economics advocates free markets but recognizes that there are many imperfections in the markets of developing nations and thus argues that some government intervention is an effective means of fixing such imperfections. Hernando de Soto, a Peruvian economist and founder of the Institute for Liberty and Democracy (ILD), famed for his book "The Mystery of Capital" (*New York: Basic Books, 2000*), and for his vigorous efforts to extend secure property rights to the destitute argues that the poor have many assets – huts, plots, stalls. However, because they lack title to these assets, they cannot pass them on, divide them up, or offer them as security for credit to expand their makeshift businesses and fully express their entrepreneurial energies. Their assets remain embalmed as 'dead capital'. Costly regulations discourage businesses from seeking legal registration; compounded by the absence of legal title to homes and land, which excludes their use as collateral to obtain credit – circumstances that limit the potential of millions of people in the developing world, confining them to unproductive lives of insecurity and poverty – inconsistent with the goals of both CBNRM and Vision 2030.

Professor de Soto contends that the primary obstacle preventing the developing world from benefiting from capitalism is its inability to produce capital (Clift 2003). A lack of secure

property rights undermines incentives to invest and the ability of the poor to access credit. Secure property rights are vital for investment, "people are more likely to invest in something if they are sure that they own it. Professor de Soto's insight – that title frees up credit, turning dead capital into live capital – was widely hailed" (The Economist 2006). It focused welcome attention on the need to cut the red tape that often strangles business in developing countries, and it prompted governments in countries as diverse as Egypt and the Philippines to undertake large-scale property-titling campaigns. Professor de Soto argues that it is above all the lack of title that explains why poor people have been unable to turn their assets into capital (Ibid). From an accounting standpoint assets are things or rights that are owned (titled) and have value into the future.

2.4. The Travel and Tourism option

Travel & Tourism is anticipated to play an increasingly important role in Namibia's future economic development. The industry is currently an important contributor to GDP and employment. In 2006, the broader Travel and Tourism economy contributed 16.0% of the country's GDP and accounted for nearly 72,000 jobs, representing 17.9% of total employment (World Travel and Tourism Council 2006). Over the next ten years Travel & Tourism in Namibia is forecast to achieve annualized real growth of 7.9%, in terms of GDP, compared with only 4.4% in the Sub-Saharan Africa region, taking the share of Travel & Tourism GDP to 22.9% in 2016.

The rapid growth in the tourism industry has provided many opportunities to establish new trophy hunting concessions, ecotourism lodges and campsites. Income and development opportunities from tourism also provided communities with incentives to form Conservancies since one aspect of the new government policy emphasized that local communities should have rights over major tourism activities. In accordance with this policy, the private sector has to negotiate contracts with Conservancies to operate lodges or hunting concessions within the Conservancy area. The incomes derived from these enterprises have enabled some Conservancies to become financially self-supporting within a short period of time (NASCO 2006).

An assessment of the first decade of official CBNRM was provided by the Namibia Nature Foundation's Executive Director, Dr Chris Brown, who said that the challenge for 2006 had been "...to harness the economic benefits and incentives for good conservation and

sustainable development that our geographic and developmental positions and rich resource base afford us." He said that during the past year there had been progress in this area that will forever change the way Namibians think about land and its use. "First and foremost, information from 2005 tells us that farming in both the freehold and communal areas contributed about N\$1.8 billion to the national economy, while indigenous biodiversity production systems in the commercial sector alone contributed N\$3.2 billion. Adding the subsistence use of indigenous biodiversity, this sector is earning at least 2.5 times more for the national economy than the farming sector.

"Secondly, many of our best attractions are in the poorest parts of the country – the communal areas – which have some of the best wildlife, best scenery and richest cultures in Namibia..." There are now 50 registered communal Conservancies, covering some 11.5 million ha, with over 200 000 people and with some N\$20 million earned during 2005, up by 43% over 2004 earnings, and projected to be over N\$25 million for 2006 (Appendix 5: Incomes from CBNRM). However, there is an urgent need to increase investor confidence in the communal areas for their true potential to be fully realised. "Thirdly, the sector overall has considerable growth potential. The private sector has, and will continue, to grow the industry. While it requires minimal state investment, it does require support, mainly in the form of developing a more conducive operational environment and further incentives...the challenge to both the public and private sectors are therefore to work together to make this a reality (Ibid)."

Travel and Tourism presents a land use option that is consistent with the goals set out in Vision 2030 and with CBNRM policy. Facilitated by the de Soto approach Travel and Tourism would enable increased participation by the private sector promoting capital investment and meeting community Conservancy management expectations.

2.5. Private Public Partnerships (PPP) approach

Partnerships among governments, businesses, and non-governmental organizations are a growing reality. They are part of a long-term trend toward "hybrid governance", in which "public" policy is mixed among public and private bodies in various combinations (Klitgaard 2003). Smart PPP's, that are consistent with Vision 2030 goals, present viable ways for stakeholders, with complimentary capacities and resources, to obtain much needed capital

and expertise. In structuring the most appropriate approach, the best value for money to government is achieved by focusing on the output specifications, the public interest, matching the capabilities of both government and the private sector, the optimal risk allocation environment and commercial viability. The objective is to achieve effective and efficient value for money outputs (The Partnerships Victoria 2001).

Klitgaard and Treverton (2003) caution that not all PPP's will necessarily prove effective even where there are apparent complimentary resources and capacities. Stakeholders are advised instead to adopt a precautionary approach and the authors provide a framework for due diligence assessment to measure the feasibility of prospective PPP's. When a partnership embarks on a project to produce a public good, like education or a cleaner environment, the partner who values that good more highly should "own" the project, regardless of who made the initial investment". They believe PPP's should be assessed from three perspectives. The first is would-be partners asking, "What's in it for me and my institution?" Secondly, the question for managers, evaluators, or policy makers broadens to, "What are the effects on society of this partnership, compared to the alternatives?" A new set of possible benefits and costs must be appraised. There are also ways for assessing which goods and services should be provided by which partners. An insight from contract theory is also relevant. When a partnership embarks on a project to produce a public good, like education or a cleaner environment, the partner who values that good more highly should "own" the project, regardless of who made the initial investment. The third perspective opens the aperture still wider to ask, "How can government and the private sector create a policy environment in which the right partnerships develop over time?"

2.6. Summary

To review, the salient attributes of CBNRM as a community empowerment approach to poverty reduction that economically incentivizes communities to conserve their environments are consistent with the national goals of Vision 2030. The CBNRM policy has made substantial progress by empowering rural communities at the grassroots level. Nevertheless, in spite of the progressive nature of existing policies "a number of gaps and constraints remain. There are some gaps in the policies and laws themselves, there are gaps between policy intent and implementation, there is overlap and duplication across sectors and there are contradictions" - Jones (2002) in (ICEMA 2003). This paper explores options that may

remedy these gaps to reinforce the contributions of CBNRM in achieving the objectives of Vision 2030. PPP's and exploring the economics of unlocking dead capital through market friendly land reform present alternative approaches to bolster CBNRM policy.

CHAPTER THREE

3. CASE STUDY ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

3.1. Introduction

This section presents an environmental scan of Namibia together with specific reference to the Kunene. Covering the background and current status of the Social, Political, Economic, Regulatory, Technological, Legal and Environmental (SPERTLE) aspects that are essential to understanding the context of the present Community-based Natural Resource Management policy.

Context and setting

At 826 680 square kilometers Namibia is the fifth largest country in Africa, supporting a relatively small population of 1.8 million: a density of less than two persons per square kilometer. Namibia's climate is dominated by the cold Benguela current restricting oceanic evaporation; The Namib, of which the Kunene forms a part, is regarded as an "extremely arid" desert. A feature of rainfall in Namibia is its unpredictability; the range in the Namib is between 2mm in a dry year to over 300mm in a wet year. The incidence of fog is less in the desert's interior, where approximately 20mm precipitation can be expected up to 40 km inland from the coast. On account of its diversity and biomass, the Namib is considered the richest desert on earth. The gravel plain habitat dominates the central and northern Namib. These relatively featureless areas are dotted with small rocky outcrops known as "inselbergs", and dry sporadic rivers which, after rare good rains in the interior, drain towards the Atlantic. Although these rivers seldom contain surface water, they are underlain by subterranean aquifers that support vegetation on their banks. This riparian habitat contrasts with the arid surroundings, and the westward flowing rivers are regarded as "linear oases" which support larger species of wildlife. The region is a refuge for some of the last free roaming "big game" outside of formally protected national parks.

Agriculturally usable land in Namibia is subdivided into the commercial farming area (approximately 36.2 million ha) on freehold land and the Communal Areas on state land (approximately 33.5 million ha) (Palmer R. 2007). Capitalizing on the impressive scenery and wildlife a number of communal area Conservancies' have been established along the

eastern edge of the Namib. The clean air and wide-open spaces combine to generate growing worldwide Travel and Tourism interest thereby presenting low-impact land-use options for the inhabitants (ICEMA 2003).

3.2. History of the Kunene

Under German colonial rule the greater land area of today's Kunene district was incorporated into the greater Etosha Game Park proclaimed in 1907. However, in 1970 the western (Kunene) section was deproclaimed during South African rule and used for settlement areas for Damara and Herero people. Split into two "Bantu administration" districts the northern part became officially known as Kaokoland and the southern area Damaraland. During the 1970's and 1980's Namibia was engaged in an intensifying armed struggle for liberation. This unstable period led to extensive poaching in that heavily impacted wildlife populations including the near extinction of black rhino. Decline of wildlife populations were aggravated by a severe drought in 1980 – 81.

By the mid-1980's the declining wildlife situation led concerned individuals to mobilize a Community Game Guard initiative to arrest poaching. The Damara Council and the Directorate of Nature Conservation formed three concession areas (Palmwag, Etendeka, and Hobatare) to safeguard recovering wildlife populations. Following the successful conclusion to the liberation struggle in 1990, the new democratic government formally commenced the community Conservancy movement with the promulgation and implementation of official CBNRM policy.

Community-based Conservancies are self-defined common property management and social units. These unfenced multiple use areas are zoned by members for their livelihood needs, including crop and livestock farming, mixed wild and domestic animal grazing and exclusive wildlife and tourism. In return for responsible management of wildlife, government gives a Conservancy the rights over its consumptive and non-consumptive use. Conservancy members elect a representative committee to manage natural resources and equitably distribute income. Over 100,000 km² of land, incorporating more than 210,000 people, are currently in the national Conservancy program (Appendix 4: Map of Registered Conservancies). Wildlife numbers have continued to increase in the Kunene region (NASCO 2006) and in 2006 the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) announced plans to reproclaim the original extent of Etosha Game Park to form a large contiguous protected area.

3.3. Ecological Profile of the Kunene

The Kunene region represents hyper-arid, arid, and semi-arid savannah biomes, characterized by frequent and severe droughts. There is a high rate of endemism in the west of the region where more than half of Namibia's endemic mammal species are represented as well as 11 endemic bird species and 26 endemic reptile species.



Figure 1 Namibia's thirteen administrative districts, the Kunene, numbered 7 in the far north-west (Fuller 2000)

Biodiversity increases from west to east with increasing rainfall, but wildlife density is heavily dependent on the varying rainfall. Limitations on resources for wildlife means that most wildlife populations can rapidly reach the carrying capacity of the area under natural circumstances. The addition of livestock places intense pressure on wildlife numbers. Overutilization by domestic livestock, causing irreversible change to vegetation and soil profiles, is having material impact in the region.

Unique & Charismatic Species

The Kunene is an important refuge of the endangered black rhino. However, population remains under threat and requires close monitoring and protection. It is also home to the recovering population of desert-adapted elephant, threatened carnivore species such as lion and cheetah occur naturally. Desert-adapted giraffe, the endemic Hartmann's mountain zebra, herds of springbok, oryx and other antelope.

Land use concerns

Water points were established throughout the region in areas unsuitable for livestock. Hence, livestock are prevalent in sensitive areas with weak soil profiles and limited vegetation cover, leading to rapid deterioration of the land. Human – wildlife conflicts occur around water points (elephants) and in livestock areas where carnivores are a threat to livelihoods. Lion and cheetah are regularly persecuted to protect livestock. Hunting and culling activities are sometimes carried out in an unsustainable manner. The boundaries of the national parks and the concessions continually face the pressure of livestock. Highly sensitive species such as the black rhino show immediate behavioral and breeding changes in response to human activities. Many community Conservancies have not yet formed a management plan and adjoining Conservancies sometimes have conflicting land uses on either side of a boundary.

3.4. Environmental ("SPERTLE") Scan

3.4.1. Social

General

Notwithstanding ongoing foreign aid Sub-Saharan Africa is not on track to meet any of the Millennium Development Goals (UN Development Programme 2005). Income inequality in Namibia remains among the widest in the world. The Gini coefficient for Namibia, a broadly accepted measure of income distribution, is 0.7 in Namibia (Bank of Namibia Annual Report 2005) whereas 0.55 is considered the acceptable upper limit (IPPR 2007).

Kunene

The Kunene is a case in point; it has limited mineral, agricultural or industrial potential and is an ecologically sensitive territory where inappropriate land uses activities can rapidly harm the environment. The estimated population of the Kunene is 70,000 and the district covers an area of about 70,000 km². Culturally, the Kunene is home to a number of different ethnic groups, including Damara stock-keepers (about 7%), sedentary Herero pastoralist and seminomadic Himba cattle herders (who together make up about 90% of the population). There are also a handful of Nama people and the Roman Catholic "Riemvasmaak" farming community (about 3%) and other settlers.

3.4.2. Political

General

Previously under German, British and South African rule, Namibia gained independence in 1990. Namibia's Constitution enshrines fundamental human rights and freedoms including the right to own property, a fair trial, and free speech (IPPR 2007).

Kunene

At Independence (1990) all community areas in Namibia, barring the Kunene region, had lost virtually all their big game – the north-west was the exception: firstly, it did have exclusive wildlife areas – not parks proclaimed by the central government, but tourism concessions created by the second-tier Damara Representative Authority in which settlement was discouraged. Secondly, through their traditional leaders, the local people were actively involved in the protection of their wildlife by the appointment of community game guards. This unorthodox model proved very successful and led to the new SWAPO government's pioneering communal area Conservancy legislation in 1996, which reestablished the wildlife

as a valuable economic resource in the minds of remote rural dwellers, and promoted the recovery of big game populations on state land outside of national parks (Conservation and the Environment in Namibia 2007).

3.4.3. Economic

General

The 2005 Gross Domestic Product of Namibia stood at N\$39.6 billion, an effective GDP per capita of N\$18,874 – making for one of the highest in sub-Saharan Africa. This places Namibia in the lower middle income group of countries according to the World Bank.

A great portion of Namibia's economy is dependant on international trade with imports and exports each totaling more than half of GDP in value. Major exports include beef, meat products, diamonds, uranium, a wide variety of fish products, and beer. Namibia is the world's fifth largest diamond producer by value. The country has a emerging tourism industry based around wildlife, cultures and landscapes (IPPR 2007). Economic growth has been slow. In 1996 – 2000, average annual GDP growth was 4,0 per cent; and in 2001 - 2005, it rose slightly to 4,7 per cent. In 2004 the country's annual GDP grew markedly high at 6,6 per cent. But it declined soon thereafter to 4,3 per cent and 4,0 per cent in 2005 and 2006 respectively. For 2007, the official projection is that GDP growth will be 4,1 per cent. These rates of growth fall short of what is required to accelerate development and to meet the country's socio-economic demands (Hamutenya 2007).

Currently Namibia's new investments are largely flowing into the operations of the mining and public sector (parastatals). But their positive impact on the economy is being diluted by the large capital outflows. These outflows take place through the activities of the country's pension funds, insurance companies and unit trusts. This is to the detriment of Namibia's own investment needs. Thus, while helping to channel the nation's household savings into financial assets and contributing to the deepening of Namibia's financial market, Namibia is a net exporter of capital, although itself in need of investment for growth and development of the country's economy. The outflows of capital are justified on the grounds that Namibia lacks domestic investment opportunities (Ibid).

3.4.3.1. Characteristics of a good investment climate

In its World Development Report 2005, the World Bank published the characteristics that mark a good investment climate (World Bank 2005). Such an environment:

- is not just about generating profits for firms, but about improving outcomes for society as a whole:
- drives growth by encouraging investment and higher productivity;
- enhances the lives of people directly: as employees; entrepreneurs; consumers; users of infrastructure, property and finance and as recipients of tax-funded services or transfers;
- encourages firms to invest by removing unjustified costs, risks and barriers to competition;
- encourages higher productivity by providing opportunities and incentives for firms to develop, adapt and adopt improvements to the way they operate;
- makes it easier for firms to enter and exit markets in a process that contributes to higher productivity and faster growth;
- increases incentives for micro-entrepreneurs to move from the informal to the formal economy,
- can expand the resources that governments have available to fund public services" (Ibid).

Kunene

The absence of freehold title is a factor limiting domestic investment opportunities. In the Kunene region livestock husbandry is the main economic activity. Livestock serves many purposes; providing milk, draught power, meat, manure, a mark of status, a store of wealth, and other social functions. Veterinary barriers hinder movement of livestock and unprocessed livestock products from most communal areas. "Agricultural incomes are so low and variable that cash remittances and state pensions are essential supplements for most families and a large proportion of households regard these as their main source of income" (Ashley 1996).

3.4.4. Regulatory

General

Prior to Namibia's independence in 1990, residents of communal areas had little legal access to wildlife. During the South African colonial period rights over wildlife on communal and freehold land had been centralized by the State. However, in 1968 this trend was reversed when freehold farmers were given use rights over certain species of game (ICEMA 2003).

Colonial legislation permitted commercial farmers to harvest common species of game on their land, however these rights were not extended to people in communal areas, who only had access to game through an annual hunting season declared by the State or through permits for traditional feasts. Trophy hunting could take place on communal land, but the income went to the State. Tourist lodges were developed on communal land, and state-owned concessions awarded to the private sector, but residents only benefited through a few menial jobs (Fuller 2000).

Under South African colonial rule, land allocation became the function of government officials, but in practice, traditional leaders still believed that the land was owned by the chief or king and allocated land in terms of customary law. The South African administration disrupted the legitimacy of some traditional authorities by strategies of co-option and direct appointment of certain leaders. The Communal Land Reform Act (No.5 of 2002) is intended to integrate "the powers of Chiefs, Traditional Authorities and the newly constituted Land Boards with regard to the allocation of land rights in communal areas" Hifikepunye Pohamba, President of the Republic, at the time Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation in (Malan 2003). However, ICEMA reports the CLRA gives recognition to Conservancies, it does not make provision for group tenure. Communal land generally has better rainfall and is more fertile and accommodates most of the population, but many of the communities lack a clear understanding of the provisions of the CLRA; "fragmentation and lack of coordination between different line ministries result in poor implementation of land reform and agricultural policy in communal areas" (Palmer R. 2007).

The new democracy has also seen the gradual erosion of the power and status of traditional leaders as the government has eradicated all vestiges of colonialism and ethnically based legislation. "The further centralization of power away from traditional authorities has contributed to the development of 'open access' situations on much of Namibia's communal rangeland. Without secure and exclusive group tenure over communal land, many residents have been unable to guard their land against appropriation by wealthy individuals and settlers from other areas" (ICEMA 2003).

Further legislation governing the use of natural resources is the Traditional Authorities Act. It provides that traditional authorities 'shall ensure that the members of their traditional

community use the natural resources at their disposal on a sustainable basis and in a manner that conserves the environment and maintains the ecosystems, for the benefit of all persons in Namibia.' The Act goes no further than this in describing the environmental duties of traditional authorities and makes no statements about how these duties will be carried out. Traditional authorities still play an important role in land allocation (ICEMA 2003).

Reconciling the role of traditional authorities with formal governance should be seen as a key component of ensuring the long-run success of CBNRM policy and its potential contribution to nation building and achieving Vision 2030. Exploring arrangements that integrate the Traditional Authorities into mainstream CBNRM structures should be placed high on the agenda.

Kunene

Poaching of wildlife led to the establishment of the Community Game Guard system in the Kunene Region (formerly northern Damaraland and Kaokoland) in the early 1980s. The system proved effective in halting illegal hunting and led to the expansion of support for community conservation and development efforts. Since independence support for CBNRM has expanded and consolidated to include community capacity-building and the facilitation of local income generation, principally through consumptive (trophy and protein hunting) and non-consumptive tourism (photography and wildlife viewing).

3.4.5. Technological

General

The Namibian government has put in place the necessary energy, telecommunication, road and rail network, however, infrastructure and technology development has been confined to the principal economic production centers.

Kunene

The Kunene is characterized by limited infrastructure with mainly dirt roads connecting remote villages and no rail or port facilities. Communities have either limited or no access to communications, public transport, electricity, plumbed water supply or sanitation services. The advent of mobile GSM telecommunication, with data streaming technology, is extending into communal areas presenting interesting opportunities to leapfrog direct to service based economic activities.

3.4.6. Legal

General

When Namibia became independent, the victorious South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) under its leader Sam Nujoma acted very cautiously and prudently. "White" ministers were integrated into the new government and a constitution written in order to guarantee the minority rights even of the former oppressors. The national legal system is based on Roman-Dutch law and the 1990 constitution.

Kunene

Legally communal land in the Kunene region is state-owned public property and residents have only usufruct rights. Free access to communal area state land is constitutionally guaranteed which results in the paradox of open access situations that impair Conservancies ability to participate and benefit from tourism based income. At present the tourism industry that utilizes Conservancies is largely unplanned and uncontrolled. The most visible negative influences are due to an increase in individualistic, uncontrolled and therefore unsustainable tourism (use of 4x4 vehicles causing tracks through sensitive habitats, associated waste, illegal use of scarce firewood, etc.) The consequences of this lack of control are a high ecological impact coupled with a low economic return, with the share earned by communities being negligible. These symptoms can be traced to a central cause: the lack of control over access in communal areas. A second cause is the lack of oversight of the Namibian tourism industry, with little accountability for correcting these problems or grasping the huge opportunities. Economically, the fact that access to many areas is open means that this market is benefiting from the spectacular wildlife, culture and scenery without paying for it and that communities are the primary losers. Up to present, communal landholders have insufficient rights to control tourism on their land. As a result they may acquire a limited share of revenues, are unable to control irresponsible use, and are hamstrung in developing their potential. Providing Conservancies with legal group tenure and assisting them to negotiate joint ventures, can be expected to substantially raise their income and contribution to CBNRM policy.

3.4.7. Environmental

General

The Natural Resource Section in Vision 2030 includes a chapter on Land Capability, Rangelands and Agriculture that highlights the severe constraint that low land capability places on sustainable development in Namibia, and the reliance of the majority of the rural population on subsistence agriculture, especially livestock farming on communal land. Key uncertainties identified in the Vision include poor and fragile soils that are easily degraded, highly variable rainfall, rangeland carrying capacity and, where viable, rain-fed crop production. National development programmes have promoted CBNRM during the last decade. These have assisted rural communities to develop alternative and supplementary income generating. This is in keeping with the need for economic diversification within the natural resource sector identified in the Vision 2030 situation analysis. An entire section within the Natural Resources Sector report is devoted to Land Degradation as a threat to future agricultural output, and one of the key strategies proposed in Vision 2030 is to combat land degradation.

Kunene

The region's limited and variable rainfall patterns aggravate land degradation. "During the extended dry periods plant growth slows down or stops completely, leaving soils vulnerable to erosion and other processes of land degradation. As degradation continues, soils pass from grassland to bush encroachment areas to eroded ground. The arid savannah and dry woodland areas have reverted to savannah-type systems as a result of extensive deforestation. They are the most susceptible to land degradation manifested by bush encroachment, soil erosion and soil salination, causes of economic loss and escalating poverty through declining agricultural production and a loss of food security.

It is suggested that the human population of the Kunene may have exceeded the ecological carrying capacity of the territory (Mendelsohn 2002). Livestock grazing is in commonly managed or open access areas where one person's consumption subtracts from another's. In the absence of title or freehold ownership, no one can easily be excluded. In open access situations, the incentive to freeride is high; signs of the "Tragedy of the Commons" are evident in the form of overgrazing, bush encroachment, soil salination, erosion and desertification.

Periodic droughts result in die-offs of domestic and wild populations; the 1981 – 1983 drought was estimated to have resulted in the die-off of 80% of the wildlife and 90% of domestic animals (Loutit, pers. comm.) This leads to human migration, mass urbanisation and increased dependence on imports (ICEMA 2003). Tourism offers a sustainable, alternative source of income. In this region of Namibia, other sources of income (namely livestock) are probably unsustainable. Economic incentives from tourism to protect wildlife can assist the recovery of vulnerable species and protect habitat for endemic species. A healthy ecosystem with recovering wildlife populations will be a positive development for Travel and Tourism presenting economic development opportunities in the Kunene

3.5. Summary of Findings

Key findings are tabulated together with the implications Findings i – vi identify shortcomings of present CBNRM policy implementation, and vii and viii – Tourism and Enabling Investment Climate – are positive features:

Finding	Implication
i) Inappropriate land uses.	Harmful to environment. If sustained will reduce productivity.
ii) Lack of domestic investment opportunities.	Capital outflows. If sustained nation will fall short of Vision 2030 goals.
iii) Absence of freehold title.	Insecurity of tenure. If sustained will limit local, domestic and foreign investment.
iv) Lack of coordination between different line ministries.	Fragmented CBNRM implementation. If sustained may compromise policy implementation.
v) Open access situations / market benefiting without paying for it.	Harmful to environment and erodes investor confidence. If sustained CBNRM will fall short of national goals.
vi) Traditional authorities still play an important role in land allocation.	Overlap of responsibilities and lack of responsibility and accountability. If sustained erodes investor confidence.
vii) Tourism in Namibia has the potential to contribute substantially to wildlife conservation.	Low environmental impact / high value land use – provided the citizens are the primary stakeholders.
viii) Enabling Investment climate, challenge funding, PSD & PPP.	Private sector possess complimentary resources to unlock value.

Figure 2 Key Findings and Implications. Source – Chapter Three: Case Study

3.6. Summary

The case study reveals that the government has accomplished remarkable progress in the decade and a half since Independence. CBNRM contains the ingredients for successful development consistent with Vision 2030. Nevertheless, the rural areas will benefit from accelerated development. Exploring market friendly approaches that improve the investment climate hold particular promise; engaging in PPP's is an opportunity for accelerated

economic development. Conflicts and overlaps of local governance structures are limiting the potential of CBNRM policies. Exploring ways to reconcile the interests of the stakeholders is vital to the success of the policy and its contribution to the broader Vision 2030 goals. The approaches will be suggested and evaluated in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Summary of Findings

This research confirms that overall CBNRM contains the elements for sustainable economic development of the Kunene region and is an appropriate policy for achieving national goals and objectives. Of the eight key findings, six are shortcomings that may hinder the contribution of CBNRM (see Section 3.5 and the discussion in Chapter Three.) It should be noted that two of the findings – Tourism and Enabling Investment Climate – have positive implications but are both dependant on the ability of the stakeholders to finding solutions to:

- i) Inappropriate land uses.
- ii) Lack of domestic investment opportunities.
- iii) Absence of freehold title.
- iv) Lack of coordination between different line ministries.
- v) Open access situations / market benefiting without paying for it.
- vi) Traditional authorities still play an important role in land allocation.

The majority of these shortcomings (i - v) may be solved by the de Soto approach to titling. An additional benefit titling reform presents is the capacity to unlock dead capital – and thereby leveling the playing field with commercial landowners. Ensuing economic development can support PPP and Private Sector Development (PSD) that are both ultimately in line with national objectives. It is recommended for future researchers of CBNRM to develop well thought-out and coordinated strategies for the realization of PPP and PSD.

4.2. Implications of Findings – Private Sector Participation

For the most part case studies rely upon inductive reasoning; generalisations, concepts or hypotheses that emerge from an examination of the literature. PSD in Namibia – particularly Tourism – has the potential to contribute substantially to biodiversity protection and poverty alleviation in rural areas through direct and indirect employment and small business development consistent with CBNRM policy and Vision 2030. It is anticipated that tourism joint ventures, along with trophy hunting concessions, and the privately owned enterprises will continue to grow, and have a significant impact on the broader Namibian economy.

The private sector should be viewed as a key partner in poverty reduction. Meaningful growth can be achieved with increases in profitable investment by the private sector. Private sector investment:

- generates jobs and higher wage income;
- boosts national savings; and
- enhances the national tax base, permitting higher public spending on basic services such as education and health,

However, the private sector is inclined to be risk averse; prudent investors are attracted to acceptable risk business enterprises. Insecurity of tenure makes for a high-risk investment climate – what little capital such circumstances attract is speculative and calculated to make a quick return. Limiting the capital exposure is high on investors agendas; short-term investment horizons and pressured ROI cycles promote undesirable short-range exploitive economic behaviour. To enhance the prospects of CBNRM achieving the development goals of Vision 2030 the public sector should be encouraged to promote a more favourable investment climate. A White Paper published by the UK government in 2006: *Eliminating World Poverty: Making Governance Work for the Poor* states "Economic growth is the single most powerful way of pulling people out of poverty. Capitalism is the only system that can lift billions out of poverty. However, no recipe can achieve this overnight. History suggests that as well as property rights and a decent legal system, it requires sound economic policies, an educated workforce and political arrangements capable of regulating conflicts and minimising the risk to investment" (DFID 2006).

The typical private sector entity "is not a large multinational company, but a rural smallholding, a market stall or joint venture tourism project" (Select Committee on International Development 2006). Sustained poverty reduction in line with CBNRM policy will require the development of small and medium-sized enterprises through domestic and foreign investment and the evolution of businesses from the informal to the formal economy. A series of factors affect the private sector's ability to deliver 'the right kind of growth': the climate in which investment takes place is foremost amongst these factors:

- The regulatory environment;
- the presence of supporting infrastructure;
- rights to property and land
- governance;

• access to financial, physical and human capital

4.2.1. Enabling investment climates

Economic growth and poverty alleviation are closely correlated. Private sector development (PSD) emphasises the central importance of economic growth to reducing poverty. The links between the private sector and poverty reduction are manifold:

- PSD maximizes the link between economic growth and poverty reduction of achieving job creation for poor people,
- PSD promotes markets that work for poor people, and.
- PSD growth is conducive to increasing capital investment in developing countries.

The private sector has greater potential resources — in terms of finance, human capital and regional and international networks — than the combined resources of donor agencies and governments, and finding ways to stimulate the investment of these resources is crucial to poverty reduction. Methods for PSD financing include:

- Support to Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs),
- Public Private Partnerships, and
- Challenge funds

A recent example is the successful Doro Nawas community joint venture funded partially by DFID Challenge Funding (Case Study Appendix 3). Challenge funds are considered to have potentially important 'demonstrator' effects – that is, demonstrating the viability of a market opportunity and 'jump-starting' markets that are slow or fail to deliver without public sector assistance. DFID maintains that: "Whilst improving the environment and investment climate for business is seen as crucial, there is still a vital role for a mechanism that can engage more directly with the private sector, and stimulate or catalyse businesses to act in a certain way that is pro-poor." Challenge funds are a useful tool for direct engagement with the private sector and can help to catalyse market activity where it is slow or non-existent. Donors can act as investment pioneers, providing initial funding for investments perceived as too risky by the private sector and demonstrating the investments' potential such as Challenge Funding. Donors and governments can also help markets reach even the very poorest, such as the residents of the Kunene, by sustaining markets that are not profitable for the private sector through microfinance.

In a case study, detailing the lessons learned in fourteen countries sharing similar development challenges to Namibia, the World Bank reports "Policymakers who seek to accelerate growth in the incomes of poor people, and thus reduce overall poverty, would be well advised to implement policies that enable their countries to achieve a higher rate of overall growth". Evidence from the 14 countries confirms that the pace of overall economic growth is the main factor that determines how quickly poverty declines.

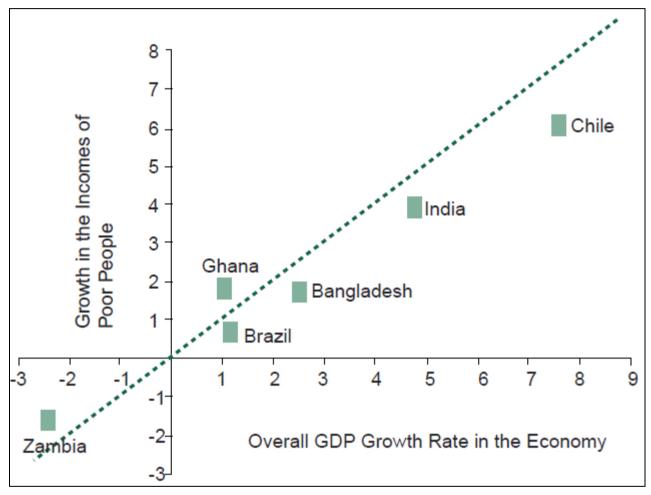


Figure 3 Growth and Poverty Countries with higher overall growth rates also saw higher growth in incomes of poor people. Points above the 45-degree line indicate incomes of poor people rising faster than average incomes (Select Committee on International Development 2006).

A successful pro-poor growth strategy should have, at its core, measures to achieve sustained and rapid economic growth. These include macroeconomic stability, well defined property rights, a good investment climate, an attractive incentive framework, well-functioning markets and broad access to infrastructure and education.

The country studies demonstrate the strong correlation between overall economic growth and the speed of poverty reduction. The incidence of poverty fell in the 11 countries that experienced significant growth during the period, and rose in the three countries that saw little or no growth (Zambia, Indonesia and Romania). On average, a 1 percent increase in GDP per capita for these countries reduced poverty by 1.7 percent during this period. The reduction in poverty was particularly spectacular in Vietnam, where poverty fell by 7.8 percent a year between 1993 and 2002, halving the poverty rate from 58 percent to 29 percent. Other countries with impressive poverty reductions include El Salvador, Uganda, Ghana, India and Tunisia, each with declines of 3 to 6 percent a year' (World Bank 2005). Economic growth benefits all citizens as the private sector grows all 'rise with the tide'. PSD has the ability to deliver pro-poor growth through responding to market forces – Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' at work – that results in job creation and rising incomes.

4.3. Implications of Findings - Governance

This explorative research paper employed the case study approach to discover if CBNRM policy, as practiced in the communal territories of Namibia, was a viable approach to achieving the national development goals and objectives in the Kunene region. The methodology used combinations of analysis, diagnosis and description to explain how situations evolved into their current state. Lessons learned from the information gathered reveal that CBNRM policy, as currently implemented, is sub-optimal, thus hindering the development of the Kunene region; insecurity of tenure and competing agendas of Traditional Authorities, local and national government structures are impediments to effective natural and human resource utilization. Insecurity of tenure restricts investment. The current situation promotes opportunistic developments that are unsustainable and not in line with the framework of CBNRM and the goals of Vision 2030.

Options of enhancing CBNRM policy implementation were explored; securing tenure and PPP demonstrate convincing opportunities for addressing the identified shortcomings for CBNRM policy to provide a basis for sustainable economic development of the Kunene region consistent with the goals of Vision 2030.

4.4. Implications of Findings – Land Titling

"All developed countries have secure property rights, accessible to all citizens. No poor country has. Better property laws are not the only reason that some countries are richer than others, but they clearly make a difference" (The Economist 2001). Many poor countries,

recognising this, are devising ways to make their property systems more inclusive. But the hurdles are high:

- Lawyers often oppose attempts to simplify the law,
- Traditional Authorities resist changes that may reduce their power, and
- Cultures cannot be changed by fiat; people who live in traditional rural communities are often wary of alien ways of doing things

To provide incentives to attract domestic and international investors to the communal areas market friendly enhancements to CBNRM policy will be required. In the absence of secure title bureaucracy and frustrating legal systems economic activities may be driven underground, the losers are not simply those engaged in these activities. The entire economy loses when legal property rights are not readily available because investment is stifled (The Economist 2001).

De Soto land titling economics are no magic formula, but rather a key component of a wide range of complimentary reforms that requires comprehensive modification of public policy in order to succeed. Providing rights and tenure over resources promotes long-term thinking about how natural resources can continue to benefit people. Further, local people are more likely to engage in sound management if the benefits of managing wildlife exceed the costs. These policies, which stand on free enterprise, require investment plus access to transparent markets for goods and services provided.

"Access to land remains a fundamental component of the solution to rural poverty in circumstances where there is extensive rural unemployment, inability to migrate due to low skills and lack of migration capital, and indigenous populations that have limited non-farm options due to discrimination outside the community and attachment to place" (de Janvry 1998).

4.5. Summary of Findings and Implications

Creating the right conditions for growth and job creation is a principal function of governments. Since Independence, the major strides achieved in national reconciliation have provided an enabling investment climate at the macro level. At the local governance level reconciliation of the conflicting intents between national policy, CBNRM, the Conservancies and the Traditional Authorities is a priority. Joint ventures, such as PPP's, present possibilities for reconciling the three parties in united business ventures. Expanding several

of the existing successful joint ventures between communities and private sector tourism operators as these present opportunities for such PPP ventures can be considered.

Attention on market development and investment climate approaches is required for CBNRM policy to achieve the goals of Vision 2030; promoting an enabling private sector investment climate is an important step. Solving the shortcomings to CBNRM, such as security of tenure, is key for the diversification and growth of the economy. Such initiatives have the potential of making the Kunene an easier and more attractive place to invest.

4.6. Recommendations

The research explored ways to enhance CBNRM with the purpose of stimulating discussion on options to reinforce its potential. It is recommended that all interested parties; Public sector, Conservancies, Traditional Leaders, along with the Private sector, should engage in an urgent stakeholder dialogue related to strengthening CBNRM policy implementation and the role PSD can play towards achieving widespread poverty alleviation. Putting into operation an improved investment climate (section 3.4.3.1 on page 23) can unlock CBNRM's contribution to achieving national goals.

Whatever outcome be chosen should be done as a positive step toward achieving Vision 2030; this involves balancing the needs of the various stakeholders. The free market possesses the capability of developing the economy of the Kunene provided the concerns of the private sector are sufficiently addressed. In conclusion, the authorities and stakeholders have three broad options for enhancing CBNRM policy:

- i. Adopt a laissez faire approach permitting CBNRM implementation to continue as is. However, as the discussion in chapters two and three illustrates plus the findings and implications analysed in chapter four this is unlikely to result in the desired outcome for the nation. This is a low cost option to implement, however, as chapters two and three demonstrate is unlikely to achieve national goals.
- ii. Introduce free hold title deed land ownership, however, is a highly sensitive political issue. Improving security of tenure is a market friendly approach to stimulate capital investment. Failure to address security of tenure appropriately will make it difficult to achieve the desired results. Land titling is a relatively low cost intervention that

presents a range of development opportunities consistent with CBNRM policy and Vision 2030. By leveling the playing field the Conservancies will be able to compete equally with the commercial farmlands for raising capital. Once the freehold title deeding exercise is completed and incorporated in the existing state deeds offices little further state intervention is required as the free market economy is left to its own devices.

iii. Explore ways of integrating community-based local governance that respects and incorporates the interests of the Conservancies, the Traditional Authorities and national policy. More costly from an administrative point of view; PPP's present a 'middle ground' power sharing approach that is neither laissez faire or quiet as drastic as land reform. This will be a state sponsored and sanctioned project and government would be the senior "partner" guiding the exercise. This inclusive approach has merit as conflicting approaches to CBNRM can be regulated around the boardroom table.

For the proposed dialogue to be effective, it is recommended the Stakeholders have unambiguous and transparent agendas so that each party possesses clear understanding of the roles, responsibility and objectives of the other. That the government plainly states its objectives of achieving Vision 2030 through effective implementation of CBNRM policy, and values the objectives of the private sector: profit, return on the investment and return of the investment.

The outcomes of the dialogue and policy decisions need to be carefully drafted, and together with appropriate corporate and public sector governance checks and balances, be implemented. Effective monitoring and enforcement mechanisms need to be created and put in place to ensure that that desired outcomes are achieved.

4.7.SUMMARY

As set out in the Introduction, this paper explored the background and current situation of Namibia's CBNRM policy implementation. The findings confirm that CBNRM contains the elements for successful development of the Kunene region. This policy permits environmentally responsible development consistent with both Vision 2030 and the UN Millennium Development Goals. The research did identify six shortcomings hindering

CBNRM; the implications of these shortcomings could negate benefits. Lessons learned demonstrate that policy implementation has the potential to be enhanced; the findings suggest that de Soto land titling and the PPP approach present logical responses to remedy the shortcomings. The authorities are encouraged to assess the options of enhancing CBNRM policy implementation and a stakeholder dialogue will be essential to exploring these opportunities.

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APPENDIX 1: EVOLUTION OF THE WORLD BANK'S LAND POLICY

Source: Julian Quan, 'Land Tenure, Economic Growth and Poverty in sub-Saharan Africa', in Camilla Toulmin and Julian Quan (Eds), *Evolving Land Rights, Policy and Tenure in Africa* (IIED and NRI, March 2000).

In 1975 the World Bank issued a Land Reform Policy Paper which recommended:

- formal land titling as a precondition of "modern development";
- the abandonment of communal tenure systems in favour of freehold title and sub-division of the commons;
- widespread promotion of land sales markets to bring about efficiency-enhancing land transfers;
- support for land redistribution on both efficiency and equity grounds

In the light of practical experience and continuing policy debate since 1975, the Bank has now considerably revised its assessment and guidance. The Bank now recognises that:

- communal tenure systems can be a more cost-effective solution than formal individual title, if transparency and local accountability can be assured;
- the circumstances in which land titling is an optimal solution are much more limited where credit is not widely available to the rural poor, titling is likely to be biased in favour of the rich and precautions against land-grabbing need to be taken;
- widespread market distortions limit the effectiveness of land sales markets in enhancing efficiency and equity, and there will be greater benefits from the development of land rental markets;
- following the end of the Cold War, debates about private versus public ownership of land have become less polarised. More flexible and decentralised alternatives to universal private titling or public ownership and state led egalitarian land distribution can be developed. These include market assisted and negotiated land reform, for which the Bank can get directly involved in support.

Nevertheless, the Bank maintains that the key principles of the LRPP remain valid:

• the desirability of owner occupied farms on equity and efficiency grounds;

- the relative inefficiency in farm production of both wage labour and collectives;
- the need to promote land markets;
- the desirability of land reform.

The underlying constant in Bank Policy is the view that a framework of secure, transparent and enforceable property rights is a critical precondition for investment and economic growth. Given that it is now recognised that property rights need not necessarily be individualised, and that security can be provided within customary tenure systems, this view is now much more widely shared.

Within Africa, the World Bank is now engaged in the promotion of:

- land policy reforms (as opposed to tenure reform, more narrowly) to reflect the new understanding, and to eliminate conflicts between parallel sets of rights;
- pilot programmes to register and adjudicate customary rights and provide titles on a communal basis; and
- piloting of negotiated and market-based programmes for land redistribution.

In addition the Bank now places more emphasis on gender rights, on those of pastoralists, and on the importance of stakeholder participation in inclusive land policy processes, partnerships with civil society, and building capacity of local institutions for decentralised land management.

APPENDIX 2: OVERVIEW OF THE WB/GEF PROJECT AND

ALTERNATIVES (ICEMA 2003)

The project development objective is to promote community based integrated ecosystem management

through targeted activities that improve rural livelihoods and empower local communities on

communal lands. The project global objective is to restore, secure and enhance key ecosystem

processes to conserve biodiversity, alleviate land degradation and promote sustainable use on

communal lands.

The four components are:

Component 1: Economic Benefits and Barrier Removal for Ecosystem Related Benefits

Conservancies are meant to benefit all community members through enabling managed access to the

resource base, access to micro-enterprise development, training in local development and natural

resource management and access to employment. This component is concerned with barrier removal

to sustainable use of biodiversity through provision of funds to communities for small-scale economic

activities and related capacity building. It builds on the encouraging but limited achievements of the

first phase of the National CBNRM Program related to community-based tourism and wildlife

management activities but focus on a broader range of livelihood options. Its overall objective is to

contribute to increased economic benefits to community members.

Component 2: Sustainable Ecosystem Management

This component is concerned with restoring, securing and enhancing the biodiversity and ecosystem

processes that support sustainable benefits to local communities on communal lands. Implementation

will take place in Conservancies and eventually in community-forests in or adjacent to communal

Conservancies.

Component 3: Targeted Central Institutional Support

The component aims to improve the strategic planning, implementation and monitoring capacity as

well as institutional set-up of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism as the responsible lead

agency for the National CBNRM Program.

Component 4: Project Management Support

The component overall goals is to strengthening the capacity of MET to manage and supervise

CBNRM activities.

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APPENDIX 3: CASE STUDY: DORO !NAWAS LODGE, DORO !NAWAS CONSERVANCY

(Kunene area in Namibia)

In October 2004 a private led initiative received a grant for £300,000 from Department for International Development (DFID) through the Business Linkage Challenge Fund (BLCF)ⁱ to build a luxury safari lodge in the Doro !Nawas Conservancy in Namibia. Administered by Emerging Markets Group, this 3 year project aimed at harnessing the full potential of Namibia's



fastest growing industry through a project that provided jobs and skills training, and thereby diversifying livelihood options in the Conservancy.

The lead partner, Wilderness Safaris Namibia (WSN), is a safari company that owns eleven lodges promoting low volume, low impact and high quality tourism in remote and unspoilt wildlife areas, and matched the funding by investing £300,000 in this initiative themselves. WSN, in partnership with Omni consultants and the Doro !Nawas Conservancy cater to self-drive and fly-in international guests, sharing economic and empowerment benefits with the local community.



Being the first joint venture with a Conservancy this project experimented finding the right model for community based tourism. The real innovation is in the creation of a 60-40 partnership with local stakeholders and WSN has pioneered a model for engaging local communities as the camp represents the first formal enterprise in the Conservancy. In addition to wages earnings, and bed-night levies, rents paid to the Conservancy

provide the community with a sustained revenue base to reinvest in community projects, mainly related to education.

Another key result of the project has been empowerment of the local community and in particular women. During the building phase 80 construction labourers were hired and currently 36 staff jobs have been created mainly for women. Community members have been trained by WSN and in turn have had the opportunity to become trainers, thus creating a multiplier effect. One integral part of the training provided during the project related to HIV prevention.

Additional impact on poverty alleviation is created by the fact that Doro !Nawas fosters a market for complimentary goods such as Arts & Crafts, indirectly providing jobs for a further substantial number of women.

The project could be used as a replicable model demonstrating successful community based tourism, private sector partnership and conservation efforts in Africa.

Appendix 4: Namibia's registered communal Conservancies

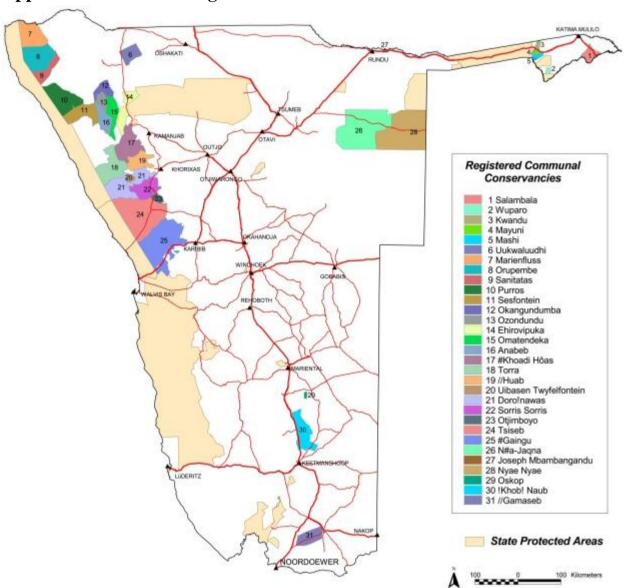


Figure 4 Registered Communal Conservancies (NASCO 2006)

Appendix 5: Incomes from CBNRM

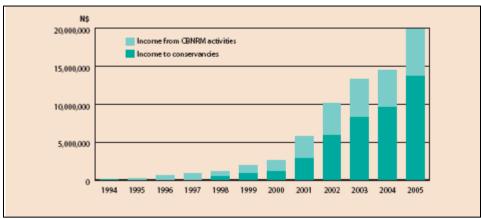


Figure 5 Incomes from the overall CBNRM programme grew to almost N\$20 million in 2005. The incomes are shown in two categories: incomes to Conservancies and incomes to CBNRM activities outside Conservancies (NASCO 2006).

APPENDIX 6: CBNRM REVENUE SPLIT

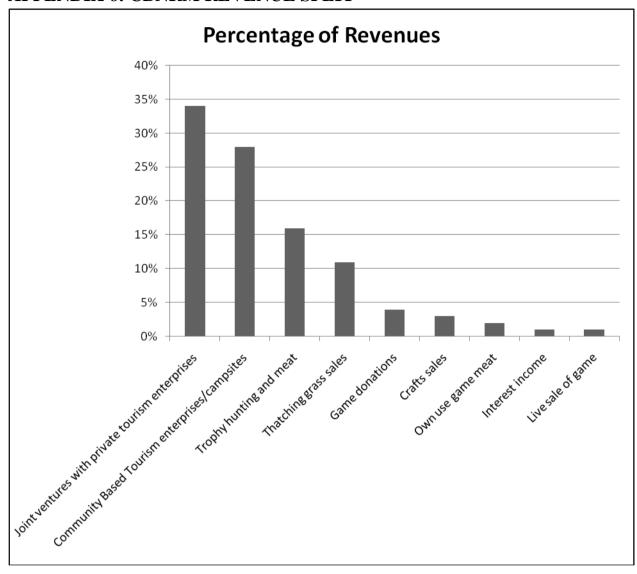


Figure 6 Contribution by category to Conservancy gross earnings (USAID 2007)

APPENDIX 7: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- ➤ What is the current situation in N-W Namibia?
 - O What has been done about it?
 - What should be done about it?
 - o Do Traditional Authorities impact CBNRM implementation?
- ➤ How can CBNRM contribute to improvement?
- ➤ What alternative options or implementation approaches exist?
 - o What factors limit private sector investment?
 - o Is security of tenure a factor affecting development?
- Anything else you would like to add which has not been brought up, but you think may contribute to my research?

APPENDIX 8: NAMIBIA MACRO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS (IPPR 2007)

Indicator	Value 💌	Yea	Source
GDP	N\$39.6 billion	2005	Preliminary National Accounts 2006
GDP per capita	N\$18874	2005	Bank of Namibia
Average GDP growth per annum	4.70%	2005	Preliminary National Accounts 2006
Average per capita GDP growth per annum	7.10%	2005	Preliminary National Accounts 2006
Gini coefficient	0.701	2003/04	National Household I/E Survey 2003/04
Imports as % of GDP	51.10%	2005	Preliminary National Accounts 2006
Exports as % of GDP	47.60%	2005	Preliminary National Accounts 2006
Average annual inflation rate	7.30%	2006	Bank of Namibia
Average annual exchange rate N\$:US\$	6.5274	Dec-05	Bank of Namibia
Average prime lending rate	13.50%	Jun-07	Bank of Namibia
Government revenue and grants as % of GDP	29.60%	2005	Bank of Namibia
Government expenditure as % of GDP	33.10%	2005	Bank of Namibia
Budget deficit as % of GDP	1.50%	2004/05	Budget 2006/7
Government debt as % of GDP	32.00%	2004/05	Budget 2006/7
Population	1,830,330	2001	Population and Housing Census 2001
Population growth rate	2.60%	2001	Population and Housing Census 2001
Number of economically active people	608,610	2004	Labour Force Survey 2004
Central government employment	85,024	Dec-03	Labour Force Survey 2004
Unemployment as % of economically active	37%	2004	Labour Force Survey 2004
Life expectancy at birth	52 years	1997	UN Human Development Report 1999
Crude HIV prevalence ratio in pregnant women	22.00%	2002	Report of the 2002 National HIV Sentinel Survey MoHSS
Communal land as % of total land area	41%	1994	National Development Plan 1
Commercial land as % of total land area	44%	1994	National Development Plan 1

APPENDIX 9: HUMAN POVERTY, DEVELOPMENT AND EQUITY

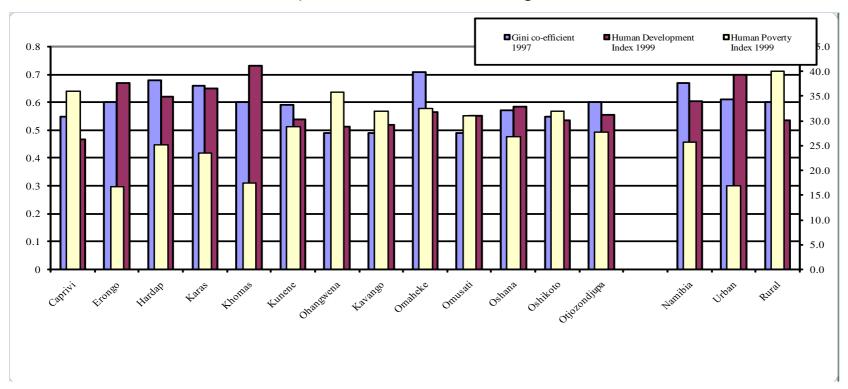


Figure 7 Human poverty index, human development index, and the Gini co-efficient by region

Notes on data, analysis and Human Development Reports for Namibia 1997, 1999, 2000 (HDI and HPI data) compilation. Data summarised by region, urban and rural areas, males and females, and are formatted as follows: Region, Gini co-efficient 1997, Human Development Index 1999, Human Poverty Index 1999, Human Development. Index 2000, Human Poverty Index 2000 Contact: United Nations Office Namibia.