
“The person with the idea for the campsite is a hero.”
Institutional arrangements and livelihood change regarding
community-owned tourism enterprises in Namibia
(Case studies from Caprivi and Kavango Regions)

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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.

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Acronyms

CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (Zimbabwe)
CBNRM	Community-based Natural Resource Management
CBOs	community-based organisations
CBT	community-based tourism
CGG	Community Game Guard (known as Community Ranger)
COT	community-owned tourism
CSD	CBNRM Subdivision (of MET)
DEA	Directorate of Environmental Affairs
DOT	Directorate of Tourism
DPWM	Directorate of Parks and Wildlife Management
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Projects
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IRDNC	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation
LIFE	Living in a Finite Environment
LTV	Lizauli Traditional Village
MAWRD	Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development
MCM	Mashi Craft Market
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism
MLRR	Ministry of Lands and Resettlement and Rehabilitation
NACOBTA	Namibian Community-based Tourism Association
NACSO	Namibian Association for CBNRM Support Organisations
NEPRU	Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit
NGOs	non-governmental organisations
NNF	Namibian Nature Foundation
NTB	Namibian Tourism Board
PTO	Permission to Occupy
TA	Traditional Authority
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature
WILD	Wildlife Integration for Livelihood Diversification (MET research project)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The study focus

Community¹-based tourism (CBT) covers a range of tourism options, from lucrative private-sector partnership contracts (joint ventures) to small-scale community-owned enterprises. This paper focuses on a review of the small-scale community-owned tourism (COT²) enterprises in the Caprivi³, encompassing the development of community campsites, traditional villages and craft markets. The Namibian Conservancy Legislation provides an institutional framework for communities to use, manage and benefit – both consumptively and non-consumptively – from wildlife, with non-consumptive wildlife use being recognised as tourism. All three campsite case studies are owned and managed by conservancies or the equivalent (i.e. a residents' trust in West Caprivi National Park). Mashi Craft Market is an independent producers' co-operative situated within a conservancy area and the Lizauli Traditional Village was started by a lodge owner, owned by the community and then reopened in August 2002 by a local entrepreneur.

This report focuses on the institutional aspects of COT enterprises that shape the change the enterprises bring to people's livelihoods. An earlier paper focused on the factors contributing to successful COT enterprises as identified by the local people and support organisations responsible for enterprise establishment (Halstead 2003).

The institutions and their roles

The most important institutional player in the arena of COT enterprise establishment are community-based organisations (CBOs). Traditional Authorities, government bodies, the private sector, donors and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are also important players. These institutions interact and play different roles during the key processes of COT enterprise establishment (consultation, planning, accessing start-up capital, securing government support and training). Broad consultation, particularly within the host community, is a key to successful COT enterprises, as is effective planning and training. All five case-study enterprises had to source external funding through support by NGOs. The resources within the CBNRM programme have allowed for strong NGO support to COT enterprises. Government support to COT enterprises could be strengthened, especially with regard to securing communal tenure of the tourist site.

Livelihood change

Community-owned tourism ventures in Caprivi and Kavango have diversified existing livelihoods by allowing a limited number of people to gain a local cash income as well as accessing training and career path development. The average annual income for campsite staff members is approximately N\$ 4 000. This income is modest, but as a regular cash earning it adds significantly to income security. On a small scale two conservancies have targeted families displaced by the new tourism land use for jobs at the campsites. Creating jobs in remote, rural areas is a difficult task and one that the Namibian Government is committed to realising. Opportunities are few, and it is no small achievement for local communities to develop and manage enterprises in remote areas that provide full-time, albeit limited employment.

¹ Community in this paper refers to a distinct grouping of residents or producers sharing some common membership, e.g. members of the same conservancy or members of the same craft group.

² COT enterprises are in place when a defined community collectively has the legal right to occupy the tourist site, collectively controls decision-making, and benefits on a collective basis from enterprise profits as well as other tangible and intangible benefits.

³ In this paper the term 'Caprivi' encompasses the entire area of the Caprivi Strip, from the Kavango River in the West to Impalila Island in the East.

Apart from training opportunities, other non-financial benefits identified by local people responsible for establishing the case-study enterprises, included skill acquisition (e.g. craft making); traditional skills being valued and transferred (at the traditional village); greater knowledge and confidence of tourism and business (e.g. people attending exchange trips); and increased confidence due to collective action (among craft women). Gender awareness was shown through attempts to achieve a gender balance in campsite employee recruitment.

Making the link between tourism benefits and improved natural resource management

The Namibian CBNRM programme is based on the premise that communities will receive direct benefits through the protection and sustainable use of common property natural resources. Workshop data reveals that people responsible for the establishment and management of the COT enterprises are making the link between benefits from the enterprises and improved natural resource management. Other intangible benefits include a strong sense of proprietorship and appreciation for the enterprises so that even though financial benefits are low, there is a positive outcome for community conservation. In the words of one Kubunyana Campsite workshop participant, “The person who had the idea [for the campsite] is a hero.”

Non-financial costs incurred with COT enterprises

Local people responsible for the establishment of the enterprises expressed the cost in time, the loss of access to resources on campsite locations, and frustration at the slow rate of progress, as the main non-financial costs incurred with the establishment of COT enterprises in Caprivi. These enterprises were developed in the 1990s and had to reduce their activities or close during the UNITA-related unrest and failed Caprivi secessionist attempt – from late 1999 to mid-2002. A testimony to their resilience was their reopening in the later part of 2002. Despite their poor financial performance during the period of unrest, there was never any suggestion of the tourist sites being reallocated to their original land use.

The future

Financial scenarios suggest that the enterprises can be financially viable, given a recovery in tourist numbers and an increase in campsite fees. Bond (2001) reported that in the context of CAMPFIRE “current examples of community-based tourism or non-lease tourism have proved not to be financially viable and seem unlikely to drive processes of institutional change”. In Caprivi, the indications are that some community-owned tourism enterprises are financially viable. Whether they drive institutional change remains to be seen.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale for research paper

There has been considerable development of CBT within the CBNRM programme in Namibia and some review documentation has been produced – for example, the three volumes produced by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) in Association with the Namibian Community-based Tourism Association (NACOBTA), which review private-sector community partnership in Namibia (Roe *et al.* 2001). However, prior to the research carried out to inform this report, there has been no detailed review of existing community-owned tourism enterprises.

The research conducted to inform this report focused on detailed, participatory reviews of five COT enterprises in Caprivi⁴. Over 70 people responsible for the development and management of these enterprises participated in the five different workshops and six key informants were interviewed privately⁵. An earlier paper presented the key research findings, focusing on the factors contributing to successful COT enterprises as identified by the local people and support organisations responsible for enterprise establishment (Halstead 2003). This paper focuses on understanding the institutional aspects of the enterprises and how these institutions have shaped the impact of the enterprises on people's livelihoods. Two campsite staff members from two of the COT enterprise case studies were chosen as household case studies for the WILD Project, enabling some information to be obtained on the individual livelihood impact of employment at COT enterprises.

The institutional players in COT enterprises are identified in Section 2. Section 3 addresses the players' roles in dealing with the main processes of enterprise establishment (i.e. consultation; accessing start-up capital; training and capacity building; and government support and planning). In light of the institutions which have shaped them, the collective and individual livelihood changes brought about by the enterprises are then investigated (Section 4). The paper ends with conclusions and recommendations to improve the practice of COT enterprises from an institutional and livelihoods perspective.

1.2 Sustainable livelihoods approach⁶

Since COT enterprises offer a new income-generation opportunity for rural livelihoods⁷ in Caprivi, a sustainable livelihoods approach has been adopted in this research to enhance analysis and understanding of findings.⁸ This includes understanding the role of policies, institutions and processes in affecting the establishment of, and livelihood change associated with, COT enterprises, as well as identifying the aspects that put COT enterprises at risk (i.e. vulnerability context). Figure 1 shows how the sustainable livelihoods framework can be used to understand COT enterprises in Caprivi.

In Figure 1, the assets or capital refer to resources available to people to develop tourist facilities, e.g. natural assets or capital in the form of wildlife and scenery in communal areas are used when establishing campsites. Policies, legislation and processes (the rules of the game) prescribe how people can use these assets (Sections 2 and 3), e.g. the conservancy programme provides a legal

⁴ This formed a component of the Wildlife Integration for Livelihood Diversification (WILD) Project, a three-year participatory, applied research project of the MET, focusing on CBNRM and livelihoods.

⁵ Refer to Murphy 2002 for workshop proceedings and Halstead 2003 for interview details.

⁶ Refer to DFID 1999 for more information on sustainable rural livelihoods.

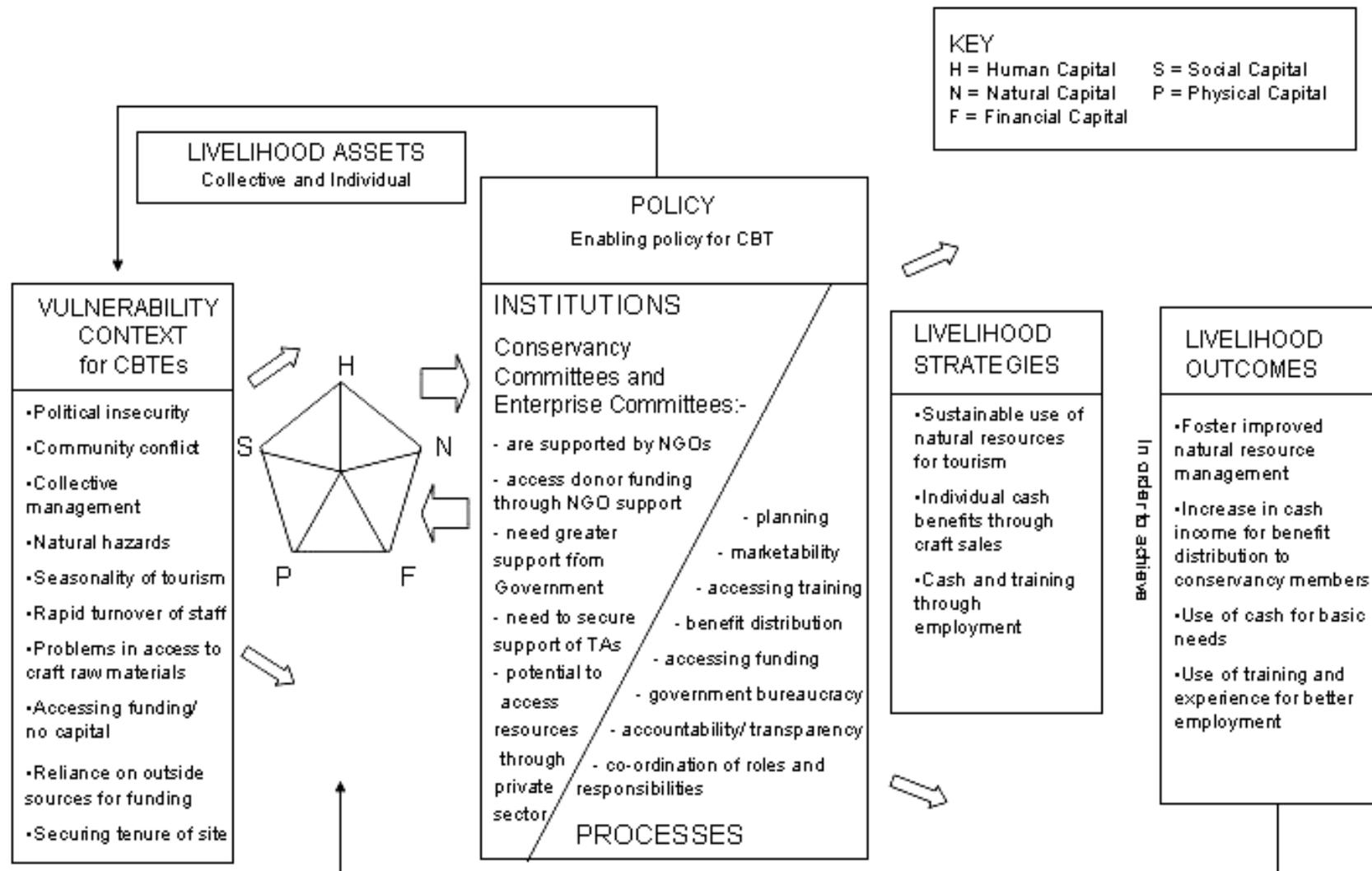
⁷ A livelihood is made up of the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living (DFID 1999).

⁸ Refer to Long *et al.* 2001 for the application of the sustainable livelihoods approach in the WILD Project.

vehicle for communal ownership of tourist enterprises and the distribution of revenues. Livelihood strategies refer to the activities people use to obtain livelihood outcomes – the establishment of COT enterprises is construed as a livelihood strategy for the generation of local employment and revenue for wider distribution (refer Section 4 for the collective and individual livelihood change brought about by COT enterprises). There are feedback loops where livelihood outcomes can influence assets, as in the positive case where benefits from COT enterprises lead to better natural resource management, which in turn improves natural capital. Policies, institutions and processes influence the vulnerability context either by increasing or reducing vulnerability, e.g. if unfair or belated, benefit distribution can increase community conflict. Livelihoods are sustainable when they can withstand or overcome shocks or threats which make them vulnerable, e.g. in the case of COT enterprises the difficulty of collective management.

The sustainable livelihoods approach also facilitates an understanding of COT enterprises beyond the direct financial benefits to what the enterprises mean to local people and the contribution of COT enterprises to the overall development and conservation context (Ashley, C. 1999 and 2000; and Long, S.A. 2002).

Figure 1: Use of sustainable livelihoods framework to understand COT enterprises in Caprivi



1.3 Background to community-owned tourism enterprises in Namibia

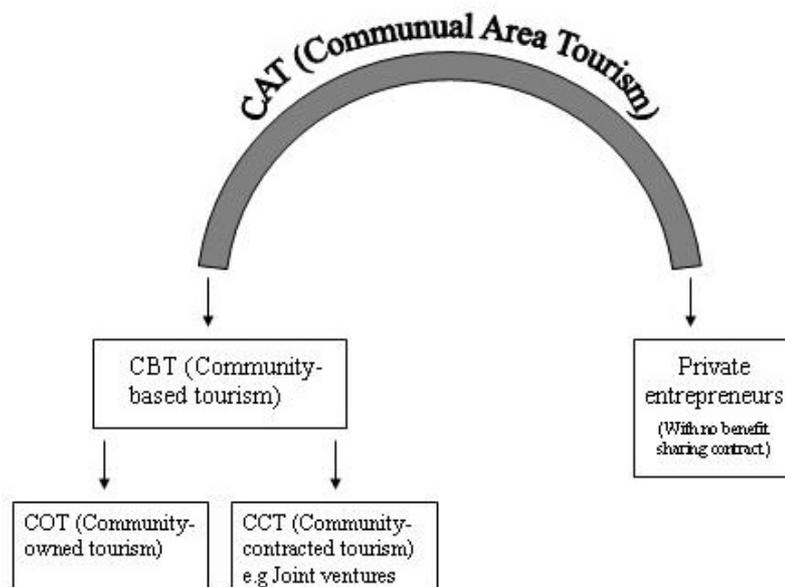
1.3.1 Community-based tourism⁹ in Namibia

Tourism development in Namibia has kept pace with global tourism trends¹⁰. Government legislation in the form of the 1994 White Paper on Tourism noted that “tourism must provide direct benefits to local people and aid conservation” (MET 1994:5). In 1995 a policy on ‘Community-based Tourism Development’ was initiated (MET 1995). However, in most regions in Namibia, Government has had little capacity and operational support to carry out the implementation of policy.

The passing of the Namibian Government’s Communal Area Conservancy Legislation in 1996 was a landmark for CBT, as it created new opportunities for rural Namibians to benefit from use of wildlife and facilitated a new vision which links the sustainable use of natural resources to social and economic benefits.

The Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programme within Namibia provided both a conceptual and legislative framework for the initiation of community-based tourism (Roe, Grieg-Gran & Schalken 2001; NACSO 2002). The CBNRM philosophy is based on the principle that communities receive direct benefits through the protection and sustainable use of natural resources.

Figure 2: Community-owned tourism as a facet of communal area tourism and community-based tourism



1.3.2 Community-owned tourism as a facet of CBT

This paper focuses on COT enterprises as one component of CBT (Figure 2 above). The community ownership of a tourist enterprise can be considered to be in place when a defined community:

- collectively has the legal rights to occupy the tourist site;
- collectively is the decision-making body for the enterprise in terms of management, and has a structure for this in place (an example of this is a conservancy committee and Traditional Authority working together);

⁹ Community-based tourism relates to organised communities using their natural and cultural resources, preferably on a sustainable basis, for tourism in order to improve their livelihoods and resource management.

¹⁰ Refer to Halstead 2003 for more details on global tourism trends.

- benefits financially on a collective basis; and
- receives other benefits collectively, both tangible and intangible, from the enterprise.

Issues relating to the sustainability of COT enterprises versus the sustainability of enterprises owned by local entrepreneurs within communities are an area of current debate for support organisations in Namibia. Communal management of tourism enterprises has been identified as a complex and time-consuming option (Ashley 1995). It requires sound management structures and processes for transparency to be in place. Due to the large number of people and the dynamic nature of communities, successful communal management is difficult to achieve.

1.3.3 Community-owned tourism in Caprivi

Five existing COT enterprises in Caprivi and Kavango Regions acted as the case studies for this research. The case studies contrast different approaches and institutional arrangements for management. Three of the five case studies (all campsites) are owned and managed by communal area conservancies (or a similar structure in the case of N//goabaca Campsite). Refer to Appendix 1 for information on these enterprises. Lizauli Traditional Village was originally communally-owned but has recently reopened under private ownership. The village is located within the boundaries of Mashu Conservancy but there is no direct link to Mashu Conservancy. Although located in a conservancy and drawing members from four conservancy areas, West Caprivi and other non-conservancy areas, Mashu Craft Market (MCM) is an independent organisation that is executively managed by the producers. It does, however, receive support from conservancy staff (mainly Community Resource Monitors¹¹) and the field-based CBNRM support NGO – Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC).

The relatively small volume of tourists coupled with the large population (and corresponding large number of conservancy members) means that COT enterprises and their benefits in Caprivi are limited. The devastating effect of political and cross-border instability on tourism between late 1999 and mid-2002 has exacerbated this situation with the three community campsites remaining open through strategic NGO intervention (subsidising campsite staff salaries).

2. THE INSTITUTIONAL STAKEHOLDERS IN COMMUNITY-OWNED TOURISM ENTERPRISES

Institutions participating in the facilitation, development and support of CBT enterprises in Namibia include community-based organisations (CBOs), the Traditional Authorities, government bodies such as the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) and its various directorates and the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR), the private sector, donors, and numerous non-governmental organisations (NGOs). These organisations are referenced below in the context of their broader role within CBT development and the establishment of COT enterprises.

¹¹ Community Resource Monitors are women resident in conservancy areas, who have been selected to promote the participation of women within the work of the conservancy, and monitor the use of resources used mainly by women. Their work includes: supporting the craft industry through monitoring the craft raw materials used (palm and dye trees); assisting with training and general organisation, including the collection of craft from producers to take to MCM and returning money to them following sale.

2.1 Community-based organisations (CBOs)

CBOs are the organisational vehicle which drives COT enterprises. Democratically elected conservancy committees, initiated through the conservancy programme, provide a legal support structure for the establishment and management of COT enterprises in Caprivi. The capacity of these conservancy committees is being questioned in terms of management of enterprises. Can or should a conservancy committee manage enterprises, or should this be the job of an elected body or individual through a management contract or on a lease basis? As yet there is no clear answer since this could pose new problems, such as disempowerment and loss of responsibility. In the case of N//goabaca Campsite, a tourism sub-committee was elected by the conservancy committee to deal with the day-to-day management issues directly related to the campsite. This has improved management of the enterprise, but has on occasion posed problems in terms of power struggles between the two committees.

MCM has an elected management committee which is representative of the craft producer groups, and meets quarterly to guide the craft market on management issues. The day-to-day management is dealt with by the appointed manager.

2.2 Traditional Authorities

In the rural areas of Caprivi, the Traditional Authorities (TA) enjoy strong recognition by the community they serve. Each TA comprises a Chief (head of the TA) and a *Khuta* (Tribal Council). The *Khuta* is presided over by the *Ingambela* and made up of elected *indunas* from the various wards (Malan 1995). The role of the TA is to guide communities and mediate in disputes. The TA still retains the largest degree of control over land allocation and access at a community level. Since communal area conservancies were gazetted in the late nineties, TAs have been working closely with conservancies with regards to land allocation and Permission to Occupy (PTO) agreements. This, however, may change in the near future under the new Communal Land Reform Act and the formation of Land Boards. The TA will no longer alone have signing power over land allocation in rural areas. This decision will come through the Land Board on which the TA is represented. The working relationship between conservancy committee and TA needs to be strong as, although the conservancy committee has rights over wildlife, the Traditional Authorities Act states that the TA must ensure sustainable use of renewable natural resources within their area of jurisdiction (Jones 2002).

The COT enterprise case studies were in all instances supported by the TA. There was early approval and assistance in land disputes and other conflicts. In the case of Lizauli Traditional Village (LTV), the TA was the first group to be approached by the private investor. It was the TA who then took the idea to the broader community. In areas where there is strong support and leadership by the TA, COT enterprises have a greater chance of success.

2.3 Government Ministries and departments

2.3.1 Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET)

Government is responsible for providing legislation and policy that supports CBT. The MET has ultimate responsibility over tourism in Namibia. Government legislation, in the form of the MET 1994 White Paper on Tourism, the 1995 policy on 'Community-based Tourism Development', the Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996, and the Communal Area Conservancy Legislation of 1996, all strengthened the opportunities available for direct community participation in tourism.

The MET's Directorate of Parks and Wildlife Management (DPWM) established a CBNRM Subdivision (CSD) in 2002. The MET regional office in Katima Mulilo has two CSD staff members (a warden and senior ranger). The mission of the CSD is to provide and coordinate information, technical support and monitoring to communities and other stakeholders for sustainable natural resource management and utilisation. This at present includes direct support to CBT until the Directorate of Tourism (DOT) regionalises.

DOT is a small directorate and is in place to ensure adherence to tourism legislation, regulations and policies. It also plays a role in the approval of tourism-related PTOs. DOT, however, at present lacks capacity to manage the tourism sector and staff are still in the process of defining their exact roles and responsibilities.

The newly established Namibian Tourism Board (NTB) is responsible for the marketing of Namibia's tourism industry and the setting of standards for establishments, activities and staff. These standards are being reconsidered to include tourism in the communal areas. Due to DOT's lack of a regional presence and the NTB not yet having included CBT enterprises in the setting of standards, they have both had little to no input into COT enterprise development in Caprivi. There has, however, been buy in and support from DOT for the current regional tourism planning (Ecosurv 2002).

The Directorate of Environmental Affairs (DEA) has played an important role in the development of CBT and conservancy development, largely through economic research and input into policy and legislation (for example, Ashley 1995; Barnes 1995; and Jones 1995). The DPWM is responsible for activities within protected areas and state conservation activities. Although both the DEA and DPWM had minimal input in the case-study enterprises, these directorates have actively participated in CBT through the conservancy programme. One of the recent fruits of this participation has been the precedence-setting permission for COT enterprises to be established in protected areas, e.g. Mayuni Conservancy has permission to develop a campsite at Nambwa, and Kwandu Conservancy a campsite at Bum Hill¹². Both these locations lie within the Golden Triangle area, adjacent to the West Caprivi National Park which is to be reproclaimed as the Bwabwata National Park.

2.3.2 Ministry of Lands and Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR)

The MLRR has the responsibility for land-use planning and administrates communal land on behalf of the State (Roe, Grieg-Gran & Schalken 2001). The MLRR is a key ministry in the context of COT enterprises as it issues the PTOs for tourism development on communal land. There is a lack of clarity from MLRR in connection with the requirements for the issuing of PTOs in conservancy areas. This is causing delays in tourism developments and confusion among conservancy committees, other line ministries and support NGOs alike. At present none of the five case studies have a PTO due to this lack of clarity¹³. Under the new Communal Land Reform Act (GRN 2002), the PTO system is changing to include regional Land Boards – structures to approve applications for land allocation for tourism development on communal land.

2.4 Private Sector

Although it does not often play a major role in the development of COT enterprises, in some cases the private sector has provided finance and ongoing support such as training and marketing, e.g. at

¹² Both camps will be formally opened in the latter half of 2003.

¹³ N//goabaca cannot qualify for a PTO as it is situated within the proposed Bwabwata National Park.

Kubunyana Campsite. Private-sector involvement in CBT is predominantly through joint-venture agreements with conservancies.

2.5 Donors

2.5.1 Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE)

The LIFE programme, supported by WWF US and USAID, has provided sub-grants for the implementation of CBNRM projects directly to CBOs and NGOs and other support organisations at the national level. It provides technical assistance to the projects and administers the grants. LIFE is coordinated by a steering committee which takes decision by consensus (Jones 1996). The LIFE programme has provided the bulk of financial support to the national CBNRM programme over the last 10 years. Much of the money that does not go directly to NGOs or CBOs is channelled through the Namibian Association for CBNRM Support Organisations (NACSO) as grants made directly to conservancies for their activities.

2.6 Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

There has been strong, active promotion and support from various NGOs for COT enterprises in rural conservancies. Apart from IRDNC who has an office and field staff in Caprivi, all other NGOs offering COT enterprises support to Caprivi are Windhoek-based.

2.6.1 Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC)

As Namibia's largest field-based CBNRM support NGO, IRDNC's participation in the CBNRM programme and related tourism started in 1982 with the initiation of the Community Game Guard (CGG) programme in the Kunene (Jones, 2001). This programme was extended to Caprivi in 1990 (Rice, 1997). IRDNC's work within the Namibian CBNRM programme recognises the need for communities to benefit through tourism. IRDNC staff have been instrumental in the establishment and ongoing support to various CBT enterprises in Kunene and Caprivi, especially COT enterprises.

IRDNC Caprivi has established an enterprise development unit. This unit provides support to CBT. This includes the craft programme, community-owned enterprises, joint-venture agreements and trophy hunting. They have been directly responsible for the development, training, capacity building and ongoing support of COT enterprises in Caprivi¹⁴.

2.6.2 Namibian Community-based Tourism Association (NACOBTA)

NACOBTA was started in 1995 as a non-profit membership organisation whose goal is to improve living standards amongst the communities of rural Namibia. This NGO provides a number of important services to members including training in tourism, business advice, funding, marketing and advocacy. Support to COT enterprises in Caprivi has been limited – partly due to the regional unrest, shortage of NACOBTA staff¹⁵, and the distance and logistics of working with communities in the area. Support has, however, been provided through various training courses and marketing through brochures, websites, travel and trade shows, as well as the initiation of a booking and information office in Windhoek.

¹⁴ Other organisations and the private sector have supported these enterprises.

¹⁵ A full-time NACOBTA position to be based in Katima and offer support to the CBT enterprise development was planned. Due to the unrest in the area, however, the post was not filled.

2.6.3 Rössing Foundation (RF)

RF provides training aimed at the management of the conservancy programme. This includes aspects of CBT management such as benefit-distribution planning and joint-venture negotiations between private tourism operators and communities. RF has been the lead NGO in the community-based craft development component of the Namibian CBNRM programme. They work with other NGOs (including IRDNC) to implement the craft programme, which is largely donor funded – the majority of donor funding coming from the WWF-LIFE programme (Murphy and Suich 2003). RF's support to craft includes technical training in design, quality and marketing. They also provide a sales outlet through Mud Hut Trading, which purchases crafts from communities and sells them through international and local outlets.

2.6.4 Legal Assistance Centre (LAC)

The LAC is a human rights organisation that provides free legal advice and advocacy to minorities and disadvantaged communities. LAC has supported CBT through drafting the conservancy policy, constitutions for individual enterprises and CBOs, and tourism contracts, as well as providing general legal assistance for CBT when required.

2.6.5 Namibian Nature Foundation (NNF)

NNF provides financial administration assistance to registered conservancies that receive NACSO grants for operational expenses, as well as help in fund-raising, monitoring and evaluation.

2.6.6 Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organisations (NACSO)

NACSO provides networking, advocacy, information and publicity services to the CBNRM programme. It is the coordinating body for the support organisations and plays a lead role in the strategic development of CBNRM. The association has four main objectives:

- to ensure CBOs have the capacity to manage;
- to promote sustainable integrated resource use and management;
- to ensure that CBO and community income and benefits are increased; and
- to ensure that the capacity of CBNRM support organisations is increased (NACSO 2002).

NACSO has a Business and Enterprise Working Group which is Windhoek-based. It has not played an active role in Caprivi but IRDNC staff from Caprivi are members of the group.

3. INSTITUTIONAL ROLES IN COMMUNITY-OWNED TOURISM

This section reviews the roles of the various institutions who participated in the establishment and running of Caprivi COT enterprises. The section is structured according to the five most important activities in the establishment and running of the enterprises, namely consultation, planning, accessing start-up capital, training/capacity building, and government support.

3.1 Nature of the consultation process

Broad consultation in all stages of the development of COT enterprises is important for their long-term sustainability. Within the different interest groups in the community consultation was continually identified as a crucial process before the development could go ahead. This consisted mainly of consultation within community structures, for example community to *Khuta*, or conservancy committee to community, including the different stakeholders within communities who have differential rights/uses/access to resources in the planned development site. Effective consultation was assisted by a local structure such as a conservancy committee. "The Conservancy Management Committee also played a role. They were solid, and united to cope with the idea"

(Salambala workshop, 20 September 2002). The consultation process, although often lengthy, is important as it gauges the perceptions of community members towards the development, is one of the steps towards conflict resolution, and will determine the amount of 'buy in' from the community (Box 1).

Box 1: Initiation and consultation of selected COT enterprises

Lizauli Traditional Village

The idea to start Lizauli Traditional Village came from a private investor (see Appendix 1 for details). "Many tourists were visiting... because of this, Grant came with the idea of the traditional village. He took the idea to the *Khuta*" (LTV workshop, 16 September 2002). Although the development procedure went through the process of community and Traditional Authority 'buy in', the investor controlled and managed the village. LTV was viewed as 'Mr Grant's' village until he left the area. Shortly thereafter the village closed. This can be attributed to 'Mr Grant's' near total control of the establishment, decision-making and management of LTV. His strong control ensured financial success of the business but did not promote long-term sustainability. "All income generated went to Grant for banking. The money banked was for the community, but because Grant banked it, they (the community) were afraid that they would not get it" (LTV workshop, 16 September 2002). Consultation in the early stages was strong. Once the village opened this diminished, and one person held control.

Kubunyana Campsite

Kubunyana Campsite was largely planned and built by an external developer, but remains successful and sustainable. The enterprise was given to the community for community ownership and management from day one. There was a strong community vision for operation of the campsite and it had the backing from the leadership (Chief Mayuni and the Traditional Authority), as well as the continuous 'light touch' support from IRDNC.

COT enterprises, especially in the initial phases, are often donor driven. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, communities lack adequate understanding and awareness of tourism, business, and the benefits that could be derived thereof (Ashley & Garland 1994; WTO 2001). This was identified to be the case with four of the five case studies. Secondly, the donor or outside organisation has tangible outputs to meet and may push the process of enterprise development within communal areas without waiting for the slow process of capacity building. Salafsky (1999) emphasises the importance of first checking to see if the communities are ready for or want the development in their area before going ahead

Although communities appeared satisfied with the initial consultation during the development of the case studies, people articulated the need for ongoing consultation, communication and information exchange between all participating parties, after the enterprises were established. They believed in some instances this could have prevented the mistrust and disinterest that developed among community members. It has been noted that there is frequently inadequate or inappropriate support from committees to enterprise staff, and insufficient feedback from conservancy committees to community members. Case studies with community enterprises in Botswana showed that continuous high-quality consultation, participation and trust among community members is necessary for an enterprise to be successful (Flyman 2000; Gejuadhur & Motshubi 2000). A key and reoccurring issue noted by the Caprivian CBNRM programme is highlighted here: communication at all levels and in all phases of the development needs constant attention – between conservancy members and their committees; between members themselves; between support NGOs, committees and TAs; between partner NGOs; and between local, regional and national Government, NGOs and community structures, private sector and NGOs¹⁶.

¹⁶ For the effected conservancies, monitoring and evaluation systems related to performance are currently being addressed by the NNF.

3.2 Start-up capital

All business developments require start-up and operational capital. In most cases, communities do not have the knowledge or access to information on sourcing funding to develop tourism initiatives, and require external advice and support for this, such as that provided by IRDNC and NACOBTA. Workshop participants in the case studies expressed frustration at this reliance on external support and the resulting delays. However, funding alone without any other support from external sources has been shown to be insufficient for enterprise sustainability (Jacobsohn 2002, *pers. comm.*).

The advantages of grants issued as start-up capital is that they often do not have to be repaid and are usually accompanied by technical support. This can be viewed as false economy though. All five case studies received start-up capital in this way, making their viability in terms of quick profitability, far more likely. Bearing this in mind, the amount of cash related benefits received by communities for all the case studies should have been easier to achieve. Due to the regional unrest, however, this did not happen, and little benefit distribution has taken place to the broader community¹⁷.

3.3 Training and capacity building

Central to the future sustainability of enterprises is how the enterprise develops after the consultation process; who takes the process forward, e.g the conservancy, TA, NGOs; and how it is supported.

Due to inexperience and limited exposure, rural communities are unlikely to have an in-depth understanding of the tourism industry and the associated costs and benefits. Enterprises can be initiated with unrealistic expectations and little understanding of the complexities of managing a tourism operation. Collapse and failure of such enterprises is a likely scenario. To avoid this, building communities' capacity in terms of tourism and business skills is important in the early stages of development (Box 2). "IRDNC helped... taking people for training and workshops and by coming and facilitating, giving light to communities about how they can benefit from such activities" (Kubunyana workshop, 17 September 2002). Various organisations currently play this capacity-building role in CBT in Caprivi (i.e. IRDNC, RF and NACOBTA).

Methods of capacity building which are commonly used and particularly successful – as they facilitate experiential learning – are exchange trips and study tours to similar businesses in Namibia and neighbouring countries. "When we came from this tour in Botswana, we promised ourselves to make quality baskets" (MCM workshop, 24 September 2002). Apart from experiential learning through exchange trips and study tours, capacity building included attendance of formal training courses and regular on-site training, monitoring and workshop sessions. The former is far less effective without the latter two in place. Support agents need to assess continuously the level of support they provide and ensure that they are capacity building and not creating reliance. The "light touch adaptive management" required from support organisations should not be removed too quickly, but be such that communities are in the long term able to "wean themselves off it" (Jones 2001:169).

Box 2: The value of training

Ongoing training was identified as a benefit for all five case studies. Training increased the communities' skills and knowledge of business and the tourism industry, without which the enterprises were likely to have floundered. "The exchange visits helped, without them we wouldn't have seen how we could have a campsite" (Salambala workshop, 20 September 2002). This skills development also has important social benefits such as an increase in people's confidence and pride.

¹⁷ The West Caprivi 'conservancy' (the Kyaramacan Trust) did a benefit distribution payout in March 2003, in which N\$ 14 000 was distributed to seven villages.

3.4 Government support

Government has supported CBT through policy and legislation. There has, however, been little guidance with regards to tourism development. An example is the lack of clarity provided by the MLRR on the criteria and process for securing legal occupation of land (PTOs) for tourism developments within conservancy areas. “We had trouble getting a PTO... there are delays at the office of lands and resettlement” (Salambala workshop, 20 September 2002). The Namibian Government is seeking to address this situation through the Draft Tourism Policy, the Communal Land Reform Act, and the establishment of a Namibian Tourism Board. Despite this, current capacity, in terms of low financial budgets and limited training experience within specialised fields, makes it difficult for the Namibian Government to implement policy successfully and provide operational support and guidance to communities

3.5 Planning

3.5.1 The planning process

The issue of planning was raised at only one case study workshop (Box 3). Support organisations view this as a vital step for sustainable development. “1997 was the year of planning. There were meetings to look at how we can get funding, also how the campsite should look” (Salambala workshop, 20 September 2002). A sound planning process is multi-faceted, will assist the long-term sustainability, and should be continuous through the lifespan of the enterprise. The different facets of the planning process may include an investigation into location, zoning, marketability, the impact of future developments, financial viability, management structures, and benefit distribution procedures from revenue generated. Once finances are secured, communities are often impatient to get the project started. This is no excuse to skip any planning steps. The five case studies show that planning usually reduces the chance of unexpected costs and problems occurring later, and builds community capacity.

Box 3: Planning is a prerequisite

The five case studies showed that adequate planning was not always carried out, particularly in targeting markets as part of ensuring financial viability. Difficulties arose when communities were adamant to go ahead with development even when feasibility studies and management plans had indicated that they might not be viable for various reasons. This puts support organisations in a predicament as to the amount of support to provide.

3.5.2 Location and marketing

Location and marketing is important for any tourism development. Once again this was poorly articulated at the case-study workshops. This may be due to a reliance on external advice. “From the Rössing Foundation we learnt how to select a better site” (Salambala workshop, 20 September 2002). Both marketing and location influence the number of tourists the enterprises receive, and require forward planning. “...we received signboards made by NACOBTA” (Salambala workshop, 20 September 2002). Accessibility, distance from main tourist routes, aesthetics and surrounding attractions are some of the issues to be considered. Traditional villages need direct links to tourist lodges to supply customers as on their own they may not be enough of an attraction to sustain a full-time operation. NACOBTA assists CBT enterprises by marketing through the web and the production of marketing brochures. This will promote awareness in the tourism industry of the availability of these enterprises in the market place.

3.5.3 Integrated tourism planning

Tourism planning is currently being addressed in the Caprivi through the initiation of integrated tourism plans as part of the CBNRM programme. These plans optimise active community

participation and benefit generation. The Eastern Floodplain Tourism Plan, initiated by IRDNC and commissioned through NACOBTA and MET, has been completed (Ecosurv 2002) and the second, the Kwando Tourism Plan, is currently being carried out. These plans identify locations of existing and future tourism developments taking into consideration the marketability, activities, existing and potential institutional structures, socio-economic factors, cross-border relations and other opportunities and constraints. For plans such as these to be successful there has to be ownership from all involved parties including communities, TAs, government bodies and the private sector. Implementation strategies, such as the establishment of the Caprivi Tourism Working Group¹⁸, are essential to ensure implementation and ‘buy in’ from all parties once the plan is complete.

3.5.4 Financial viability

Enterprises cannot be sustainable unless they are financially viable¹⁹. None of the case-study workshop participants mentioned this factor as having direct importance. It was in the context of COT enterprises generating financial benefits that workshop participants perceived a need for the enterprises to have economic returns. Financial viability needs to be taken into account at the start of the planning process. As communities do not always have adequate experience in this field, assistance needs to be sought from support agents. This was emphasised by a workshop participant: “We had problems drafting the budget proposal” (Salambala workshop, 20 September 2002). The collapse of tourism in the study area between the end of 1999 and mid-2002 precludes a realistic assessment of the financial viability of the case studies. However, the financial scenarios provided in Appendix 2 suggest that the enterprises can be financially viable given a recovery in tourism numbers and an increase in the rates charged. Similar positive findings regarding the financial viability of enterprises have been confirmed by other analyses (Barnes, MacGregor & Weaver 2001; Nghishoongele & Barnes 1997; and Diggle 2003).

3.5.5 Benefit distribution

The long-term viability of COT enterprises depends on the continued support and interest of communities – thus benefits being received by community members. To ensure that the income generated is correctly managed and benefits are equitably distributed, a benefit distribution plan should be drawn up as part of the COT enterprises planning process. In conservancy areas this may form part of the conservancy constitution. A separate plan is desirable, however, and should specify the details with regard to the distribution of future benefits earned by the enterprise. This will most frequently be the responsibility of the conservancy committee and assistance may be required with this task. Benefits should be as broad as possible (cash and non-cash) and be visible as soon as possible after the enterprise has been established. For example, a benefit from the campsite recorded by the Kubunyana workshop participants was that campsite profits were used to buy lunch at the 1999 Conservancy AGM.

The timing of benefits from COT enterprises is critical (Box 4). Cash invested in the bank does not sell CBT or the CBNRM concept to community members. In situations where there is no income for cash benefits, being accountable for funds will help to maintain community support and build trust. “There was no transparency on

Box 4: Distribution of benefits

In the case studies, benefit distribution was not always possible due to the low income generation of the enterprises especially campsites – directly attributable to the unrest in the area. “I started coming to meetings (*shows the size her child when she attended her first meeting*) he is growing and sees nothing” (N//goabaca workshop 13 September 2002). Enterprises are now looking at ideas and mechanisms to get the small amount of income generated back to communities as soon as possible. This will hopefully limit frustration and dissatisfaction. (E.g. N//goabaca Campsite had over N\$ 20 000 in a bank account from campsite revenue earned from pre-August 1999, and only in March 2003 did a benefit distribution pay-out take place).

¹⁸ The Caprivi Tourism Working Group is represented by the involved communities, the Traditional Authority, MET, MLRR, MAWRD, IRDNC and Ministry of Fisheries.

¹⁹ This means that they cover own operating costs with dividends made available for distribution.

financial matters. If I am the chair (chairman), the only one who knows is my son” (LTV workshop, 16 September 2002).

3.5.6 Management of community-owned tourism enterprises

The management of COT enterprises is currently under debate. Some of the support organisations feel that management by a committee may not be the best management option to maximise benefits and provide long-term sustainability for the enterprises. Various management options and scenarios have been identified and passed on to communities for their assessment (see Table 1 below).

Table 1: Summary of the various management options for COT enterprises as identified by support organisations²⁰

Management option	Advantages	Disadvantages
1. Conservancy appointed local manager – fixed salary	Higher conservancy profit (debatable) Empowerment Ownership Pride	Poor motivation May not attract the best person for the job Poor autonomy High dependency on NGOs
2. Conservancy appointed local manager – incentives	Motivation to work hard May attract a better person for the job Increased income generation Reduction of staff turnover Empowerment Pride Ownership	Poor autonomy
3. Conservancy contracted local manager – incentives/autonomy	Motivation Good job clarity Attract good staff Increased income generation Reduction in staff turnover Empowerment Pride Ownership Increased autonomy	Could still be poor autonomy
4. Conservancy contracted external manager – incentives/autonomy	High motivation Good job clarity Attract good management staff Income growth Ownership Empowerment Pride Attract extra skills Good autonomy Reduction in dependency on NGOs Possible transport/vehicle Less social pressures	Income reduction for the conservancy Potential community conflict Perceived loss of empowerment, pride and ownership Unknown qualities in management staff Accommodation Timing
5. Private sector/lodge agreement for management oversight – fee or %	Same as point 4 above Income reduction not as large Familiarity with regulations of the area Known company/person	Community conflict Perceived loss of empowerment, pride and ownership Possible income reduction to conservancy

²⁰ Many of the advantages and disadvantages listed were raised at community workshops, not from previous experience of the different management options at enterprises.

6. Enterprise management company – fee or %	Same as point 5 above One company may manage more than one enterprise, therefore reducing the costs to conservancies	Same as point 5 above
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4. LIVELIHOOD CHANGE BROUGHT BY COT ENTERPRISES

4.1 Collective and individual livelihood change

The previous section reviewed the institutional arrangements and processes that have given rise to COT enterprises. This section reviews the change at a collective and individual level as a result of enterprise establishment. Individual-level change focuses on enterprise staff or producers, while collective change refers to change experienced by a larger number of people. Changes have been categorised as either financial or non-financial benefits and costs. Table 2 presents a summary.

Table 2: Summary of changes at a collective and individual level

Change felt at collective level	Change felt at individual level
<p>Financial benefits</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential income available for distribution • Potential income available for investment 	<p>Financial benefits</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cash wage from employment • Income from craft sales • Tips at traditional village/campsites • Income from building enterprise, selling reeds, thatch grass
<p>Non-financial benefits</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sense of pride in ownership • Empowerment • Credibility to conservancy • Increased knowledge of tourism and business • Increase in decision-making ability • Greater unity and co-operation • Traditional skills being valued and transferred • Awareness that traditional skills have commercial value • Understanding value of natural resources in supporting tourism • Awareness of need for conservation of natural resources and change in practice • Gender awareness shown through balance in campsite employees 	<p>Non-financial benefits</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training opportunities • Career path development • Skill acquisition (e.g. craft making) • Greater knowledge and confidence (e.g. people attending exchange trips) • Compensation for not using campsite to meet livelihood needs • Increased confidence due to collective action (with craft women)
<p>Costs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Site-specific land use change, reducing accessing to resources (grazing, cropping, fishing, water, veld food) • Significant time cost to people responsible for development and management of enterprise • Disillusionment due to reduced number of tourists causing slow return of benefits versus expectations • Lose of credibility of leadership/employees when benefits are not as fast or as much as hoped • Running at a loss 	<p>Costs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land-use change felt at individual level • Time cost felt at individual level • Disillusionment expressed at an individual level

4.2 Collective-level change with establishment of COT enterprises

4.2.1 Financial benefits

Campsites and traditional village

Initial financial performance of two out of the three community campsites and the traditional village was positive. Salambala Campsite did not perform well in terms of earnings or profit. N//goabaca Campsite had N\$ 20 000 invested in a bank account prior to the March 2003 benefit distribution (Halstead, *pers. comm.*). However, the absence of tourist from late 1999 to mid-2002 had a devastating effect. In order to protect investments until the situation improvement, strategic NGO intervention kept the campsite staff employed at reduced wages. The traditional village closed. After mid-2002, the campsites become fully operational again and the traditional village reopened; tourists returning to the Caprivi Region are using both. Although it is too early to comment on the financial performance of the campsites post mid-2002, financial scenarios indicate that the three campsites can be viable given an increase in tourist numbers and campsite fees. This bodes well for the sustainability of these newly established employment opportunities and indicates that funds should be available for collective distribution to conservancy members.

Craft market

To date, MCM has not paid dividends to producer members from the profit left over after operating costs have been deducted from the commission²¹.

4.2.2 Financial costs

As external donor funding or private-sector funding was used to develop the COT enterprises, no direct financial costs were borne by the local communities. However, Salambala Campsite has run at a significant loss with the result that the conservancy has had to subsidise the operation out of their income from trophy hunting, which means there is less money for distribution.²²

4.2.3 Non-financial benefits

Training as a benefit

One of the main success factors identified by those responsible for establishing the COT enterprises was training (Box 5). The Salambala Campsite workshop role play dramatising good things that have come from the campsite, showed campsite staff being sent on courses about how to manage the campsite and how to behave well with tourists. Study tours were mentioned as factors that helped the establishment of the campsites and the MCM.

Box 5: Training

“IRDNC helped by taking people for training. Without this they could not manage the campsite in a proper way – they would end by squandering the money.”

“People employed at the campsite attended training which helped to build their knowledge and skills. Without the campsite, the staff would not have had this opportunity – they would have just had the skills they had before.”

Kubunyana Campsite workshop, 17 September 2002

Greater social cohesion

A unique feature of MCM is that the establishment of the market has improved social cohesion. “Because of this relationship built between Sangwali... and Mashi, we know one another from workshops, all the region is united” (Mashi Craft Market member, enterprise review workshop, 24 Sept 2002).

²¹ However, MCM did have a N\$ 6 000 profit in June 2003 (C. Diggle, *pers. comm.*).

²² Reasons for this include the virtual absence of tourists due to the security situation in the area, and the lack of marketing and management. In the 2002/03 financial year, the campsite was subsidised by over N\$ 4000.

Valuing cultural tradition

Valuing tradition is a benefit in itself, as reflected by a participant at the Lizauli Traditional Village workshop. “We are performing the lives of our forefathers. Students were brought to see our tradition. Scholars now know what the tradition was” (Chrispin, Lizauli Traditional Village workshop, 16 September 2002).

Valuing natural resources

An intangible benefit coming from the development of COT enterprises has been a recognition and understanding by local people of the value of natural resources in supporting tourism (Box 6).

Conserving natural resources

Workshop evidence showed that the establishment of COT enterprises has helped with raising conservation awareness amongst people and has encouraged a change in practice towards conservation. This bodes well for the protection and sustainable use of common property natural resources (Box 7).

Receiving envelopes from MCM with baskets-sales cash enclosed was the main benefit conveyed in the workshop role playing. However, when prompted about other good things, one participant reported that “because of this development, we have learnt how to harvest palm sustainably. We used to cut the whole plant, now we have learnt to cut them carefully with a knife” (MCM workshop participant, 24 September 2002). This successful natural resource management activity has received international acclaim in the International Institute for Environmental and Development’s ‘Engendering’ Eden Project (Flintan 2003a and b).

Valuing the use of existing natural resources to get benefits (cash income and employment) through tourism

Another intangible benefit was illustrated in people’s understanding of how cash can be generated from existing natural resources by changing an area’s land-use or by commercialising existing products or practices.

Box 6: Valuing natural resources for tourism

“This campsite helped in the process of conservation... People [are] no longer hunting with dogs and are not making fires. They are doing this because tourists want to see green trees, not a burnt area,” said Patrick the Mayuni Conservancy Treasurer.

(Kubunyana Campsite workshop, 17 September 2002)

“It is because of the natural beauty: trees, grass, birds that tourists are happy to visit this area,” reflected Mazinza Ngulwa, a Salambala Conservancy Management Committee member and workshop participant at the Salambala Campsite review workshop on 20 September 2002.

A participant at the Lizauli Traditional Village workshop said, “What helped the Traditional Village was the resources, the wild animals, the road which brought people to the lodge, and brought tourists to the area.”

Box 7: Conserving natural resources

When explaining things that helped the enterprise establishment, Elena said, “It [LTV] also helped the community accept awareness of conserving. They learnt about not burning, about harvesting grass and reeds... If a child brought eggs from birds’ nests in the bush, I would now tell him to return the eggs to the bush. I can pass on what I have learnt to my kids.”

(Lizauli Traditional Village workshop, 16 September 2002)

“If you drive back to the road, there are beautiful straight poles [trees that can be used for beautiful straight poles]. Before the campsite, they would have been used by some members of the community – now they are trying to conserve the trees” – a reply to a question on whether the campsite had helped natural resources (Boniface, Kubanyana Campsite workshop, 17 Sept 2002).

Box 8: Understanding benefits from tourism as a new land use

Induna Francis Malanzabi, participating in the Kubunyana Campsite workshop explained, “In 1999, people understood that they could benefit, when they saw their sons and daughters employed, some here (at the campsite) and some at Dusty Rogers (Susuwe Island Lodge), including people who had given up their fields.” (Kubunyana Campsite workshop, 17 September 2002)

At the N//goabaca Campsite workshop, one participant reflected, “When we started this was just bush. We discovered that we can use it to bring development to the community. Whenever the tourists come we can get benefit.” (N//goabaca Campsite workshop, 13 September 2002)

One MCM member explained her experience of benefiting from the commercial value of traditional craft-making. Before MCM started, “we did not know that we could benefit from selling baskets – we made them for our own use... We made only one type of basket, to sift grains, and would maybe make only one a year, and next year do another”.

Another MCM member expressed the value of the small amount of cash from basket sales by saying, “If something is sold – when we are hungry and tired and not even thinking about the baskets we made, Maria comes and says here is your N\$ 200.” (Mashi Craft Market workshop, 24 Sept 2002)

4.2.4 Non-financial costs with establishment of COT enterprises

Time cost

The cost of time in the development or maintenance of COT enterprises was a common element articulated by workshop participants (Box 9). The Salambala Campsite workshop role play, showing what people have given up or put in to make the campsite possible, saw people grumbling about the time spent coming to the *Khuta* for meetings and helping at the site itself, instead of collecting wild fruit or ploughing.

The main thing that women have given up for the development of MCM has been the time taken away from their household tasks to go to meeting and workshops. These women are already very constrained in use of time (Box 9).

Losing access to resources

Giving up access to resources from the area used by the conservancy campsites was a trade-off made by local people at all three campsites. One participant at N//goabaca Campsite workshop reported, “Before the campsite we used to eat the fruit of this big tree.” The local *induna* gave up the field he ploughs for the site of the Traditional Village at Lizauli. The Kubunyana Campsite area had abundant natural resources used by local people. The workshop role play showed that its uses included harbour facilities for *makoros*, fishing, eating and harvesting wild fruits, for resting under a big tree and digging roots.

Box 9: Time-consuming nature of COT enterprise establishment and craft production

Community-owned enterprise establishment

“There was not full co-operation in the community. We had to negotiate – it slowed things. We could not go ahead without the support of the majority of people” (Charles Mashabati, campsite staff member at Salambala Campsite workshop, 20 September 2002).

Craft production

“Being women, we are subject to our husband. We have only a little time to spend making baskets – we have to fetch water, collect reeds for the courtyard... Instead of making many baskets in a month, we make one.” *Other women agreed.* (Agnes MCM, workshop, 24 September 2002)

Box 10: Losing access to resources on the site of the COT enterprises

When discussing issues that challenged the campsite development, the following was reported:

“They [Salambala Conservancy Committee] were having a problem – a lack of co-operation. We were looking to have majority support but it took time. A minority did not agree... They felt it was an important grazing area.”
“Even those who moved had hope of grazing their cattle in the area. This remains a problem for them.”

When asked if cattle coming are still a problem, the acting chairperson replied, “Sikanjabuka, Limai, Ikumwe cattle are still coming in. We gave a few boreholes outside the area, but cattle are still using here.” (Salambala workshop, 20 September 2002)

The role play on the costs incurred by people through the development of the Salambala Campsite illustrated people complaining that the area they have given up was fertile compared to the other land they had been allocated instead and they had lost their beautiful homes. Their trade-off was giving up rich land for poor to have the campsite. The Salambala Campsite is located within the core wildlife area where grazing has been prohibited in order to allow for the restocking of game and tourism activities (Box 10).

Slow progress

The virtual absence of tourists in 2000 and 2001 due to the security situation caused conservancy members to become disillusioned and angry at the slow flow of benefits (Box 11).

Box 11: Frustration at slow flow of benefits

A Conservancy Committee member at the N//goabaca workshop reported, “We as the committee find it shameful to give no feedback – people say to us, ‘You just go (to the meetings) to get a piece of bread’.”

Another said, “I started coming to the meetings (*showed size her child was when she started*) he is growing and he sees nothing. That is why my heart is burning. We become tired. People ask, ‘Is it a committee to bring development or only to have meetings?’”

A Salambala Conservancy Committee member reported that, even though the Salambala Campsite exists, some say, “There is nothing in Salambala. The people sitting there are just getting money for themselves to live”.

4.3 Individual-level change with the establishment of COT enterprises

4.3.1 Financial benefits

The main benefit to campsite, traditional village and MCM employees or producers is financial, i.e. receiving a cash income through wages or sale of crafts²³ to diversify their livelihoods (Box 12). Wages are limited (as little as about N\$ 350/month for campsite staff during the unrest when salaries were subsidised) but significant for people living in remote, rural areas with few other means of accessing regular cash (limited to government jobs and a few in the private sector (retail and tourism). The five case-studies employ approximately 12 full-time staff member (nine from the campsites, one from MCM and an estimated two from the Lizauli Traditional Village). The average annual salary bill for all the three campsites between 1999 and 2001 was \$ 28 000.

Craft sales vary considerably depending on the skills of the producer. However, for most producers earnings are small. As reported by Murphy and Suich (2003), between 1999 and 2001, the large majority of MCM producers earned less than N\$ 500 per annum from craft sales. Less than five per cent of producers each year earned over N\$ 1000 in a year from craft sales. However, most crafters in Caprivi are from the lower and middle-income groups. Small amounts of cash to poor people are of great significance in alleviating poverty, which increases the individual livelihood impact of income from craft sales.

Detailed household case-study work with two campsite staff revealed that campsite wages were one of many sources of cash. One cost of campsite work expressed by

Box 12: Diversifying income through employment in COT enterprises

Campsite staff use their employment to diversify their existing sources of cash income rather than replace other sources. One campsite worker estimated that his campsite wages accounted for about one fifth of his cash income, with other sources made up of sales of maize, thatch, reeds and woven mats made by his wife. A second campsite worker got two thirds of his income from his campsite wages. The other third came from selling fish he had caught in the Chobe River. Both these people were able to save a small amount of their income.

²³ Refer to Suich and Murphy 2002 and Murphy and Suich 2003, for more details on livelihood impact of craft sales in Caprivi.

a staff member was not being available for ploughing. But this is a feature of any job that takes people away from their home area or takes up their time in the ploughing season.

4.3.2 Non-financial benefits

Training and work experience

Other benefits included training and work experience which increase an individual's human capital. In many cases this has enabled campsite staff to move along a career path and secure better-paid work (Box 13). Two ex-campsite managers from Kubunyana Campsite have used their campsite managerial experience to secure better jobs in the private and NGO sector.

Box 13: Career mobility through employment at a COT enterprises

Innocent Sibeso was the Kubunyana Campsite Manager in Mayuni Conservancy between 1999 and mid-2002. He resigned to take up a better-paid position as a tour guide at the neighbouring Susuwe Island Lodge, also located within the conservancy. He said, "I could not have got my new job without the knowledge I gained from my campsite experience and the reference letter." Innocent completed a NACOBTA-sponsored three-week guiding course in Katima in 1999, as well as regular on-the-job training from IRDNC in campsite management (including finances) and participated in two IRDNC-facilitated study tours (to Kunene in 2001 and Zimbabwe in 2002).

Employment as compensation for loss of access to tourist site

Both Mayuni and Salambala Conservancy have targeted employment at their campsites to compensate for reduced access to resources due to the land-use change required by the development of the campsite. This compensation was limited to one job in each case. The trade-off has been an income from tourism for the loss in access to natural resources.

5. CONCLUSION

CBT development has increased in Namibia over the past few years, with greater emphasis being placed on the active participation of communities in main-stream tourism. COT enterprises currently provide for the greatest level of active participation.

5.1 Institutional factors contributing to successful enterprises

The main institutional lessons learnt for achieving successful and sustainable COT enterprises are as follows:

- Broad consultation and agreement by community members is needed prior to beginning development. Support and leadership by the TAs can help the process.
- There is a very significant time cost to community members in this consultation process, as well as other processes linked to the collective development and management of enterprises.
- Change in land usage to tourism and tenure issues require close attention, with special emphasis on effected households.
- Ongoing and strengthened support is required by Government and NGOs, especially regarding community understanding of tourism and capacity to manage the enterprise and legal tenure (PTOs and Land Boards).
- Strong management of the enterprise from within the community and strong support from the conservancy committee.
- Good prior planning needs to be carried out to include a strong focus on location and financial viability (the two are closely linked).
- The planning should take market trends and other issues related to vulnerability into account and not be purely donor driven.

- When enterprises are externally initiated, full control should be given to the community as soon as possible, providing the necessary institutional structures and capacity are in place.
- Assistance with funding for the development of the COT enterprises is required. (There may also be a need for assistance with operating costs until the enterprise is financially sustainable or if there is a setback, e.g. reduction in tourism due to political instability.)
- Transparency of finances is essential for success.
- Benefits need to be seen quickly.

5.2 Evidence of strong links between tourism benefits and improved natural resource management

COT enterprises should not be viewed purely as income generation but as an integral tool to aid the success of the CBNRM programme. Evidence from participatory research exercises in the case-study workshops showed that an awareness of the importance of natural resources for tourism has caused a change in people's perceptions and values, leading to improved natural resource management. This is very positive for the CBNRM programme, which was founded on the premise that resource management will improve if people benefit from resources (through financial incentives and proprietorship).

5.3 COT enterprises are risky and provide low returns

The demise of the COT enterprises in Caprivi in 2000 to 2002 illustrates the risky nature of this industry. Tourism has, however, recovered quickly since foreign governments' travel advisories and the military convoy were lifted. Financial benefits from COT enterprises (campsite, traditional villages and craft outlets) are often small (in comparison to joint-venture agreements or hunting), especially in Caprivi where beneficiary numbers are large. Other non-financial benefits such as empowerment and decision-making need to be taken into consideration when looking at returns as they are both powerful and important for communities. Rather than support organisations identifying mechanisms for COT enterprises to generate higher income through alternative management systems, the answer may be in the development of alternative collective income-generation activities.

5.4 The time-consuming nature of COT enterprises

One of the costs of the development and operation of COT enterprises is their time-consuming nature. This is especially significant to people who have few resources and are contributing their time on a non-remunerated basis. Broad consultation within communities was identified as important in the early stages of development. This aids conflict resolution, creates awareness, builds trust, and determines the amount of 'buy in' from the community for the enterprise. However, the large amount of people involved and the dynamic nature of communities mean that this consultative process is very time consuming.

5.5 Need for outside support in tourism awareness and business management

NGOs have been the driving force for COT enterprises. Support by outside organisations is in most instances vital for the sustainability of the enterprises. This support must be carefully measured and gradually reduced, decreasing reliance while still giving the assistance required. Support should concentrate on planning, marketing, training and capacity building. Communities in the case studies identified a lack of understanding of tourism and related business issues. This constraint (which is linked to the amount of time it takes to develop enterprises) should be addressed by support

organisations prior to any development taking place. This could speed up the development process, while at the same time increase the communities capacity and understanding of all the issues.

5.6 Need for outside financial support

All of the five case studies required financial assistance to develop the enterprises. This is likely to be the case with most rural communally-owned enterprise developments, unless there are already existing income-generating projects in place to raise capital. In the early planning stage of the COT enterprises there must be clarity regarding the source of funding, particularly if it is to be repaid. If this is achieved as part of a business plan that incorporates a financial viability assessment, it could assist with the current perception that COT enterprises can bring conservancies large cash benefits for distribution to community members. This may be possible in other areas where the beneficiaries' numbers are small (e.g. the Okarahombo Campsite in the Marienfluss Conservancy, in Kunene, which has about 121 members). However, in Caprivi with large beneficiary numbers, the cash benefits are likely to remain small. Cash benefits may not always go directly back to the community members, but could rather be reinvested into the conservancy.

5.7 Government, NGO and community partnerships

Government support to CBT, including COT, has been increasing since the 1995 Policy on Community-based Tourism. The recognition of the importance of CBT has led to activities which will assist with the development and support of CBT enterprises in the future. These steps have included the new draft Tourism Policy; the formation of NACOBTA, the Namibian Tourism Board and a CBNRM unit with regional staff in MET; attention being paid to tourism concessions; and the proposal to develop community lodges. The strengthening of partnerships between the various bodies such as Government, NGOs, the private sector and communities will also assist the CBT process. However, capacity within these bodies to implement policy and provide support will have to be strengthened if progress is to be made.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Enhance the potential for successful COT development

The following factors will enhance the potential for success of COT enterprises developments:

Social and environmental factors:

- Identification of the best location
- Broad and early community consultation and conflict resolution over the change in land use to tourism and other tourism-related issues
- Allocating enough time to allow for collective participation, consultation and capacity building
- Awareness of links between natural resource management and tourism
- Strong tourism awareness and training

Economic factors:

- Securing finances for construction
- A practical design phase which takes into account the type of tourism targeted
- Planning regarding financial viability, earning potential and the timing of benefits
- Factoring in the flow of benefits

Political factors:

- Political stability
- Government support

Systems need to be developed which enable communities to monitor these factors, such as financial viability.

6.2 Emphasis on limitations and costs of COT enterprises

Consideration of the following will increase awareness in the context of COT enterprises:

- The perception that tourism will bring benefits should be balanced with an understanding of the associated costs and the limits to the benefits.
- The realistic income potential of COT enterprises and their viability as income-generating projects for benefit provision to communities with large numbers is limited.
- The time and energy required to manage a successful COT enterprise is considerable.

6.3 Reduce risks and increase benefits through other income-generating projects

A range of income-generating projects is desirable to help reduce the risk and increase revenues.

6.4 Enhance financial transparency

Mechanisms need to be established by the community structures, such as conservancies or development committees, which will enhance financial reporting and transparency. These could include:

- Simple recording methods of income, expenditure and profit of the enterprise
- Monthly and annual bank reconciliation
- A manual graphic method of recording the financial information updated monthly and displayed in the conservancy/community office
- Joint signatories on bank accounts
- A clear reporting structure (line of responsibility) developed for the management of the enterprise
- Regular feedback meetings on financial issues to village representatives

6.5 Link benefit distribution plans to enterprise business plans

Benefit distribution plans outlining the principles, methods and structure of benefit distribution should form an integral part of any business plan for COT enterprises. This will ensure a flow of benefits to community members.

6.6 CBT should be market orientated, not donor driven

Future CBT developments should be market orientated and not donor driven²⁴. Niche markets should be identified in tourism plans and within the planning phases of development, and these should direct the tourism development and business plan. This will enhance the viability and sustainability of the enterprise.

²⁴ A strength of the Namibian support NGOs in general is that they are not ex-patriot programmes, but have participated from the inception of the CBNRM programme in Namibia. This brings long-term commitment and a truly Namibian focus.

6.7 Greater government support

Greater regional and local government support is needed for CBT. This should be viewed as a priority as CBT contributes to the economic development of the country, aids the management of natural resources, and benefits rural populations – all of which are desirable from a government perspective. This support should include local and regional tourism planning to provide a framework and structure for tourism development. To assist this process a regional tourism officer from both NACOBTA and DOT should be placed in the Caprivi Region.

6.8 Identification of the best management scenario for the enterprises

The various management scenarios that have already been identified need to be presented to communities as ‘food for thought’ prior to the development being completed. This will create awareness within the communities of the management options, as well as the costs and benefits involved.

6.9 Need for written guidelines for CBT development

Guidelines, based on the broader Namibian CBT experience, need to be developed to assist communities and support organisations in CBT development. The diversity of communities, conservancies and regions precludes set ‘recipes’ for all such developments, but key principles and guidelines based on practical experience would help give direction, as well as prevent the repetition of the same mistakes in different enterprises.

6.10 Broaden the scope of study to include other regions in Namibia

Similar research should be conducted with case-study enterprises in other regions in Namibia to broaden the scope of the study and verify the research findings in this paper.²⁵

²⁵ The WILD Project and IRDNC conducted similar research in the Kunene Region (with Anmire and Purros Traditional Villages and Okarahombo and Khowarib Campsites as the case studies) and Erongo (Ugab Wilderness Camp) in February 2003.

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APPENDIX 1: COT ENTERPRISES CASE-STUDY INFORMATION

Case study 1: Salambala Community Campsite

In 1988, the late Chief Muraliswani II sought to protect the natural resources within the Salambala area by requesting the proclamation of a national park. The then Directorate of Nature Conservation rejected this idea. Shortly after this, at the request of the Linyanti Traditional Authority, a CBNRM programme was started by IRDNC on the other side of the East Caprivi, along the Kwando River. Subsequently this NGO was able to assist the Bukalo *Khuta*²⁶ with its aspirations for Salambala by doing a series of surveys on land use and attitudes of people living within or next to the area. A natural resource and game count was also conducted. The Kwando River CBNRM programme, initially based on a socio-economic survey and the appointment of Community Game Guards by local leadership, thus expanded to include the eastern part of East Caprivi with a strong focus on Salambala. With additional financial and intense technical support from the Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE) programme, workshops and capacity building aimed at registering Salambala as one of the first communal area conservancies started in earnest mid-1995. Later that year the boundaries for the conservancy and core wildlife area were defined and a conservancy constitution was drafted. The Bukalo *Khuta* asked 17 families to move out of the core wildlife area,²⁷ which was to be set aside for wildlife and tourism. By December 1995 the first grant from the LIFE programme had been finalised for the emerging Salambala Conservancy.

In 1996, the emerging conservancy started looking at ways to earn income through tourism. A potential investor was identified for a joint-venture (JV) partnership in a lodge development within the core wildlife area. Although the JV did not materialise because of the families still living in the core area, workshops, meetings and a study trip to the Communal Area Management Programme For Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) programme in Zimbabwe gave the community the idea of a community campsite. In early 1997, the community chose the site for the campsite development and funding for the construction was sought by the assisting NGOs. This was secured and design and construction started that same year. Although there was community consultation and participation at all stages of the development, the LIFE programme accelerated the process as a pilot for conservancy development in Caprivi. The conservancy was registered and gazetted in mid-1998, which meant that the campsite was formally owned by the members of Salambala Conservancy, as represented by the Conservancy Committee. The campsite was officially opened in July 1998. The Conservancy Committee elected three staff members²⁸ to be full-time employees at the campsite. Both on-site and off-site training took place through IRDNC and NACOBTA, which included further study tours to other operational community tourism initiatives. The campsite remained open and in an adequate state of repair in spite of the political unrest which caused an almost total cessation of tourists visiting the area.²⁹

The campsite consists of four individual sites, each with its own ablution facilities with hot water, a thatch shelter (kitchen area) and fire place. Three full-time staff are still employed, with a combined

²⁶ Tribal court

²⁷ The core area was traditionally a royal hunting area and people were permitted to reside on a permanent basis only in times of flood. Seventeen families were living in the core wildlife area; 16 families moved, one returned after moving, and two new families moved in from the surrounding areas.

²⁸ Two of the staff elected had worked in the construction phase and one of was a member of a family who had moved from the core wildlife area.

²⁹ In August 1999 there was a succession attempt on the Caprivi, followed in January 2000 by the Angola/Namibia conflict in West Caprivi and Kavango. The Zimbabwe elections and land-reform programme also had a detrimental effect on tourism in the region.

annual salary cost of N\$ 11 232. Although the annual gross income has steadily increased since 1998, the highest gross earnings to date have been approximately N\$ 12 000. Because of the relatively high monthly expenses, the campsite is yet to make a profit. Until mid-2002 expenses have been covered through the LIFE grant given to Salambala Conservancy. The campsite would almost certainly have started making a small profit within three to four years of its opening if tourism had not been so interrupted by the unrest in the region.

Case study 2: Mashi Craft Market (MCM)³⁰

Craft making, especially basket weaving, was not commercialised in the west of East Caprivi until the early 1990s. Basket weaving was done by women within their homestead areas purely for their own use to winnow and store grain.

In 1990, the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) and NGO groups started actively working with rural communities in Caprivi on issues relating to natural resource management. West Caprivi San groups requested staff members of the MET to assist them by selling traditional artefacts at the ranger's station at Susuwe³¹. These sales could be considered the start of the commercialisation of crafts in that area. In 1994, the woman in Choi³² in East Caprivi heard that craft makers were selling baskets and jewellery at the newly-opened Lizauli Traditional Village (LTV). The Choi community later requested the IRDNC facilitator, Annie Symmonds, to assist them with a training workshop on basket weaving and other items that could be of resale value to tourists.

In February 1995, the first meeting took place, followed closely by a workshop with the women from Choi on necklace and basket making. Training was done with the assistance of the weavers from Sangwali³³ and IRDNC. IRDNC would buy the products from the craft makers and find markets for resale. This approach was viable since the amount of crafts being produced was small. By mid-1995, craft production had increased and discussion focused on the need for the crafters to sell their products from a central point. The large tree on the site where MCM now stands was chosen with the assistance of the Community Resource Monitors (CRM). Although this system worked for tourists, it was difficult for the women who had to travel some distance to get there and spend the entire day away from home.

In 1995, IRDNC sought funding for the construction of a thatch shelter for the craft sales. This was completed in 1996 and a room was provided in the community's conservancy office as overnight storage for the crafts. Craft groups elected women to act as sales people for the crafts, working on alternative days so as to allow time for domestic duties. The commission or mark-up of 20% on the crafts was put aside for taxi fares for the sales people to travel to and from the market. In 1997, the shelter was upgraded into a lockable market, which could accommodate crafts on a full-time basis. The building was completed and MCM was officially opened in March 1998. With advice from Rössing Foundation (RF), the IRDNC facilitator adapted management and pricing systems for MCM. The craft makers elected a committee to represent the craft groups and two part-time sales ladies were appointed. Next a constitution for the enterprise was drawn up. Basket weaving and standards have steadily improved over the years. MCM sales were boosted through the establishment of the Windhoek fair-trade market Mud Hut Trading, operated by RF. In spite of the

³⁰ Refer to Murphy and Suich 2003 for more information on MCM, especially the livelihood impact of income from craft sales.

³¹ Susuwe is a small rangers station on the Kwandu river in the West Caprivi. Tourists visiting the National Parks in the region would stop here to collect their park permits.

³² A village 4km south of Mashi Craft Market.

³³ Sangwali is situated 55km south of the Mashi Craft Market. Basket weaving has a stronger tradition in this area.

lack of tourists caused by the political unrest in the area between the end of 1999 and mid 2002, crafters continued to produce and sell their products via MCM to RF. During this period MCM closed. Financially, 1999 was MCM's best year, earning the crafters a total of N\$ 41 000. Over the years the number of crafters has increased from five in 1995, to 253 in 1999, and 120 in 2002.

In 2002, the security situation in the area improved and the military convoy was lifted. Tourism is slowly reviving, based mostly on southern African visitors. In March 2002, MCM opened its doors for sales seven days a week. In spite of the reopening, craft sales have not increased as expected for 2002. Crafters attributed this to three factors – namely, the low purchase price of baskets for the amount of work input; difficult access to palm; and an increase in the women's responsibilities. These responsibilities include a dramatic increase in funeral attendance, looking after the sick, and workload increase due to family deaths (e.g. care of orphaned children). The last factor relates directly to the high HIV/AIDS incidence in Caprivi (MCM workshop 2002).

Case study 3: Kubunyana Community Campsite

In late 1996, the committee for the emerging Mayuni Conservancy decided to develop a campsite to increase tourism in the conservancy area. These ideas arose following various exchange trips to other tourism developments, facilitated by IRDNC. The trips provided vision and broadened local knowledge and understanding of what was possible. The Conservancy Committee approached a private investor, who already had a small development within the area, for assistance. This initiative sparked a relationship between the conservancy and a second investor. Negotiations then began for a joint-venture (JV) agreement between the investor, who wished to develop an upmarket lodge, and the conservancy.

The funding of a community campsite by the investor was part of the JV negotiation. The site was agreed by the investor, the *Khuta* and Conservancy Committee. Negotiations then proceeded to relocate the farmers who utilised the designated area. In late 1998, a memorandum of understanding (MOU) was signed between the community and the private investor, in which there was an undertaking by the investor to fund and build a campsite, which would then be handed over to the community³⁴. After two years of negotiation the farmers agreed to move and construction of the camp began.

The camp, which consists of a campsite with four individual sites and a simple permanent tented camp with three tents containing beds and is set on the banks of a backwater of the Kwando River, was officially handed over and opened in March 1999. The *Khuta* selected and employed two male and two female full-time staff members, one of whom came from the family who had lost land rights in the campsite area. At present, with tourism still far from recovery, the staff have been reduced to three, with a combined annual salary bill of N\$ 9600. In the first year of opening prior to the unrest, the campsite showed promise, with a gross income of approximately N\$ 19 000. In spite of the dearth of tourists, the campsite has shown a profit in all except one year since opening. This is largely due to its prime location, just seven kilometres off the main Trans-Caprivi Highway tourist route, and the external support provided. IRDNC provided salary payments in the years of low income and NGOs used the camp for workshops and meetings as paying guests. Visitor numbers were starting to pick up by late 2002.

³⁴ The campsite was built with the investor's funding, but formed a part of the negotiation strategy for the JV, and a part of the negotiated benefits within the JV agreements.

Case study 4: Lizauli Traditional Village (LTV)

Lizauli Traditional Village (LTV) was developed by the Managing Director (Grant Burton) of Lianshulu Lodge, which is situated in the Mudumu National Park in the western area of East Caprivi. He stated that his motivation after independence was that a development of this nature could contribute towards people “working together towards building a stable economy and thus an enabling environment for empowerment and upliftment” (Burton 2002, *pers. comm.*). In the early stages when the Linyanti *Khuta* was approached with the proposal of development, there was a lot of mistrust as people were afraid that their land would be taken away from them. After a workshop and an exchange trip to Chobe National Park in Botswana, the benefits that could be derived from such a venture were recognised and consent was given to go ahead with LTV.

In early 1991, Burton started building the LTV. Funding for the construction came from Lianshulu Lodge, with a portion later being refunded by WWF South Africa. LTV opened on the 1st April 1991. Later that year a committee was elected to assist with the daily management issues. In the early stages the LTV project included local communities, but could not be described as a community-based enterprise since Burton played a strong leadership role (Jacobsohn 2002, *pers. comm.*). In 1994, the community started negotiations to take full control of the management and finances of LTV. This was granted to the community in 1995. The village received additional funding through NACOBTA in 1996, which was spent on the extension and upgrade of some of the facilities. However, in 1997 a large section of the village was destroyed by fire.

Lizauli community members claimed that some political unrest in 1998 caused a drop in tourist numbers visiting LTV. However, other enterprises in the region were not affected by any unrest in that year and were in fact flourishing. LTV’s lower tourism level is most likely attributable to other external and internal factors. The departure of Grant Burton from the area, a change in the Lianshulu Lodge management structure, and a suggested misuse of LTV funds by local staff, as well as a drop in the standard of the ‘product’ on offer, are more likely to have been the cause of the decrease in tourist numbers. The unrest situation did start in late 1999, and like all other CBT enterprises and most lodges, the village eventually closed.

At LTV’s peak in 1998, a total of N\$ 34 000 was earned by community members through wages, and N\$ 30 890 through craft sales. From 1998, income generation slowly dropped until the village closed. In mid-2002, a private entrepreneur from Lizauli Village approached the *Khuta* for permission to take over the derelict village, renovate it and reopen it. LTV opened its doors for tourism again in August 2002. The local community is now benefiting from LTV through jobs and craft sales.

Case study 5: N//goabaca Community Campsite

In 1991, the late Chief Kippi George and his Headmen in the area requested IRDNC to assist them to initiate a tourism development in the Bagani area of West Caprivi. However, there were many complications as the land requested fell within the West Caprivi Game Reserve under MET management. In late 1992 the camp was approved verbally by MET (Garth Owen Smith *affidavit* 1997). In 1993 written permission was granted by the Permanent Secretary of MET to commence work on the community camp at the site chosen on the east bank of the Kavango River next to Popa Falls (Chief Kipi George *affidavit* 1997). Construction under the supervision of the West Caprivi IRDNC Project Manager started later that same year and tourists began utilising the incomplete camp. In 1995, Cabinet approval was granted for the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development’s farm near the campsite to be converted into a rehabilitation centre by the Ministry of Prisons, Resettlement and Rehabilitation. Although the West Caprivi communities protested in

writing to the MET about this development, the prison farm development went ahead. Due to the fear that this would disrupt tourism, further investment into the campsite temporarily ceased.

By early 1996 the existing infrastructure had started to deteriorate. There was still, however, a demand from tourists for a campsite at that location. In 1996, an external evaluation of IRDNC's joint West Caprivi-MET CBNRM project strongly recommended that the campsite be revived in order to maintain community interest in CBNRM, as well as generate income for local households. This saw the supporting NGO, IRDNC maximising input into the development of a quality campsite for the Khwe community. The newly built campsite reopened in mid 1997.

Later that same year, the community was informed by the Minister of Prisons and Correctional Services of plans to expand the Divundu Rehabilitation Centre. This expansion of the prison facility was to include the area of N//goabaca Community Campsite. The Khwe community of West Caprivi sought legal advice and opposed the Government's decision (Chief Kipi George *affidavit* 1997). In early 1998 the case was settled out of court in the community's favour (Corbett 2000, *pers. comm.*)

N//goabaca has proved popular with tourists in spite of all the setbacks. In 1998 at the peak of tourism and prior to the unrest, the campsite's gross income was approximately N\$ 28 000. The annual salary bill was N\$ 9 000, but was cut to N\$ 7 200 in 2000 due to the low tourism numbers. In spite of the complete lack of visitors between 2000 and 2002, the camp did not close its doors entirely and kept staff employed to guard and maintain the infrastructure. Staff salaries were subsidised by IRDNC during this two-and-a-half-year period. As a result, when unrest ended and negative travel advisories were lifted and the military convoy disbanded, the camp was ready to reopen and tourism started to recover almost immediately.

APPENDIX 2: FINANCIAL ANALYSIS AND SCENARIOS OF THE FIVE CBT CASE STUDIES

The financial analysis of the three campsites shows that during the years of operation profits have not been sufficient to provide cash benefits to members of the wider community. This is not entirely due to a lack of viability of the enterprises. The unrest and resulting reduction in tourist numbers from late 1999 to mid-2002 is a major contributing factor. However, using the enterprises' figures prior to the unrest as a benchmark, it is apparent that not all of the enterprises are economically viable. The question needs to be asked whether communities' expectations of benefits are going to be reached, if the enterprises are not profitable. Alternatively, perhaps communities' expectations of the enterprises are too high. This is a difficult question to answer, but from comments raised in the workshops it would seem that benefits are not being received as fast or as much as people had hoped.

In the cases of LTV and MCM, direct benefits going back to the communities were far greater than the campsites. The figures show a steady increase in sales prior to the unrest, which indicate that, although there may have been difficulties with financial accountability and transparency, the enterprises were still supported by the communities involved.

Enterprise finances: Campsites

Table 3: Campsite guest nights and profit/loss for 1997 to Aug 2002

Guest nights	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002 (to end of Aug)
N//goabaca	525	1367	987	0	6	138
Kubunyana			620	485	268	235
Salambala		90	381	421	368	240
Profit (Loss) N\$						
N//goabaca	2 286	17 769	7 035	(7 798)	(8 870)	(2 828)
Kubunyana			8 045	2,597	(6 921)	(3 310)
Salambala		(4 386)	(4 262)	(2 295)	(2 353)	(4 474)

It appears from the figures above that none of the campsites are viable without continued external financial and business³⁵ support. Table 3 excludes any bridging financial support. IRDNC has given support to N//goabaca and Kubunyana from mid-2001, contributing N\$ 600 a month for salaries and covering fuel for water pump costs at N//goabaca. Salambala was subsidised through the LIFE grant up until mid-2002. Prior to the unrest, both N//goabaca and Kubunyana were showing profits without NGO financial assistance.

³⁵ Support to boost income was given to Salambala and to a lesser degree Kubunyana by support organisations using the campsites as workshop venues. The figures above include this support.

Craft makers

Table 4: Number of craft makers and profit/loss for MCM from 1998 to 2002

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
No. of craft makers	118	253	170	140	120
Profit (Loss) N\$	16 661	40 833	21 313	21 939	12 333

The figures above show the amount that craft makers earned from sales through MCM, not how much the market earned as a business operating out of 40% commission (Table 4). Therefore these figures represent the cash benefits going back to the community members.

The sharp drop in income in 2000 and 2001 can be directly attributed to the unrest in the area, which started in the latter part of 1999. Although there is now stability in the region and tourism is on the increase, sales for 2002 are still low. These low sales have been attributed to poor supply of crafts to MCM by weavers.

Traditional village

Table 5: Income (N\$) for LTV from 1997 to 2001

	1997		1998		1999		2000		2001	
	Wages	Crafts	Wages	Crafts	Wages	Crafts	Wages	Crafts	Wages	Crafts
	33 063	30 520	34 000	30 891	30 369	28 033	7 800	7 200	0	0
	@52%	@48%								
Total	63 583		64 891		58 402		15 000		0	0

Note 1: Wages and crafts were only recorded separately for 1998 - other years use same percentage breakdown.
 Note 2: The 1999 total is an estimate based on 90% of 1998 recorded income.

The breakdown represents direct cash benefits to community members in terms of craft sales and wages earned from employment, both permanent positions and part-time entertainers (Table 5). Once again it can be seen that there is a sharp drop in benefits in 2000 and LTV closes in 2001. This is directly attributed to the unrest situation.

Scenarios for campsite profitability

Given that none of the CBT enterprises had to cover their start-up costs (paid for by donor funds), the main issue to be addressed by each of these enterprises is to earn sufficient income at least to cover operating costs. Due to the drop in tourism shortly after the opening of the campsites, it is difficult to gauge at what rate, if any, their income was increasing. To attempt to assess financial viability of the campsites, various scenarios have been calculated indicating a profit or loss.

Table 6: Actual figures for the three community campsites, indicating net income before servicing of any capital expenditures

Guests nights*	1999	2000	2001	3 year average			
N//goabaca	987	0	6	N//goabaca	331	Camping	Tents
Kubunyana	620	485	268	Kubunyana	458	0.69	0.31
Salambala	381	421	477	Salambala	426		
* Calculated from yearly income statements							
Income*	1999	2000	2001	Camping as proportion of total income (3 year average)			
N//goabaca	19 955	0	120	N//goabaca	0.99		
Kubunyana	18 794	14 021	8 814	Kubunyana	0.96		
Salambala	9 810	10 885	11 926	Salambala	0.98		
* Income for all activities							
Expenditure*	1999	2000	2001	Annual salary bill			
N//goabaca	12 920	7 794	8 900	N//goabaca	7 200		
Kubunyana	10 759	11 424	15 734	Kubunyana	9 600		
Salambala	14 072	13 180	14 279	Salambala	11 232		
* Excluding IRDNC support							
Profit (Loss) \$N	1999	2000	2001	Salaries as proportion of total costs (3 year average)			
N//goabaca	7 035	-7 794	-8 780	N//goabaca	0.86		
Kubunyana	8 035	2 597	-6 920	Kubunyana	0.73		
Salambala	-4 262	-2 295	-2 353	Salambala	0.77		

Three scenarios have been calculated looking at the financial viability of the campsites. The following guest prices have been used for the calculations:

Scenario 1: camping N\$ 25.00; tents N\$ 50.00

Scenario 2: camping N\$ 30.00; tents N\$ 50.00

Scenario 3: camping N\$ 35.00; tents N\$ 60.00

Scenario 1

The break-even point at the current rates charged, N\$ 25.00 per person, has been calculated. Current cost breakdown, with a 10% inflation rate per annum from the 2001 costs, has been added (Table 7). The tourism levels from a three-year average from 1999 to 2001 were used for this calculation.

Table 7: Scenario 1

Scenario 1			
N//goabaca	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Income	8 358.59	8 358.59	8 358.59
Expenditure	9 209.30	10 130.23	11 143.26
Profit (Loss)	-850.72	-1 771.65	-2 784.67
Guest nights to break even	368	405	446
Kubunyana	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Income	15 613.11	15 613.11	15 613.11
Expenditure	14 465.75	15 912.33	17 503.56
Profit (Loss)	1 147.35	-299.22	-1 890.45
Guest nights to break even	489	538	592
Salambala	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Income	10 875.85	10 875.85	10 875.85
Expenditure (high salaries)	16 045.71	17 650.29	19 415.31
Profit (Loss)	-5 169.86	-6 774.44	-8 539.46
Guest nights to break even	642	706	777

N//goabaca and Salambala make a loss in the first year, which increases each subsequent year. Although Kubunyana makes a profit in the first year, it does not quite manage to break even in the second year and the loss worsens in the third year. This means that if the levels of tourism of recent years do not improve, none of these enterprises will be viable without some form of external funding. However, this is not a realistic situation, as income at the campsite has already improved since the end of the security problem in mid-2002.

Scenario 2

Costs increase as per Scenario 1, however, the rates charged have increased to N\$ 30.00 for camping and remain at N\$ 50.00 for tents at Kubunyana (Table 8).

Table 8: Scenario 2

Scenario 2			
N//goabaca	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Income	10 030.30	10 030.30	10 030.30
Expenditure	9 209.30	10 130.23	11 143.26
Profit (Loss)	821.00	-99.93	-1 112.95
Guest nights to break even	307	338	371
Kubunyana	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Income	17 257.85	17 257.85	17 257.85
Expenditure	14 465.75	15 912.33	17 503.56
Profit (Loss)	2 792.09	1 345.52	-245.71
Guest nights to break even	489	538	592
Salambala	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Income	13 051.02	13 051.02	13 051.02
Expenditure	16 924.93	17 650.29	19 415.31
Profit (Loss)	-3 873.91	-4 599.27	-6 364.29
Guest nights to break even	677	706	777

Salambala remains unprofitable in this scenario, although losses are slightly smaller than if guest prices had not increased. N//goabaca shows a profit for the first year only, and thereafter the loss increases. Kubunyana once again is the most profitable, as it does not start making a loss until year three. It would also be possible to cover the losses in year three with profits made in year one and two.

Scenario 3

This seems a more realistic scenario, with guest prices increasing to N\$ 35.00 for camping and N\$ 60.00 for the tents at Kubunyana³⁶. Incorporated into this scenario is an additional 10% on costs and a 20% growth of income over the three years, taken from Scenario 2 figures (Table 9).

Table 9: Scenario 3

Scenario 3			
N//goabaca	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Income	14 042.42	16 850.91	20 221.09
Expenditure	9 209.30	10 130.23	11 143.26
Profit (Loss)	4 833.12	6 720.68	9 077.84
Guest nights to break even	307	338	371
Kubunyana	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Income	24 456.56	29 347.88	35 217.45
Expenditure	14 465.75	15 912.33	17 503.56
Profit (Loss)	9 990.81	13 435.55	17 713.89
Guest nights to break even	489	538	592
Salambala	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Income	18 271.43	21 925.71	26 310.86
Expenditure (high salaries)	16 045.71	17 650.29	19 415.31
Profit (Loss)	2 225.71	4 275.43	6 895.54
Guest nights to break even	642	706	777

In this scenario Kubunyana and N//goabaca show a high profit margin in each of the three years. Salambala shows a profit for each of the three years too.

³⁶ On 1 November 2002 the rates at Kubunyana camp increased to N\$ 30.00 for camping and N\$ 70.00 for tents, and at N//goabaca to N\$ 35.00 for camping.

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