

**The Tourism–Development Nexus in Namibia  
- A Study on National Tourism Policy and Local  
Tourism Enterprises' Policy Knowledge**

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*Academic Dissertation*

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## Abstract

The tourism–development nexus in southern Africa involves highly topical issues related to tourism planning, power relations, community participation, and natural resources. Namibia offers a particularly interesting context for the study of these issues due to its colonial legacy, vast tourism potential, recently adopted tourism policy and community-based approaches to tourism and natural resource management. This study is an interdisciplinary endeavour to analyse the role of tourism in Namibia's post-apartheid transformation process by focusing on Namibian tourism policy and local tourism enterprises' policy knowledge. Major attention is paid to how the tourism policy's national development objectives are understood and conceptualised by the representatives of different tourism enterprises and the ways in which they relate to the practical needs of the enterprises. Through such local policy knowledge the study explores various opportunities, challenges and constraints related to the promotion of tourism as a development strategy.

The study utilises a political economy approach to tourism and development through three current and interrelated discourses which are relevant in the Namibian context. These are tourism, power and inequality, tourism and sustainable development, and tourism and poverty reduction. The qualitative research material was gathered in Namibia in 2006–2007 and 2008. This material consists of 34 semi-structured interviews in 16 tourism enterprises, including private trophy hunting farms and private lodges, small tour operators and community-based tourism enterprises. In addition, the research material consists of observations in the enterprises, and 37 informal and 23 expert interviews.

The findings indicate that in the light of local tourism enterprises the tourism policy objectives appear more complex and ambiguous. Furthermore, they involve multiple meanings and interpretations which reflect the socio-economic stratification of the informants and Namibian society, together with the professional stratification of the tourism enterprises and restrictions on the capacity of tourism to address the devel-

opment objectives. In the light of such findings it is obvious that aspects of power and inequality affect the tourism–development nexus in Namibia.

The study concludes that, as in the case of other southern African countries, in order to promote sustainable development and reduce poverty, Namibia should not only target tourism growth but pay attention to who benefits from that growth and how. From a political economy point of view, it is important that prevailing structural challenges are addressed equally in the planning of tourism, development and natural resource management. Such approach would help the Namibian majority to enjoy the benefits of increasing tourism in the country.



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## List of Abbreviations

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| AALS    | Affirmative Action Loan Scheme   |
| APT     | Anti-Poverty Tourism   |
| BBEE    | Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment   |
| BEE     | Black Economic Empowerment   |
| BIG     | Basic Income Grant   |
| CBT     | Community-Based Tourism  |
| CBTE    | Community-Based Tourism Enterprise   |
| CBNRM   | Community Based Natural Resource Management  |
| DFID    | UK Department for International Development  |
| ECA     | Economic Commission for Africa   |
| FENATA  | Federation of Namibian Tourism Associations  |
| FTTSA   | Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa   |
| GATS    | General Agreement on Trade and Services  |
| GDP     | Gross Domestic Product   |
| GTZ     | Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit<br>(German development organisation) |
| HDI     | Human Development Index  |
| HIPC    | Highly Indebted Poor Countries   |
| HPI     | Human Poverty Index  |
| ICDP    | Integrated conservation and development project  |
| ICRT    | International Centre for Responsible Tourism   |
| IIED    | International Institute for Environment and Development                                  |
| IPCC    | Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change  |
| IRDNC   | Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation                                     |
| IUCN    | International Union for Conservation of Nature   |
| KRA     | Key Result Area  |
| LED     | Local Economic Development   |
| LIFE    | Living in a Finite Environment   |
| NACOBTA | Namibia Community Based Tourism Assistance Trust   |
| NACSO   | Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organisations                                      |
| NAPHA   | Namibia Professional Hunters' Association  |
| NATH    | Namibia Association of Tourism and Hospitality   |
| NDP1    | First National Development Plan  |
| NDP2    | Second National Development Plan   |

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| NDP3  | Third National Development Plan                                      |
| NEPAD | New Partnership for Africa's Development                             |
| NHIES | Namibia Household Income and Expenditure Survey                      |
| NGO   | Non Governmental Organisation  |
| NPC   | National Planning Commission   |
| NTA   | Namibia Training Authority   |
| NTDP  | Namibia Tourism Development Plan                                     |
| NWR   | Namibia Wildlife Resorts   |
| MHT   | Mud Hut Trading  |
| MET   | Ministry of Environment and Tourism                                  |
| ODI   | Overseas Development Institute ODI                                   |
| PPT   | Pro Poor Tourism   |
| PPA   | Participatory Poverty Appraisal                                      |
| PRA   | Participatory Rural Appraisal  |
| PRSP  | Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper                                     |
| SADC  | Southern African Development Community                               |
| SADF  | South African Defence Force  |
| SAP   | Structural Adjustment Policy   |
| SCP   | Sustainable Consumption and Production                               |
| SL    | Sustainable Livelihoods  |
| SME   | Small and Medium Sized Enterprise                                    |
| SNV   | Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers (Dutch development organisation) |
| SPAN  | Strengthening the Protected Area Network                             |
| SWAPO | South West African People's Organisation                             |
| TAN   | Tourist Guide Association of Namibia                                 |
| TEP   | Tourism Enterprise Programme/Partnership                             |
| TFCA  | Transfrontier Conservation Area                                      |
| TSA   | Tourism Satellite Account  |
| TTCI  | Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index                               |
| UNWTO | World Tourism Organisation   |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development                   |
| WAD   | Women's' Action of Development                                       |
| WILD  | Wildlife Integration for Livelihood Diversification Project          |
| WTO   | World Trade Organisation   |
| WTTC  | World Travel & Tourism Council                                       |
| WWF   | World Wide Fund for Nature   |

# Introduction

This study is about the tourism–development nexus in Namibia with a special focus on Namibian tourism policy and a perspective of local tourism enterprises to the policy implementation. It is an interdisciplinary endeavour to analyse the role of tourism in Namibia’s post-apartheid transformation process and to engage in current discourses on tourism and development by utilising a political economy approach. The knowledge derived from the studied tourism enterprises regarding the tourism policy’s aim to promote national development objectives forms the core of the thesis. In the broader context tourism planning in Namibia is considered in the light of aspects shared with tourism planning in other southern African countries. Characteristic to the Namibian tourism sector is the apartheid legacy, which implies both a particular need and several challenges for promoting tourism as a development strategy.

The study is an outcome of a three year academic research project that focused on tourism and regional development in Namibia in 2006-2008<sup>1</sup>. The purpose of this introductory chapter is to present the aim and general context of the study. This encompasses the interdisciplinary framework and the complex interrelationship of tourism and development. In addition, the chapter introduces background information concerning tourism planning and the tourism policy process in Namibia. The effort to devolve rights through community-based approaches is particularly relevant for understanding the current tourism–development nexus in Namibia and therefore it is introduced in this chapter but covered in more detail in the chapters presenting the empirical results. Knowledge production in the tourism policy process forms the conceptual context for the study and different types of knowledge within Namibian tourism policy are discussed. Finally, the structure of the entire thesis and the major arguments in each chapter are provided.

---

<sup>1</sup> The project was carried out by Finnish University Network for Tourism Studies of the University of Joensuu in collaboration with Department of Geography of the University of Namibia.

## *Aim and research questions*

The starting point of this study is Namibian tourism policy. In the field of public policy, tourism policy belongs to a group of 'adjectival policies' in which the focus is on the subject matter, such as tourism (or, for that matter, health, education or environment) and how the structures of public authority deal with it (Colebatch 2002: 4). The underlying assumption is that policy involves a process that is inherently multidimensional and multi-faceted. Rist (2000: 1007) distinguishes three different phases in a policy process, these being policy formulation, policy implementation and policy accountability. According to Rist (2000: 1007), qualitative research is highly relevant to policy implementation when policy initiatives and goals established during policy formulation are to be transformed into programmes, procedures, and regulations. He calls for research which compares the issues that were accepted at the policy formulation stage by policy makers with the social constructions of such issues by the implementing stakeholders. This is the primary aim of the present study and the studied tourism enterprises can be regarded as implementing stakeholders.

On the other hand, such a linear 'policy cycle' consisting of separate steps has been criticised as insufficiently describing the multiple, complex and interacting policy process involving numerous contested policy proposals and statutes at multiple levels of government (Sabatier 1999: 7; Keeley & Scoones 2003: 22; Haas 2004: 575). As Hall and Jenkins (1995: 11) remark, the dynamics of the policy process can be so complex that it is often difficult, and perhaps even pointless, to try to distinguish between policy formulation and implementation. Such a distinction is certainly difficult to apply precisely in Namibia, where the writing and re-writing of the tourism policy and the circulation of various drafts among different stakeholders can be regarded as policy formulation, but a simultaneous implementation has already taken place through various existing tourism-related policies and legislation.

Tourism policy is an essential part of Namibian tourism planning, which involves several other tourism and conservation related policies. The purpose of the policy is to direct tourism development in the country by providing the structure for tourism planning and outlining major issues related to national cooperation and tourism promotion

(Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008). However, the focus of this study is on the stated aim of the policy, namely to provide a framework for the mobilisation of tourism resources in order to realise long term national development objectives. These objectives are economic growth, employment creation, poverty reduction, black economic empowerment, ecological and environmental sustainability, and reduction of regional development inequities (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2005, 2008). Until the current policy was launched in 2009 the available policy document was the draft tourism policy of 2005, which explicitly describes how tourism is supposed to contribute to each development objective. The choice of the six topics listed above stems from this paragraph of the draft tourism policy (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2005: 35):

“In very simple terms tourism can address National Development Plan objectives by increasing the volume and value of visitors to Namibia and by spreading them, and therefore the economic benefits they bring, throughout the country. Tourism will contribute more to some objectives than others. The objectives to which tourism can contribute most effectively are split into three sets, with varying degrees of impact: the greatest impact that tourism can make is on poverty reduction, employment creation and economic growth; its next greatest potential impact is on black economic empowerment, reducing regional development inequities<sup>2</sup> and enhancing environmental and ecological sustainability; and finally, tourism can contribute towards gender equality and a reduction of inequalities in income distribution, although its impact in these areas will be less direct than in the others”.

Since the last two objectives are given less emphasis in the policy and since there was a need to focus the study more narrowly they were omitted from the original setup. However, gender inequality evolves in the empirical material and it is therefore discussed in the results. The inequality in income distribution is closely affiliated with poverty reduction, black economic empowerment and economic growth and it is also addressed, although indirectly.

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<sup>2</sup> From here onwards reference is made to regional development inequalities, which is a more suitable term and used also in the final tourism policy (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 2).



The focus of this study is at a local level of individual tourism enterprises, which include private trophy hunting farms and private lodges, small private tour operators and community-based tourism enterprises. These 16 enterprises form a heterogeneous and fairly representative entity of the Namibian tourism sector consisting of white and black Namibians, rural and urban settings, as well as geographically central and peripheral actors. The aim is to find out how the policy's development objectives relate to the tourism actors' operational reality at a local level. Therefore, the major research question of this study is: *What perceptions and experiences do Namibian tourism enterprises have of the tourism policy's development objectives and what does this suggest for policy implementation in the view of current academic discourses on tourism and development?* Particular attention is paid to how the policy objectives are understood and conceptualised by the representatives of different tourism enterprises and the ways in which they relate to the practical needs of the enterprises. In other words, the aim is to find out how rather abstract policy objectives appear in the view of the local actors. The study examines different types of knowledge production in the tourism policy process and asks: *What is the role and value of the knowledge derived from the studied tourism enterprises for the implementation of the tourism policy?* In addition, the empirical material is assumed to reveal various challenges, complexities and constraints related to promoting the development objectives through tourism. Therefore the study asks: *What specific challenges are there in the effort to promote the development objectives through tourism from the local point of view and how are these challenges addressed in the tourism policy?*

Community-based tourism represents one of the efforts to make the Namibian tourism sector more inclusive and to allow the participation of previously disadvantaged population groups in it. In addition, there is increasing cooperation between the government, private tourism enterprises and rural communities in tourism and nature conservation. However, the socio-economic context of the rural communities involved in tourism may affect their capacity to fully engage in the sector and benefit from it. The tourism policy recognises the specific input of community-based tourism towards distributing the benefits of tourism to previously disadvantaged communities, but the economic viability of such projects is a source of concern (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2005, 2008). Against this background the study asks: *How do the studied*

*community-based tourism enterprises respond to the requirements of tourism as a competitive economic activity and how do they embrace the tourism policy's development objectives?*

Even though the relationship between tourism and development has created increasing interest among academics, there is a lack of studies which analyse holistically and critically tourism-related development strategies (Gössling et al. 2009: 103). Furthermore, Hall (2009: 52) highlights a need for a more detailed and sophisticated analysis of tourism policy making in the context of southern Africa. This study brings new insights into these topics and, through an interdisciplinary approach, demonstrates the multifaceted challenges in promoting development through tourism. In doing so, the study brings new knowledge to the relevant academic discourses on tourism and development. Furthermore, the findings make valuable policy-relevant information available, which can be utilised in the context of tourism and development planning in Namibia and other southern African countries.

### *Interdisciplinary framework*

Interdisciplinarity refers to a research process, which utilises and merges the concepts, theories, methods and viewpoints of different disciplines (Mikkeli & Pakkasvirta 2007: 65). This study belongs to geography, development studies and tourism studies which are all inherently interlinked. In addition, it utilises the concepts and approaches of anthropology, international political economy and policy research. Tourism and development are highly relevant topics of geography since they involve mobility of people, changes in places and use of natural resources, and the multifaceted aspects of global inequality (Saarinen 2004; Gibson 2008; Silvey 2009). Since geography is integral to both development and tourism studies, the two fields and their interlinkages are introduced below in more detail.

Most of the research on tourism and development has been carried out within tourism studies rather than development studies. Contemporary research interests in that nexus, such as sustainable tourism and pro-poor tourism, are covered in detail in another chapter. However, the political economy aspect of tourism has received less

emphasis (Bianchi 2009: 487; Gibson 2009: 528). Furthermore, most academic literature on tourism planning, management and policy making within tourism studies has concentrated on the northern, so-called developed countries and paid little attention to the often more complex and different realities of the developing countries (Gunn with Var 2002; Buhalis & Costa 2006; Dredge & Jenkins 2007; Hall 2008). Therefore, this study contributes to critical tourism research and provides a southern perspective to the field of tourism policy and planning.

Tourism studies is a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary field, the position of which in the scientific arena has been contested throughout its existence (Przeclawski 1993; Hall 2005b). Tribe (2004: 48) argues that tourism studies lacks both internal theoretical and conceptual unity and that it relies on other disciplines. However, Hall (2005b: 7) counters that the field of tourism studies has many of the characteristics of a discipline such as a well-established presence in universities, academic associations and avenues for academic publications in terms of books and journals. Therefore it is increasingly becoming institutionalised and recognised as a legitimate area of study in its own right. While there are scholars who do regard tourism studies as an independent discipline, others argue that traditional disciplinary boundaries may prevent researchers from seeing what lies beyond their discipline (Coles et al. 2006: 301). According to this argument, post-disciplinary perspectives allow ideas and connections to be pursued to their logical conclusions without artificial disciplinary boundaries (Hellström et al. 2003; Coles et al. 2006: 303).

One of the reasons for the limited coverage of tourism in development studies may be the perception of tourism as an export commodity rather than a serious option of local livelihood. With few exceptions (*Third World Quarterly* and *Development Southern Africa*), tourism is seldom covered by peer-reviewed journals in the field of development studies. However, as this study and many others reveal, in developing countries tourism is regarded as an important, if highly controversial, development strategy and therefore it deserves full attention in the field of development studies. Through my study I aim to highlight some of the issues that require more thorough research within the topic of tourism and development.

Like tourism studies, development studies is not regarded as a discrete academic discipline. Rather it is a multi-disciplinary, cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary field of studies that is concerned with the patterns, phenomena and history of global inequality and the explanations attached to it (Kothari 2005; Sumner & Tribe 2008). Nevertheless, it is well established, particularly within Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian academia, with firm representation in universities as a field of study and a publication field of its own. In recent years, the increasing multitude of issues falling under development studies has created new challenges for the field. The question of theory is perhaps the greatest challenge and a major area of controversy in development studies at this time (Sumner & Tribe 2008: 82). Traditional development theories no longer suffice to explain the changing global system and some scholars have argued for a new 'post-development' era which rejects the orthodox concept based on development in favour of an idea that all people of the world should aspire for the same level of living standard and the same kind level of techno-scientific progress (Pieterse 2001; Matthews 2004; Escobar 2005).

### *The tourism–development dilemma*

Over the past half century, tourism has evolved into one of the world's most powerful socio-economic forces, with 924 million international tourists in 2008 and an expected 1.6 billion by 2020 (Telfer & Sharpley 2008: 1; UNWTO 2009). High growth rate in international tourism is closely related to increasing globalisation, which has reduced the cost and time required to move commodities, services and people, and to increasing consumption by individuals in industrial, capitalist societies (Hall 2008: 36-49). Telfer and Sharpley in their title *Tourism and development in the developing world* (2008) have introduced a concept 'tourism–development dilemma', which refers to cases in which tourism is attractive as a means of stimulating social and economic development but where that development often fails to materialise or benefits only local elites and comes with significant costs to local communities. Similarly, Gössling et al. (2009: 113) remark that

the benefit of tourism to society is highly complex and not self-evident. However, before discussing the tourism–development dilemma more thoroughly it is important to define the concepts tourism and development.

International tourism is a highly distinct economic sector comprising both production and consumption components and constituting a collection of industries that share similar functions and produce similar products (Cornelissen 2005b: 77). Sharpley (2002b: 23) lists a number of characteristics related to international tourism. First of all, tourism is a leisure activity that is influenced by tourists' socio-cultural background, making it socially patterned. In addition, it is supported by a diverse, multi-sectored industry and it is largely dependent upon the physical, social and cultural attributes of the destination. According to Sharpley (2009: 149), tourism is an inherent part of the processes of production and consumption aiming at economic profits inherent in modern capitalism. Therefore, tourism can be conceptualised as a global process of commodification and consumption involving flows of people, capital, images and cultures (Meethan 2001: 4).

Tourism can be further described as an interdependent system that involves tourist generating and tourist receiving regions, between which lie transit regions through which the tourists travel (see figure 1). The fundamental characteristic of tourism is that the product is consumed in the receiving region, which is called the destination. A range of issues are prerequisites for tourism in the destination, while tourism is similarly influenced by a number of external factors in the tourist generating regions.

According to Hall (2005b: 16-17), definitions of tourism tend to share common elements, including the temporary nature of travel by non-residents to destinations where they have a variety of impacts. In addition, tourism is primarily for leisure or recreation and involves voluntary movements of people. Finally, tourism may have an impact on, and influence the character of, a tourist. For this study, the definition of tourism by Dredge and Jenkins (2007: 13) appears the most applicable. They define tourism in the context of tourism policy as follows:

## Tourism

- involves the movement of people and resources
- is characterised by a collection of government, businesses, activities and processes that assist people in making decisions about travel
- involves the production and consumption of a range of tangible (e.g. tourism products) and intangible (e.g. sense of place) resources
- overlaps and intersects with the daily lives of local communities
- involves the production and consumption of tourist experiences
- produces a range of intended and unintended consequences and effects that need to be critically examined and managed

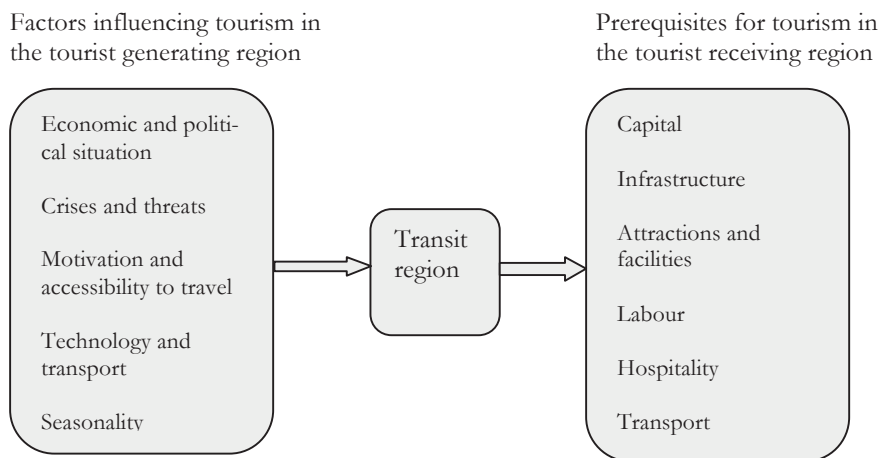
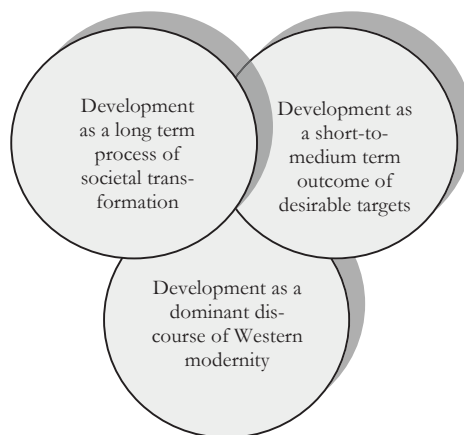


Figure 1. The tourism system (Adopted from Hall 2008)

Development is similarly a multi-dimensional concept, which therefore embraces several definitions. It may be used as a philosophical concept and a guiding plan, while more broadly used it can refer to any progress implying some kind of positive transformation (Sharpley 2002b: 23). In this context, the concept is defined as it is used in social sciences and development studies. The term ‘development’, as it is currently used, dates from the post-war era of modern development thinking and is often used in a Eurocentric manner to refer to a process of societies moving from one condition to another (Pieterse 2001: 5; Remeneyi 2004: 23). Koponen (2007: 50) points out that development can be viewed as a normative goal, as an actual social process and as an

intentional intervention. He suggests that these dimensions can be studied as part of a larger concept of ‘developmentalism’, which refers to the idea that development is good for all and it is in everybody’s interests to promote it (Koponen 2009: 39). Furthermore, Olivier De Sardin (2005) has emphasised the need to pay attention to the various ‘discourses of development’ by different actors.

Sumner and Tribe (2008: 12-15) identify three different meanings within the concept of development: development as a long-term process of structural societal transformation, development as a short- to medium-term outcome of desirable targets, and development as a dominant discourse of Western modernity (see figure 2). In this study, all three dimensions can be regarded as valid and meaningful. In the Namibian context, the government in its national development policies, such as National Development Plans and Namibia Vision 2030, encompasses the notion of long-term process of structural transformation from a colonised, newly independent state to a politically and economically independent state with a high level of human welfare (National Planning Commission 2002; Republic of Namibia 2004, 2008). However, through the national development objectives Namibia also endorses medium-term desirable targets related to economy, society and the environment. On the other hand, the same objectives can be regarded as reflecting Western development discourse. For example, the national development objectives are safely anchored in the orthodox conceptualisation of development predicated on ever-increasing economic growth and material accumulation.



*Figure 2. Different meanings of development (Sumner & Tribe 2008: 11)*

Despite the relevance of such a practical definition, it is important to similarly include a more critical definition of development. Payne (2005) criticises the underdevelopment-development dichotomy inherent in the development concept and argues that all countries in the world should pursue development. In his view, there are no explicitly developed or underdeveloped societies - instead, the current world and the status of different countries should be characterised as *unequal development*. Similarly, Swantz (2009), who is one of the pioneers in Finnish development studies, emphasises the need to view development as a process that concerns all individuals, societies and nations. Bond (2006: 11) applies the concept of *uneven development*, which implies that accumulation at one pole and poverty at another happen systematically, according to systems of exploitation. The practical and critical definitions are equally important but may be applied in different contexts. Even though I prefer to position myself among those who adopt a critical conceptualisation of development and foresee that there may be different paths of development, I acknowledge that in a local context the practical definitions are more applicable. Furthermore, the concept of a 'developing country' is applied in this study, despite its weakness and complexity. It refers to a loose group of countries in the southern hemisphere sharing similar characteristics in economic and human development, as well as similar geographical location and historical experience. Even though it is politically sensitive and difficult to define in exact terms, I regard it as geographically more informative than more vague concepts of the 'Third World' and the 'Global South'. Furthermore, it is commonly used in the developmental settings and in the literature on development studies, even though it may not be fully applicable to Namibia, as it is to some other southern African countries.

The reasons for governments and donors to promote tourism as a development strategy are primarily economic. As an economic field, tourism is growing faster than the rest of the world economy in terms of visitor expenditures, export output, capital investment, income and employment (Edgell et al. 2008: 100). Already international and domestic tourism account for approximately 10 percent of global GDP and employment (Telfer & Sharpley 2008: 2). Furthermore, tourism is perceived to require lower start-up costs than other industries, since it utilises existing natural or man-made attractions such as nature, wilderness and heritage sites (Sharpley 2009: 15). Increasing tour-



ism has created a growing concern over its unwanted environmental and socio-cultural effects. Simultaneously, governments have sought for ways to maximise the economic returns retained in the destination. The balance between maximising the economic benefits and managing the costs are at the core of tourism planning (Hall 2008: 1). Although it is claimed that the nation state as an entity has been weakened as a result of increasing economic liberalisation and global integration, national governments still have a major role in tourism planning through the formulation of tourism policies and strategies and regulation of the tourism industry (Hall 2008: 163). Similarly, Scheyvens (2002: 165) reminds us that it is governments that have the power to establish policies which can determine whether a country follows a path of tourism development dictated primarily by overseas interest and capital, or one which seeks to promote economic benefits for local people and the state while preserving the integrity of the social, cultural and environmental features of their country.

Scholars propose that tourism planning, policies and strategies in southern Africa must be set within broader development processes taking place in those countries (Dieke 2000; Telfer & Sharpley 2008). However, as Kerr (2003: 31) points out, it is often ignored that a tourism policy may be subordinate to wider economic development policies. Following current neoliberal tendencies, national tourism policies in southern Africa tend to emphasise the need for foreign exchange, especially through the private sector, but there is similarly an increasing concern for the environment and calls for wider community participation and benefit sharing (Mashinini 2003; Rogerson and Visser 2004; Matenga 2005; Giampiccoli 2007, Saarinen 2009a). For example, in Namibia the conflict between the aims of increasing the participation of Namibians, particularly those from previously disadvantaged groups, and of developing tourism through encouraging foreign investment, is acknowledged in the draft tourism policy (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2005: 24).

An essential aspect related to the tourism–development dilemma is leakage, which is defined by Edgell et al. (2008: 109) as occurring when tourism revenue generated in one destination is spent in other communities who produce goods or services not purchased in the original destination. Lacher and Nepal (2010: 81) identify four aspects which are detrimental to the level of leakage. These are availability of capital,

level of local ownership, level of local employment and ability to link local industries to tourism. According to Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 80), tourism may draw in many domestically produced inputs, such as food, construction, manufacturing and energy, but leakage can be high because those supplying sectors rely often on imports. The definitional ambiguity with leakage is that the concept is used interchangeably to refer to leakage of revenue in both regional and national contexts (Lacher & Nepal 2010; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Sandbrook 2010). For the purpose of clarity, this study refers to leakage as revenue that leaks out of the national economy and regional leakage as revenue that leaks out of the regional economy. A useful way of studying the amounts of leakage is value chain analysis<sup>3</sup>, which refers to the study of how individual enterprises are linked in internationally dispersed but integrated systems of input supply, trade, production and marketing (Gibbon & Ponte 2008: 366). One of the few such efforts in southern Africa is the PhD of Lapeyre (2009b) which analyses the distribution of economic surplus along the tourism commodity chain in Namibia.

At a core of the tourism–development dilemma is the increasing emphasis on how tourism can contribute to the most topical development issues at a local level. The concept of tourism-led ‘local economic development’ (LED) refers to tourism promotion that tries to cater for the needs of a certain locality and its population by strengthening linkages with local economies (Binns & Nel 2002; Rogerson 2005b; Rogerson 2009a). The role of tourism in LED has been increasingly acknowledged, especially in South Africa in both urban and rural areas (Rogerson 2006). Similarly, there is an increasing demand for studies that go beyond the traditional considerations of economic benefits and socio-cultural impacts and instead evaluate more critically the complex interaction of tourism and rural livelihoods (Simpson 2008: 240). In their study on the impacts of tourism on poor people’s livelihoods in southern Africa, Ashley and Elliott (2003: 2) identified financial impacts, which include cash earnings from jobs, sales of different goods and shares of collective income, as well as non-financial impacts, which include improved or decreased access to infrastructure, communications, water supplies, health and education. In addition, there can be empowerment impacts such as

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<sup>3</sup> According to Clancy (2011: 78), global value chains and global commodity chains are parallel frameworks and even in this study both concepts are used depending on the referred literature. They both analyse how a finished commodity’s value has been determined and where profits have been distributed.

opportunities for institutional development and participation in local economic decision making. The livelihood aspect is strongly represented in community-based tourism and community-based natural resource management, which are covered in detail in the following section.

### *Tourism planning and policy process in Namibia*

According to Dredge and Jenkins (2007: 444), tourism planning is an activity that is concerned with identifying appropriate steps to achieve some predetermined goal and it occurs as a dialogue between overlapping or complementary and competing interests, communicative action, collaboration and capacity building. As Gunn with Var (2002) note, tourism planning involves various bodies such as private tourism companies, government, non-profit organisations and professional consultants, who all have their own interests and values.

Hall (2008) presents different approaches to tourism planning which have been adopted from Getz (1987, in Hall 2008). Even though the approaches concern mainly developed countries, three of them apply to Namibian tourism planning, i.e. the economic tradition, community orientation and sustainable approach (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008; Republic of Namibia 2008; Becker 2009; Scholz 2009). The economic tradition emphasises the role of tourism in creating economic growth, generating employment and enhancing regional development. Tourism is defined as an industry that has a measurable economic contribution and emphasis is placed on tourism marketing and promotion to attract those visitors who will be expected to provide the greatest economic benefit to the destination. Furthermore, economic goals are given priority over social and ecological aspects (Hall 2008: 56). According to Moscardo (2011), economic motives are at the core of tourism planning in most African countries, reflecting a hegemonic social representation of tourism planning. Such social representation is based on the assumption that tourism is necessary and desirable for a

country and tourism is rarely evaluated against other development options (Moscardo 2011: 433).

Community oriented tourism planning can be traced back to the 1970s, when the environmental and social impacts of tourism started to receive increasing attention. Local communities' needs and priorities became the centre of tourism planning and led to many forms of alternative tourism (Smith and Eadington 1992; Timothy 2002). According to Hall (2008: 60), the community approach to tourism planning is a 'bottom-up' strategy which emphasises development *in* the community rather than development *of* the community. One of the major challenges in this approach has been how to guarantee the participation of local communities and their control of the tourism development process (Hall 2008: 60). In southern Africa, community participation in tourism planning is a rather new phenomenon, which takes place mostly in community-based natural resource management and through joint ventures between local communities and private enterprises (Scheyvens 2002; Spenceley 2008). Moreover, as Hall (2008: 61) and Desai (2002: 120) note, there may be a lack of political will from the governments to encourage local participation because of its implications for the distribution of power and resources. Desai (2002) also remarks that usually participation is made possible through locally established organisations which always involve power structures and competing interests.

A sustainable approach to tourism planning is based on the concept of sustainable development. However, as Hall (2008: 62) states, the complex nature of the tourism industry and the often poorly defined linkages between its components are major barriers to the integrative strategic planning which is regarded as a prerequisite for sustainable development. In other words, a sustainable tourism industry requires a commitment by all parties involved in the planning process to sustainable development principles (Hall 2008: 67). Furthermore, according to Telfer and Sharpley (2008: 113), it is increasingly acknowledged that tourism cannot be planned in isolation, but needs to be integrated as part of broader development strategies within the context of sustainable development. The latter is particularly valid in southern Africa where tourism is expected to enhance broad-based development among the majority of the populations.

Only a year after independence, in 1991, the Namibian government declared tourism a priority sector, expected to diversify the economy. Since then, Namibian National Development Plans and government documents on tourism have acknowledged the role of tourism in promoting national development objectives (see appendix 1). The aridity of the country restricted the large scale development of agriculture and in addition, vast distances combined with a small population did not support small-scale manufacturing. (Jenkins 2000a: 114). At the same time, Namibia's natural and cultural assets provided a substantially good base for tourist attractions, which were scattered across the country and therefore could spread the development impact to those different areas. Furthermore, good roads and a generally sound infrastructure, together with safety, were useful assets for the evolving tourism industry. On the international tourism market, Namibia was perceived as a new and unexplored destination. Therefore, new tourism ventures and foreign investments in tourism started to flourish. (Roe et al. 2001).

Namibia's Third National Development Plan (NDP3) set a target that by 2009 there would be a National Tourism Master Plan in Namibia and that all regions, local authorities and conservancies would have tourism development plans by 2009 (Republic of Namibia 2008: 126). However, these targets proved to be overambitious, the slow process apparently being a product of the general lack of capacity and understanding of tourism in conservancies and local governments. A major challenge for national and regional tourism planning is how to ensure a balance between the need for tourism growth and the need for tourism to contribute to local development needs. To achieve this balance cooperation is required from consultants who are commissioned to prepare the plans, and local stakeholders such as actors in the tourism sector and disadvantaged communities.

Tourism planning is closely involved with tourism policy, which is inherently a government activity since governments decide what the policy objectives are and public policy is what governments decide to do (Colebatch 2002: 11). However, as the traditional roles of governments have been increasingly shifted to the private and volunteer sectors it has become difficult to define public policy as simply a government action (Dredge & Jenkins 2007: 10). On the other hand, the term 'public policy' specifically

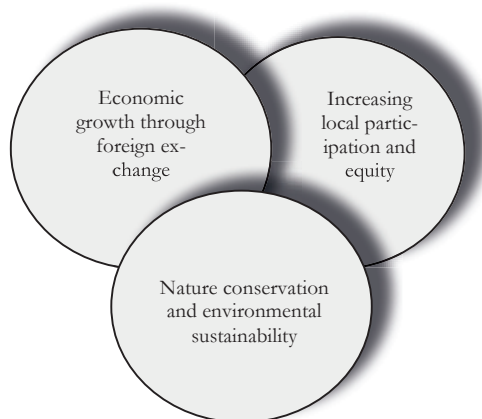
refers to government, whereas companies and organisations may have their own employment policies, environment policies, advertising policies etc. However, the role of government may differ across countries depending upon a range of variables, including a set of values governing policy approaches. In fact, Hall (2005a: 219) comments that there is increasing scepticism about the effectiveness of government and the intended consequences and impacts of government policy, including tourism policy.

It is important to acknowledge that different government policies and regulatory measures in other fields, such as the economy, conservation and the environment, affect the tourism policy and significantly influence the growth of tourism (Hall 2008: 165). Furthermore, governments have many other roles in tourism in addition to policy making, such as coordination, entrepreneurial activities, tourism promotion and protection of public interest (Hall 2008: 164-169). Scheyvens (2002) provides examples of some problems in government level tourism planning and policy making in developing countries. These include the top-down model of national planning and a lack of coordination from national to regional and local levels. In addition, within the government different ministries and departments dealing with issues related to tourism tend to be fragmented and fail to coordinate with each other.

The Namibian tourism policy process started in 1995 and has involved more than 20 different workshops where the policy has been drafted and commented upon (Iihuhwa 2008). The first comprehensive draft was circulated for stakeholders in 2005 and the second draft was completed in 2007. The final policy document, National Policy on Tourism for Namibia, was approved by the government on 4<sup>th</sup> December 2008 and launched in June 2009 (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008). According to Wilkinson (1997), research on tourism policies, especially in developing countries, requires an understanding of national development policies. Namibia's tourism policy, as in the previous drafts, states that its aim is to provide a framework for the mobilisation of tourism resources to realise the long term national goals of NDP3 (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 2). The vision of the policy is "a mature, sustainable and responsible tourism industry contributing significantly to the economic development of Namibia and the quality of life of all her people, primarily through job creation and economic growth" (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 2). The policy has

detailed sections on tourism infrastructure and investment, human resource development, marketing, planning and environmental sustainability. Notable improvements to the 2005 draft are sections which deal with tourism development on communal land and spreading the benefits of tourism to formerly disadvantaged Namibians, not only through community-based tourism but through a variety of measures. These include partnerships with the private sector, support for black economic empowerment, codes of conduct for the investors and encouraging more women to become managers and owners of tourism enterprises.

The Namibian government's market approach is reflected in the national tourism policy, which advocates a private sector and market driven approach to tourism. The role of the government is reduced to that of creating an enabling environment for the tourism industry and foreign investors. However, the Namibian government plays an active role within the tourism industry through government owned companies such as Air Namibia and Namibia Wildlife Resorts (NWR). Apart from economic benefits at a national level, the policy advocates local participation and a more equal spread of the benefits of tourism. The policy acknowledges that more Namibians should be provided with the skills to engage in tourism, including those at ownership and management levels. Finally, the policy emphasises the need for environmental sustainability through environmental regulation and wildlife conservation. (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008). In other words, the tourism policy is organised around the concept of sustainable development (see figure 3).



*Figure 3. The principles of sustainable development in Namibian tourism policy*

## **Devolving rights through community-based approaches**

An essential part of Namibian tourism planning and policy is the emphasis provided by the government on community-based tourism (CBT), which is characterised by two major elements. The first one is the full participation of a local community in the planning and management of a tourism enterprise and their ownership over it (Rogerson 2005a: 36). The second is that the tourism product being offered is based on local social, environmental and cultural assets (Cornelissen 2005b: 21). The concept of community can refer to a geographical community living in a certain politically defined area such as a village, town or suburb. Similarly, community may refer to the social interconnection of a group of persons and their participation in reciprocal exchanges within the group (Hydén 2006: 53; Telfer & Sharpley 2008: 117). However, communities are seldom homogenous and cohesive, often being rather complex, open-ended and heterogeneous (Duim et al. 2005: 302). In this study I define community-based tourism as 'including one or several of a variety of tourism activities which are planned and managed by a certain community, as defined by its members, who are the owners and direct beneficiaries of the tourism product and aim at equal distribution of the benefits within the community'. In a study that involved 218 CBTEs in southern Africa, Spenceley (2008: 288) discovered several common characteristics for communities engaged in CBT. They are often remote from national centres and constrained by poor infrastructure in terms of roads, water and electricity. In addition, they are economically poor with little capital for investment in the tourism industry, and they can be characterised as inexperienced and under-skilled in engaging in tourism. However, they are rich in distinctive culture and history firmly rooted in the local area. Due to their dependence on local natural resources, they possess deep knowledge about the surrounding nature and its utilisation.

According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (2006), Namibia has been a pioneer in the development of community-based models for tourism management. The Namibian government recognised the role of community-based tourism already in 1995, when it approved the Policy on Community-Based Tourism Development, which called for opening up opportunities for rural communities to increase their involvement



in the tourism sector (Republic of Namibia 1995b). Active community-based tourism enterprises include campsites, cultural villages, museums, craft centres, rest camps and township tours, among others. Namibia Community Based Tourism Assistance Trust (NACOBTA) was established in 1995 to promote and lobby for community-based tourism and to help its members in marketing and skills development. However, the organisation has been heavily reliant on external donor funding and its current situation is even more precarious (Katjuongua 2008; Siyambango 2009).

Hitchins and Highstead (2005) highlight several challenges related to CBT in Namibia. Even though there are plenty of resources and attention devoted to community-based natural resource management, other needs of CBT are largely neglected. CBT is still an isolated tourism segment and there are suspicions and ignorance of each other from the community-based tourism and the private sectors. In fact, CBT may not be as important for the Namibian tourism sector as it is for the communal areas in terms of providing economic opportunities, and for NGOs advocating conservation measures. Interestingly, when I visited the office of the Namibia Tourism Board in 2007 and enquired about community-based tourism facilities as a tourist, I was merely directed to the office of NACOBTA on the other side of the town. Furthermore, there were no brochures of CBTEs in the office. Similarly, the staff of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism includes only a few individuals who are responsible for CBT (Ndlovu et al. 2010: 822).

The pressure to promote natural resource-related development in rural areas and the need to diversify economies to include tourism and commercial use of biodiversity gave impetus to the shift towards a new paradigm in wildlife conservation in the 1980's (Fabricius 2004; Jones 2006). Throughout southern Africa, this has culminated in community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), which has been embraced and regarded as a remarkable success story by donor agencies, albeit regarded more critically by academics (Scheyvens 2002; Fischer et al. 2008; Murphree 2009; Torquebi-au & Taylor 2009). In Namibia, CBNRM dates back to the early 1980s, when the community game guard programme was introduced in the Kunene region as part of Integrated Rural Development and Conservation (IRDNC) and Save the Rhino Trust (Palm & Pye 2001; Long 2002). Prior to that several wildlife species were close to ex-

tinction in Namibia's communal lands, whilst at the same time commercial conservancies established by private game farms had proved effective in increasing the number and diversity of species on the farms (Nott & Jacobsohn 2004). In 1993, USAID sponsored a programme called Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE), which preceded the current CBNRM programme.

In 1996, the Nature Conservation Amendment Act provided communal area residents with rights over environmental resources through the establishment of communal conservancies, which are provided with concessionary rights for tourism development. The conservancies are legally designated areas in which local communities are allocated ownership and management rights over natural resources such as wildlife and grazing lands. The aim of the conservancies has been to establish viable natural resource management structures and systems of earning and distributing benefits, as well as to increase the diversity and numbers of different wildlife (Long 2002: 1; Nott & Jacobsohn 2004). In order to be registered by the government, a conservancy must define its boundaries and membership, create a representative management committee and have a legally recognised constitution together with a plan for equitable distribution of benefits. Conservancies can use their rights to hunt animals for own-use, to capture and sell game based on annual quotas, to cull and manage protected game and to engage in non-consumptive tourism activities. In addition, conservancies can apply for concessions from the state to run tourism and hunting ventures. According to Barnes (2010: 119), Namibia's conservancy programme has become a global model for CBNRM and it is an example of a narrative that places devolved institutional arrangements based on sustainable use at the centre of rural conservation and development practices.

### **Knowledge production in the policy process**

This study recognises that there are two fields of policy knowledge, which can be regarded as equally important for the Namibian tourism policy process. These are professional policy knowledge and local policy knowledge (see table 1). The impetus for such differentiation stems from Corburn's (2007) article on the role of community

knowledge on environmental health science, in which he distinguishes between local knowledge and professional knowledge for environmental science policy. The concept of local policy knowledge is closely linked to the anthropological concept of local knowledge, which has been used simultaneously with such concepts as indigenous knowledge, indigenous knowledge systems, traditional knowledge and rural people's knowledge (Nygren 1999; Pottier 2003; Kelkar 2007; Kolawole 2009). Each may be defined slightly differently according to the context in which they are used, but in general they refer to knowledge constructed by a certain group of people or institutions who are actively involved in the generation, acquisition and transformation of information (Kelkar 2007: 300). The concept of local knowledge was more commonly adopted in anthropology and development studies in the 1980s and the larger context for the recognition of local knowledge was provided by the participatory approach to development (Sillitoe 1998; Pottier 2003: 1). Even today, the concept is often juxtaposed with 'professional knowledge' or 'scientific knowledge', which is regarded as more technical, systematic and rational with more epistemological importance (Nygren 1999; Corburn 2003). In natural resource management there has been a lot of research on the importance of local knowledge and local ecological knowledge that completes the scientific knowledge of conservation efforts (e.g. Robbins 2000; Klooster 2002; Bicker et al. 2004; Brook & McLachlan 2008; Moore 2009). Similarly, scholars in anthropology and development studies have emphasised the value of local knowledge in contributing to different types of development interventions (Pottier 2003; Bicker et al. 2004; Mosse 2005).

Contrary to the concept of local knowledge, local policy knowledge does not refer to indigenous or collective knowledge among specific communities or groups of people. Instead, I define it herein as "the understandings, conceptualisations, perceptions and experiences of policy relevant stakeholders at a local level concerning particular policy areas within a specific field of public policy". Therefore, in the case of Namibian tourism policy local policy knowledge refers to the perceptions and experiences of the representatives of the Namibian tourism enterprises concerning the tourism policy's six development objectives. Local policy knowledge can have theoretical and

practical value for academic researchers, as well as policy makers, public policy practitioners and other policy stakeholders at different levels.

The tourism policy process of Namibia appears to have been mainly based on professional, expert knowledge that has been produced by government officials, tourism consultants, and officials in the relevant donor and tourism organisations. This kind of conventional policy knowledge has been legitimised by professional expertise and facts in the official documents, such as statistics and reports (see table 1). The nature of this knowledge is considered to be rational and technical, based on research and evidence, although it may also be influenced by political interests. The credibility of conventional policy knowledge has been based on official and legal standards, as well as on statistical significance. This type of knowledge has dominated tourism policy processes in several countries (Yanow 2003; Hall 2008: 257). The professional policy knowledge has been accessed and analysed in this study through policy documents, government reports and reviews by different institutions, expert interviews and statistical information. Such knowledge has provided the basic factual framework for the study in terms of necessary background information and the material for validating and cross-checking many of the issues raised in the interviews.

On the other hand, there is the local policy knowledge of various tourism practitioners, who are eventually in an important position when it comes to policy implementation (Zhang et al. 2002: 38). This knowledge is held by representatives of tourism enterprises and community members engaged in tourism. This kind of experiential policy knowledge consists of largely invisible knowledge that has accumulated as the actors have engaged in tourism activities, but it is also premised on their cultural and socio-economic position in the society (see table 1). This knowledge is often not written or available in accessible format, but it is based on the lived experience of individuals and groups of people who come to share their experiences with their counterparts. It is highly context-specific and influenced by the values of the individuals and their communities. In this study, local policy knowledge has been accessed and analysed through interviews, informal discussions and observations in 16 tourism enterprises.

*Table 1. Knowledge production in different types of tourism policy knowledge*

| <b>Knowledge production question</b> | <b>Local (experiential) policy knowledge</b>   | <b>Professional (conventional) policy knowledge</b>  |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| Who holds it?                        | Representatives of tourism enterprises (owners, employees), community members engaged in tourism   | Government officials, tourism associations, NGOs and donors, tourism consultants, academics                        |
| How is it acquired?                  | Personal experience and engagement in tourism activities, cultural and socio-economic position, participation in tourism associations and events | Experience in the professional field, documents, reports and statistics, seminars and conferences                  |
| What makes it credible?              | Personal evidence, lived experience, shared among community members and similar enterprises  | Reports and documents prepared by other experts, statistical significance, official and legal standards            |
| What are its characteristics?        | Personal, experiential, tacit, informal, context-specific, influenced by cultural values   | Technical, formal, rational, statistical, based on research and evidence, partly influenced by political interests |

The line between the two fields of knowledge is not absolute and rigid. In Namibia, for example, the tourism policy process has involved actors representing tourism associations whose concern is to lobby the interests of their member enterprises. The associations represent both private and community-based tourism enterprises and involve people with practical experience from the sector. Similarly, some NGOs may be actively engaged in tourism enterprises, such as community-based craft centres, and in that regard the knowledge of their representatives could be situated in between the types rather than in strictly one or the other. Therefore, the purpose here is not to juxtapose the different knowledge types with each other. Instead, I argue that the experiential knowledge from the tourism enterprises complements, diversifies and challenges the conventional policy knowledge in the tourism policy process.

## *Structure of the dissertation*

This dissertation consists of eight chapters. The next chapter introduces the geographical and methodological context for the study. The chapter begins with a short introduction to the geography and history of Namibia. Thereafter the role of tourism in the Namibian economy and Namibia as a tourist destination are introduced. The methodological section provides reasons for the qualitative approach and selected study methods. The latter include semi-structured interviews and observations which are complemented by informal cross-checking interviews and a literature review consisting of various secondary sources. In addition, the chapter describes the sampling procedure and introduces the four study regions and different types of study enterprises. An important part of the methodological section is the reflection on fieldwork experiences and the discussion about the challenges in gathering empirical study material. Finally, the chapter outlines the major ethical issues and describes the analysis process.

Chapter three presents the theoretical framework of the study which is a political economy approach to tourism and development. The chapter provides the overall context for three current academic discourses which are at the core of the tourism–development nexus and particularly relevant for studying tourism as a development strategy in Namibia. The first discourse concentrates on the interlinkages between tourism, power and inequality, which can be studied both at international, national and local levels. These concepts are useful both in analysing tourism as a global trade commodity characteristic of globalisation and in studying the inherently unequal character of the Namibian tourism industry. Similarly, power and inequality are useful concepts to analyse the history and current patterns of natural resource management in Namibia and elsewhere in southern Africa. The two other discourses on tourism and development are more instrumental. Tourism and sustainable development is a key topic in the tourism planning of southern Africa but it can be criticised for definitional weaknesses and inherent contradictions. Similarly, tourism and poverty reduction is a highly topical discourse in southern Africa but due to its emphasis on practical solutions it has lacked critical self-reflection and a more analytical approach to the question of poverty.

Chapter four begins the presentation of empirical findings of this study. The chapter focuses on the economic contributions of tourism at national, regional and local levels. The perceived significance of private enterprises in terms of creating revenue for the government is illustrated but the roles of private enterprises and the government in relation to tourism marketing appear equivocal. The chapter argues that the private sector appears important for the economic growth of the country, whereas community-based tourism addresses local economic and social needs in rural communal areas which tend to lag behind in social services and economic development. However, community-based tourism lacks entrepreneurial focus, which is reflected in reliance on donor support, poor management and lack of marketing. Finally, the chapter discusses the experiences of the studied enterprises concerning regional inequalities. The perceived economic and political neglect of the north-eastern regions is shared among both lodges and community-based tourism enterprises operating in the regions. On the other hand, regional differences seem to matter less than cultural affiliation and belonging to specific regions. This chapter discusses the tourism policy objectives of economic growth and reduction of regional development inequalities.

Chapter five discusses the complex relationship between tourism and poverty reduction in the Namibian context. To begin with, the poverty situation in Namibia is introduced and poverty as a tourist attraction is analysed. The chapter argues that poverty reduction efforts of the studied enterprises are related to those whom they perceive responsible for addressing the poverty situation. The responsibility may lie on the government, private enterprises or the poor themselves. However, employment is suggested as one of the key mechanisms to reduce poverty through tourism, although it encompasses challenges such as HIV/AIDS and seasonality. In addition, craft production as part of community-based tourism is elaborated as providing valuable income to the poorest population groups, but due to various structural challenges it mainly suffices to cover the costs of basic needs. Finally, the significance of supply chains from local producers and service providers in poverty reduction are discussed and the chapter analyses the role of collective income in community-based tourism. This chapter discusses the tourism policy objectives of poverty reduction and employment creation.

Chapter six discusses the transformation required of the Namibian tourism sector in order to overcome the colonial legacy which is reflected in the dominance of the white minority in the ownership and management of tourism enterprises. First the chapter elaborates the efforts of private enterprises to make the tourism sector more inclusive. However, the chapter argues that the major constraint for transformation is the colonial legacy in human resources, which is demonstrated by the lack of skills and experience among the previously disadvantaged population. This is further accentuated by the lack of affordable training opportunities in tourism. In addition, the chapter argues that the trophy hunting sector is more challenging to transform due to its relationship with the unequal land ownership pattern and the colonial character of the industry, including the question of farm employment. Finally, the chapter argues that various aspects of power and inequality may impede transformation. These include existing prejudices among both the white and the black populations and specific problems related to the government's policy on transformation. This chapter discusses the policy objective of black economic empowerment.

Chapter seven discusses the environmental sustainability of tourism which is argued to involve the commodification of natural resources. The chapter starts with an introduction to the characteristics of the Namibian environment. This is followed by an analysis of the concept of environmental sustainability among the private enterprises. The chapter argues that there is lack of environmental awareness and a more holistic approach to sustainable tourism. Instead, the major emphasis is on sustainable wildlife management, which takes place in private farms and communal conservancies. In the latter it is practiced through community based natural resource management, which is analysed in the context of the studied enterprises through three strategic pillars of the concept, namely conservation, benefits and empowerment. This chapter discusses the tourism policy objective of environmental and ecological sustainability.

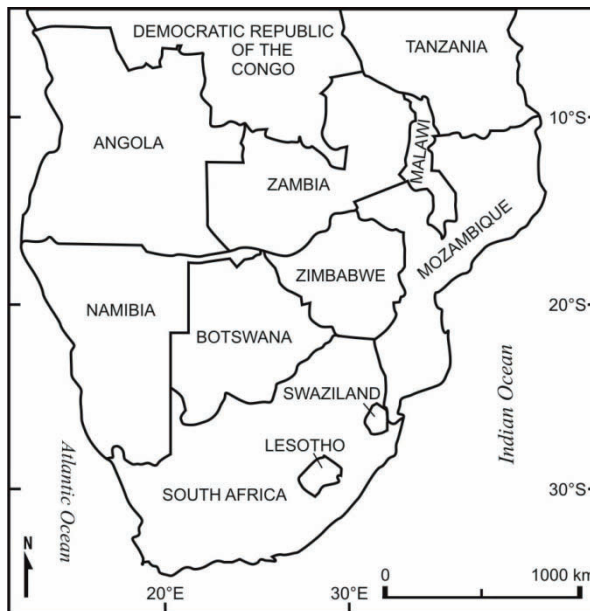
The eighth chapter presents the overall conclusions of the study. The chapter starts by concluding on the relevance of local policy knowledge of the studied tourism enterprises for policy implementation and describes different communities of meaning. Thereafter, the chapter presents the major arguments concerning tourism as a development strategy in Namibia and how the study contributes to the three discourses on



tourism and development at a broader level. In addition, specific challenges and characteristics of community-based tourism based are summarised. Finally, the chapter provides suggestions for future research on topics that have been covered, but which have created further questions to be answered.

## Geographical and methodological context

Namibia is located in southern Africa which forms the broader geographical context of this study. Some of the referred literature applies the concept only to countries neighbouring South Africa, whereas the statistical information by the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) provided in this study refers to Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland. However, an official definition includes all countries which are members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (see map 1). Namibia promotes regional cooperation with all the SADC countries and therefore the rest of this study, apart from UNWTO statistics, refers to southern Africa as SADC countries, excluding Tanzania which geographically represents eastern Africa and the Democratic Republic of Congo which can be regarded representing central Africa.



*Map 1. Location of SADC countries excluding Madagascar, Seychelles and Mauritius*

Of the world's tourism flows Africa<sup>4</sup> receives only about 5 percent, out of which 27 percent is distributed within southern Africa (UNWTO 2005: 4; UNWTO 2008: 11; Fayissa et al. 2008: 807). However, Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 7) claim that Africa's share of global tourism is much larger than the continent's share of world trade. The World Tourism Organisation forecasts an annual growth rate of 6.1 per cent for tourism in southern Africa for the years 2010-2020 (UNWTO 2000). In terms of receipts per tourist arrival, southern Africa received US\$ 730<sup>5</sup> in 2004, which was the highest in the whole of Africa, although lower than the world average of US\$ 875 (UNWTO 2008: 24). Interestingly, in 2009 all other tourist regions in the world suffered from a decline in international tourist arrivals, whereas Africa experienced a growth of five percent (UNWTO 2010b: 5). The southern African countries share certain common constraints that affect tourism development in the region. There is a lack of adequate infrastructure such as transportation, water supply and energy. In addition, there are only a few national airlines which are capable of competing with international airlines on intercontinental routes. Furthermore, there is a lack of quality services resulting from shortages of skilled and experienced personnel, which is related to the inadequate training facilities. In addition, security and safety are concerns which may influence both investors and tourists. (Cleverdon 2002; Gerosa 2003; Rogerson 2009b).

To address such challenges the 14 member countries of SADC have adopted a regional approach to tourism development. This includes the formation of the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA) in 1995 to promote and market the region and to assist tourism development in the member countries. Similarly, regional cooperation is carried out in Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) established by the South African Peace Parks Foundation and marketed by the SADC Council of Ministers. The TFCAs are promoted as southern Africa's premier tourist destinations, which promote conservation and bring economic benefits for local communities (Ferreira 2003, 2004; Spierenburg et al. 2009). Furthermore, tourism within the region is growing, which reduces the tourism sector's dependence on overseas tourists from European and American markets, even though their higher economic significance can-

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<sup>4</sup> It is important to note that in the UNWTO statistics Egypt is not regarded as part of Africa but part of the Middle East (UNWTO 2010c).

<sup>5</sup> See appendix 6 for currency converter.

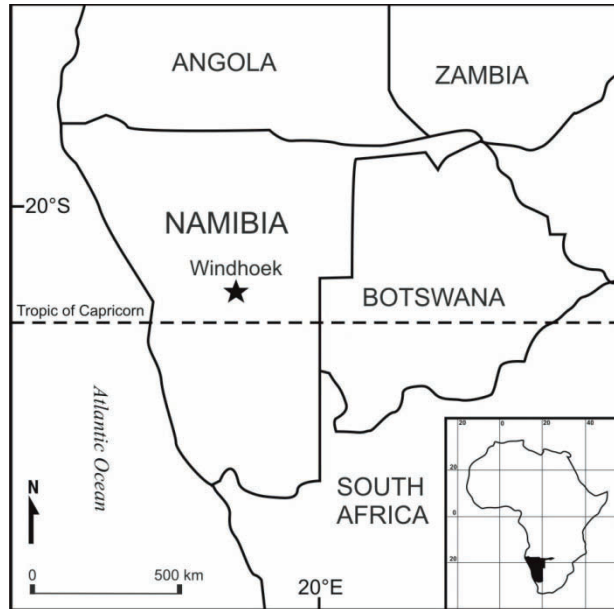
not be ignored (Cleverdon 2002; Rogerson 2004b). In southern Africa, 78 percent of all tourist arrivals are accounted for by intraregional traffic (UNWTO 2008: 25).

### *Introduction to the geography and history of Namibia*

Namibia borders Angola, Zambia, Botswana and South Africa (see map 2) and embraces 830 000 km<sup>2</sup> with a population of approximately two million. Namibia's climate is arid due to the country's south-western position on the African continent. The country is influenced by the Subtropical High Pressure Zone, within which air becomes hotter and drier as it reaches lower levels, leading to a lack of water in the atmosphere (Mendelsohn et al. 2002: 70). Furthermore, the cold Benguela Current cools the air to the extent that it cannot generate rain-bearing clouds on the coast, the moisture forming only fog and low clouds instead. Due to the dry climate, the only permanently flowing rivers are located at international boundaries, while all rivers originating within the Namibian borders are ephemeral. In addition, most of the land is covered by shallow soils and the levels of nutrients in the soils are low. This implies that fertile agricultural land suitable for crop growing is found mainly along the northern perennial rivers, where the great majority of the rural population lives on non-surveyed or unfenced land<sup>6</sup>. The rest of the country is mainly suitable for cattle and small livestock keeping. About 44 percent of the land is commercial, surveyed and fenced freehold land, which is predominantly owned by about 4000 white farmers who produce beef that is also exported (Melber 2005a: 136; Jauch et al. 2009: 23). Other major sectors of the Namibian economy include mining; particularly of diamonds, uranium, gold and copper, as well as fishing and small scale manufacturing (Jauch et al. 2009).

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<sup>6</sup> Such land is referred to as 'communal areas' from now onwards and they comprise 43 percent of Namibia's territory (Melber 2005a: 136).



*Map 2. The location of Namibia*

The oldest group settling the area was the San, believed to have lived there for more than 30 000 years (Orjala 2004: 63). Other early settlement groups included the Khoikhoi and Damara groups. The Bantu expansion involved the spreading of new Bantu speaking groups such as the Herero in the Western and the Owambo in the Northern parts of Namibia. (Orjala 2004). Europeans became interested in Namibia during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries as the process of Africa's colonisation intensified. Germany was given official control over "German South-West Africa", as it was then called, at the Congress of Berlin in 1884. From as early as 1905 racial segregation was officially established and this laid the foundations for the colonialist class divisions of Namibian society, in which the black Namibians were used as labour force in the farms, mines and other sectors (Melber 2000: 37). Furthermore, the Africans were dispossessed of 75 percent of the land, which was sold to the Europeans. This led to anti-colonial resistance, which was brutally crushed and resulted in the deaths of 80 percent of all Hereros and 50 percent of all Namas (Jauch et al. 2009: 4).

Germany lost its colonial power over German South West Africa at the Peace Treaty of Versailles in 1919. The Principal Allied and Associated Forces transferred

mandatory power to South Africa, an arrangement finally approved by the League of Nations. The South Africans continued the process of establishing ethnic homelands, started by the Germans, offering large bribes to local authorities in the peripheral areas while conquering more productive land for new white South African settlers (Du Pisani 2000: 55). The apartheid policy was officially introduced into South Africa in 1948 and it was similarly extended to Namibia (Frayne 2000: 54; Jauch et al. 2009: 6). According to Andreasson (2010: 22), apartheid constituted the codification, expansion and intensifying of existing racially discriminatory legislation in southern Africa.

The general wave of liberation struggle and shifts to independence of former colonies from the end of the Second World War until the 1960s led eventually to increasing resistance to South African rule among the Namibians. Meanwhile, South Africa tightened its rule over Namibia, contrary to the demands of the United Nations. In 1960 the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) was established with the ultimate objective of achieving Namibian independence. In 1966 SWAPO made a commitment to wage an armed struggle against South Africa's occupation. This was executed from 1971 onwards by SWAPO's armed wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia and the war lasted for more than 20 years. (Leys & Saul 1995). As a result of its liberation struggle SWAPO attracted large scale support throughout Namibia both before and after independence, although critics have pointed to undemocratic and inhuman practices within the organisation (Saul 2005; Trehwela 2009).

Namibia gained independence in 1990 and inherited a racially unequal and distorted economy together with a population suffering from a critical shortage of skills and severe unemployment (Tapscott 1995: 164; Jauch et al. 2009). According to Tapscott (2001: 307), Namibia has displayed the characteristics of neo-colonialist states elsewhere in Africa, including continued economic dependence on its former colonisers, accelerated social differentiation amongst the formerly subordinated population, the arrogation of power by a newly emergent elite, the erosion of civil liberties and growing corruption in the public sector. Although SWAPO adopted openly socialist principles during the liberation struggle, independence coincided with the ascendancy of the neoliberal governance model which became the prerequisite for international development aid, and replaced the vision of a liberated independent economy (Kaapa-

ma 2007: 35; Winterfeldt 2007: 67). Therefore, Namibia adopted capitalist development that emphasised the role of the private sector in promoting economic growth and the creation of an enticing environment for foreign investment (Lamb 2007).

The economic progress of post-colonial Namibia compares well with that of other SADC countries. With per capita income of around US\$ 2 000, Namibia is classified as a middle income country (Jauch et al. 2009: 38). Even though reconciliation and nation-building became a hegemonic project designed to incorporate previously oppositional elites into the dominant political and economic structures of the society, neither project was anchored on justice and neither transformed the society in ways that would benefit the citizenry as a whole (Du Pisani 2004). Therefore, 20 years after independence Namibia is still characterised by inequalities in race, gender, class, ethnicity and education (Jauch et al. 2009: 35).

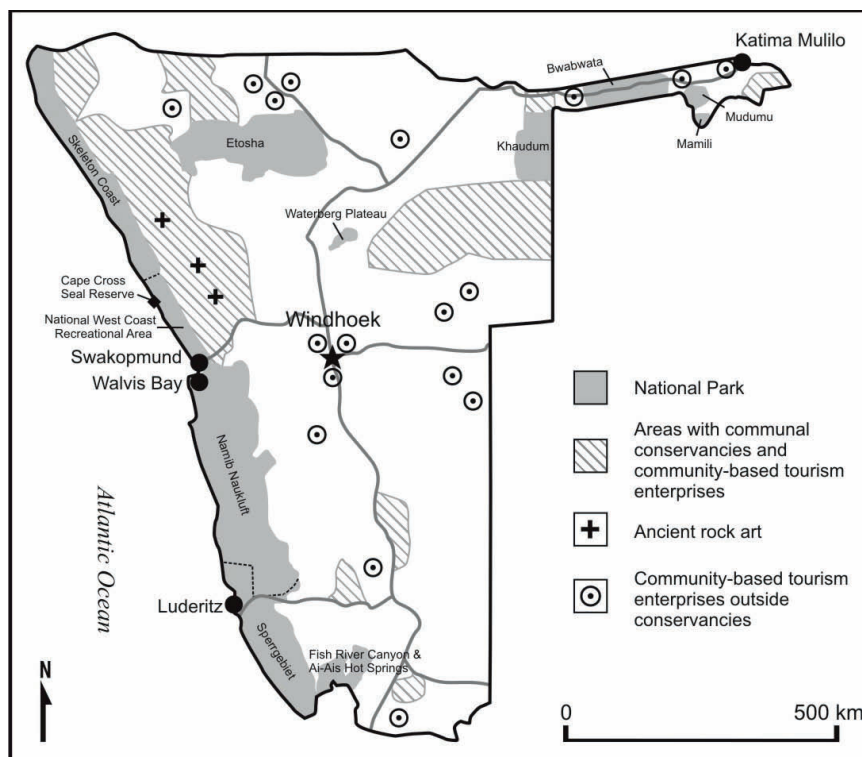
### *The role of tourism in the Namibian economy*

Currently there is a need to reduce the heavy dependence on mineral resources by diversifying the economy through tourism (Turpie et al. 2004: 3; NEPRU 2010: 5). Furthermore, as a largely arid or semi-arid country and one of the driest countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Namibia's economic sectors may suffer from accelerating climate change (Reid et al. 2008: 454). According to the scenarios given by Reid et al. (2008: 458-459), based on the Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) model, in the next 20 years the agricultural sector is presumed to incur a loss of between 20 and 50 percent and subsistence dry land cropping may incur a loss of up to 80 percent. Similarly, the fishing sector is estimated to incur a loss of 50 percent (Reid et al. 2008: 459). While the figures are mere estimates, they provide a picture of potentially diminishing sources of livelihood, which suggests that in future tourism may play an even larger role in Namibian society, especially in rural areas. In fact, the Namibian government has identified tourism as one of the target sectors in which public investments will be made to combat poverty and unemployment during the next three years (Smit 2011).

Namibia's major tourist attractions are its landscape and scenery, wildlife and cultural diversity. In fact, 70 percent of total tourism expenditure is attributed to nature-based tourism and protected areas are the country's most important tourist attractions (Turpie et al. 2004: 3; Scholz 2009: 156). The first national parks were established by the German colonial authorities as early as 1907 (Ranta 2004; Scholz 2009: 155). Today some 40 percent of Namibian land is under some form of natural resource management, consisting of state protected areas (16.5 percent), communal conservancies (16 percent), freehold conservancies and private reserves (6 percent), and community forests (0.8 percent) (Sproule & Denker 2010: 11). The most famous national parks include the northern Etosha National Park with its diverse wildlife, the coastal Namib-Naukluft Park featuring the Namib Desert and Sossusvlei sand dunes, the southern Fish River Canyon and the Skeleton Coast (see map 3). With the establishment of the new Dorob National Park covering the West Coast Recreational Area, excluding its towns, all coastal parks have been merged into one large national park consisting of 10.7 million hectares (Ihoaës 2011b; New Era 19.1.2011). The coastal park is called the Namib-Skeleton Coast National Park and it is estimated to be the eighth largest of all the protected areas in the world (Tarr 2009: 5). There are also several national parks and game reserves in the Caprivi region. The ongoing donor funded project Strengthening the Protected Area Network (SPAN) aims to increase Namibia's protected areas by establishing new national parks and expanding smaller parks where feasible. Furthermore, communal conservancies offer various tourism products including community-based tourism, and several community-based tourism enterprises are located outside the conservancies (see map 3).

As well as advertising its game viewing and scenery, Namibia promotes itself as a premier hunting and fishing destination with private and communal hunting areas and fishing facilities, both in the rivers and the sea. Furthermore, Namibia offers many historical and cultural attractions, even though its cultural and heritage tourism is still underdeveloped (Moseley et al. 2007). There are several places with ancient rock art, such as Spitzkoppe, Brandberg and Twyfelfontein, the latter being recognised by UNESCO as a world heritage site. The cultures of the Ovahimba pastoralists in the Kunene region and the San people living along the Kalahari Desert in eastern Namibia, are promoted





*Map 3. Namibia's major national parks and tourist attractions*

as a tourist attraction but there are also other distinct cultures with a rich heritage. Historical and cultural attractions are similarly found in the capital city of Windhoek and coastal towns like Swakopmund, Lüderitz and Walvis Bay. They offer adventure activities and a possibility to experience German architecture, culture and monuments depicting the impact of colonialism (Kössler 2003; Moseley et al. 2007). In addition, Teye (2009: 175) argues that settler colonialism is part of the western heritage throughout southern Africa and it forms a significant tourist attraction in the form of private plantations, farms and game parks.

In the Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index (TTCI)<sup>7</sup> of 2011 Namibia's rank is 84 out of 139 countries, but number three among all countries in sub-Saharan

<sup>7</sup> TTCI is a comprehensive index based on 14 categories of variables and measuring the factors and policies that make it attractive to develop the T&T sector in different countries (Blanke et al. 2011: 90).

Africa (Blanke 2011: 91). In southern Africa Namibia is outperformed only by Mauritius and South Africa. According to Tourism Satellite Account (TSA), tourism directly and indirectly accounts for 16 percent of Namibia's GDP and 17 percent of all employment opportunities (WTTC 2006). TSAs are used worldwide to provide the framework for analysing tourism expenditures in a systematic and consistent way that links tourism demand expenditures to the industries that produce tourism goods and services (Goeldner et al. 2000: 416). In 2006 the World Travel and Tourism Council prepared Namibia's TSA, which provided for the first time a large scale evaluation of the economic contribution of tourism in the country. However, since the TSAs take into account all indirect activities attributable to tourism they tend to generate larger estimates of the economic contribution than available figures from accommodation and travel sectors (Mitchell & Ashley 2010: 14). According to Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 69), indirect inter-sectoral linkages are likely to boost the economic impacts of tourism by more than 50 percent on top of the direct impacts. For example, a SAM analysis by Turpie et al. (2004: 43) indicates that the direct tourism share of Namibia's GDP is between 1.7 and 3.4 percent. However, since SAMs can also include indirect effects it is important to spell out what is included in the assessments (Mitchell & Ashley 2010: 113). It has to be noted, however, that the distinction between direct and indirect is defined differently by different authors using different methods, which complicates the comparison of tourism statistics (Mitchell & Ashley 2010: 66).

Tourism accounts for 20 percent of Namibia's total exports and in 2008 foreign visitors spent N\$ 4 billion in the country (Travel News Namibia 2009a: 5). The majority of the tourism revenue comes from park entrance fees and tourism concessions provided for the private sector on state-owned land. In addition, tourism brings tax revenue in forms of personal and corporate tax as well as VAT. (Sherbourne 2009: 241). International tourism to Namibia is steadily increasing, but it competes with other southern African countries; in 2005 Namibia's share of all tourist arrivals in southern Africa was 5.1 percent (Rogerson 2009b: 31). The growth of international tourism in Namibia has been fast and impressive. The number of tourists visiting the country has more than tripled from 254 978 in 2003 to 928 000 in 2007 (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2004: 4, Namibia Tourism Board 2008). On the other hand, tourism is a

volatile sector, where demand can suddenly change due to unexpected crises<sup>8</sup>. For example, as a result of the economic recession that started in 2008 there was a reduction in the number of visitors in 2009, which was made even worse by the outbreak of the epidemic caused by the H1N1 virus (NEPRU 2010: 6). In addition, the national airline Air Namibia faced a 15 percent decline in bookings compared to 2008, which led to the cancellation of one of its most important direct international flights between Windhoek and Gatwick airport in London (Duddy 2009; Rhodes 2009). However, during the third quarter of 2010 the hospitality sector experienced a recovery, indicated by an increase in room occupancy and international air arrivals (Bank of Namibia 2010: 34-35).

With prospective growth figures the Namibian tourism sector has attracted substantial amounts of donor funding. For example, the European Union's Rural Poverty Reduction Programme has invested N\$ 2 million in community-based tourism since 2005 (Lapeyre 2011: 192). In 2008, the US based Millennium Challenge Corporation donated the Namibian government US\$ 304.5 million for poverty reduction in the country, out of which the government decided to use US\$ 66.69 million for the tourism sector (Millennium Challenge Corporation & Government of Namibia 2009; Van Den Bosch 2009). The funds are divided between Etosha National Park, conservancy support activity and marketing. For example, N\$ 62 million is allocated for communal conservancies to improve their marketing services and tourism development (Shigwedha 2010). In addition, the Spanish government recently gave US\$ 6 million to foster community-based initiatives that promote cultural tourism, such as cultural villages, cultural trails and centres, and geo-parks (Petronella 2008).

Out of the 928 000 international tourist arrivals in 2007 about 238 000 came from Europe and USA as overseas leisure tourists. The rest include some 336 000 Angolans, 250 000 South Africans and some 100 000 people from other African countries (Namibia Tourism Board 2008). Spending patterns differ remarkably depending on the origin of the tourists. According to Turpie et al. (2004: iii), average trip expenditure by overseas visitors is more than twice as high as that of regional tourists and almost four times as high as domestic tourists. Furthermore, only half of the South Africans arriving in Namibia can be categorised as actual leisure tourists who go there on holiday,

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<sup>8</sup> See figure 1 in the introductory chapter.

whereas the rest come for various business reasons, hunting, or visiting their friends and relatives. The holiday spenders' contribution to the Namibian economy is mainly through lower end accommodation such as Bed & Breakfast places, fuel and cheaper restaurants. In fact, many South Africans carry camping equipment and even part of their food supplies from South Africa, which further restricts their contribution to the Namibian economy. (Asheeke 2008; Eriksson 2009). Out of all the Angolans arriving in Namibia only some 30 000 who travel by air are considered tourists, who usually come for shopping in Windhoek and may engage in short tours. The rest tend to be business people or ordinary citizens coming to visit their relatives by bus or by foot across the northern border (Asheeke 2008). Many of them commute daily between the two countries. This applies also to most of the regional tourists from other neighbouring countries such as Botswana and Zambia.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to foreign visitors, domestic tourism is an important segment in Namibia. According to Asheeke and Katjiunogua (2007: 41), domestic tourism has long been ignored and largely unexplained, even though the 2005 figures show that 33 percent of the bed nights were sold to domestic tourists. Similarly, the study by Moseley et al. (2007: 40) demonstrates that peak seasons for domestic tourism are different than for overseas leisure tourists, which provides opportunities for service providers to balance the seasonality of tourism. Domestic tourists travel mostly in April, May and December, whereas the peak season for international tourists is from June to November. However, domestic tourists regard the cost of travel and accommodation as too high and the service providers tend to treat Namibian travellers differently to foreign tourists, who are perceived to be provided with better quality service (Moseley et al. 2007: 64). This has been acknowledged by the Namibia Tourism Board, which has encouraged tourism companies to offer special packages for domestic tourists (The Namibian 17.12.2010b).

The full potential of tourism in the Namibian economy is underutilised due to lack of understanding of its significance and lack of commitment to it (WTTC 2006; Asheeke 2008; Sherbourne 2009). For example, the Namibia Tourism Board receives

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<sup>9</sup> The UNWTO statistics from 2007 indicate that 119 000 international arrivals consisted of same-day visitors and 365 000 arrivals were for other purposes than for leisure, recreation, holidays or business (UNWTO 2010a: 131).

only some 0.2 percent of total budgeted spending of the government (Sherbourne 2009: 246). While the Ministry of Environment and Tourism advocates tourism development in the country, other ministries and government bodies have not yet acknowledged the importance of tourism for the Namibian economy and development (MET 2005; WTTC 2006). This is a serious concern when viewed against the implementation of the Third National Development Plan (NDP3). The development objectives of NDP3 are divided into eight Key Result Areas (KRAs). Each KRA is assigned to a Thematic Working Group coordinated by a coordinating ministry. In this regard, tourism and wildlife, among others, belong to the KRA “Sustainable Utilisation of Natural Resources”, which is coordinated by the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry. The Ministry of Environment and Tourism coordinates the KRA “Environmental Sustainability”, which includes issues with water, ecosystems and waste management, among others. Therefore, it can be questioned whether the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry has an adequate understanding of tourism or sufficient commitment to allocate sufficient resources to the sector.

Another aspect that can reduce the economic impact of tourism is leakage, which is common in most developing countries (Mihalic 2002; WTTC 2006). Nearly all hotel chains in Namibia are in South African or German ownership (Karamata & Gwari 2007: 42). In addition, there are a lot of German and South African owned tour operators, travel agencies and guest farms in Namibia (Dubresson & Graefe 2001: 61; Moseley et al. 2007: 7; Lapeyre 2009b: 167). According to the Namibia Tourism Board, some 25 percent of all registered tourism enterprises in Namibia are foreign owned (The Namibian 17.12.2010a). The Foreign Investment Act of Namibia gives foreign nationals the right to engage in business activities without any requirements to form partnerships with Namibian counterparts, although they are required to provide employment and training for Namibians (Republic of Namibia 1990; Jauch 2001: 39). According to Van Donge et al. (2007: 293), sale of land to non-Namibians is not possible in principle, but land owned by companies can be transferred to foreign corporate ownership. The foreign ownership of guest and trophy hunting farms, especially by German and South African citizens, has been acknowledged as a significant problem in the government ministries (Von Wietersheim 2008). Finally, large amounts of products

required by the tourism industry are imported from South Africa, even though leakage is reduced through revenue that Namibia receives from the Southern African Customs Union (SACU).

Out of all the European tourists, the majority come from Germany, where it is possible to book and pay for entire tours. According to Lapeyre (2010: 767), holiday-makers spend most of their budget on services provided by foreign companies before arriving in Namibia. These include, for example, the flights, car rentals, outbound tour operators and accommodation. Mitchell and Ashley (2010) regard such activity as 'pre-leakage', since it is the kind of income that is not even supposed to end up in the destination. This demonstrates the difficulty of defining and measuring leakage. Within Namibia, most expenditures by international tourists concern accommodation, meals and drinks, shopping and car rental (Lapeyre 2009b: 178). The division of such tourism revenue is unequally divided between national and local levels. According to Lapeyre (2009b: 182), the national level retains 74 percent of the value through taxes and licenses to the government and profits for the private sector, whereas the local level captures around 26 percent in the form of communal income, lease fees and profits on community-based enterprises.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, regional leakage can be substantial in the communal areas.

Leakage is a politically sensitive issue and exact figures and impacts of leakage are difficult to estimate. Furthermore, efforts to reduce leakage can easily turn against the tourism industry. For example, the Namibian government's three day ban introduced in February 2010 to stop South African tour guides entering the country without a valid work permit was condemned by the tourism sector as preposterous and damaging (Hartman 2010). One of the aims of the exercise was to encourage South African based tour operators to use Namibian tour guides. The tourism policy states that the government will monitor non-nationals as a proportion of total tourism employment in order to ensure that more positions are made available for Namibian nationals (Republic of Namibia 2008: 18).

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<sup>10</sup> The figures are based on information from 2003.

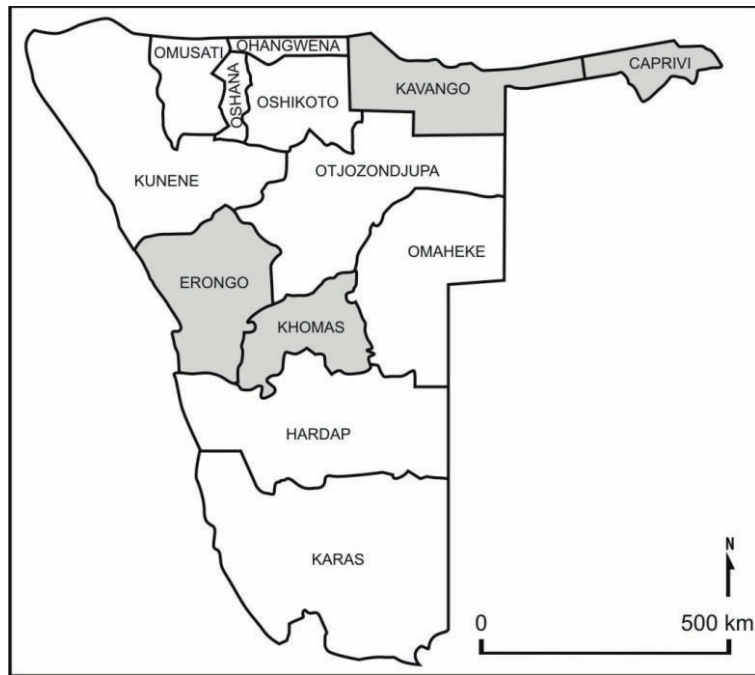
## *Study regions and enterprises*

Sampling is an important step in qualitative research and typical for qualitative research is purposeful sampling, the logic of which lies in selecting information-rich cases for in depth study (Patton 2002: 230; Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2007). In this study the aim of sampling was to include different types of tourism enterprises located in different parts of Namibia which would allow comparison across and within them. The studied enterprises are located both in highly developed and important tourism regions such as Khomas and Erongo and in more peripheral and less developed tourism regions such as Caprivi and Kavango (see map 4). In addition, the tour operators take their clients to nearly all the other regions of Namibia and therefore the results are not restricted to only the four studied regions.

The Khomas region includes the capital city of Windhoek and its rural areas consist of mainly privately owned cattle, game and guest farms which are involved in tourism. The region possesses the largest share of tourism establishments in Namibia as the offices of most tour operators, travel agencies and car rental companies are located in Windhoek (see table 3). In addition, the region hosts two conservation areas, i.e. Daan Viljoen Game Park and Von Bach Game Reserve. Human development and the level of infrastructure in the region are high. Similarly, per capita income level is the highest in Namibia (see table 2), even though within the region as a whole and within Windhoek there are large disparities between different income groups (Mendelsohn et al. 2002: 188).

The Erongo region hosts several tourist attractions such as national parks, the Sossusvlei sand dunes, the Cape Cross Seal Colony and the coastal towns of Swakopmund and Walvis Bay. The towns are important destinations not only for international tourists but also for domestic and regional tourists during the major holiday seasons. In addition, the coast is particularly suitable for birdwatching, although the potential of this sector is underutilised (Hottola 2009). As in the Khomas region, the income and human development levels are higher than in the rest of Namibia and coastal infrastructure is highly developed (Larsen 2003: 10). In addition, the number of tourism establishments is one of the highest in Namibia (see table 3). On the other hand, income

inequality within the region is one of the highest in Namibia and the rural areas are characterised by high unemployment and lack of basic services (Mendelsohn et al. 2002: 188; Republic of Namibia 2006b).



Map 4. The location of the study regions

Table 2. Basic socio-economic characteristics of the study regions in 2003/04

| Regions | Total population | Annual per capita income N\$ | Percentage of households with major sources of income as salaries/wages or business | Percentage of households with major source of income as subsistence farming |
|---------|------------------|------------------------------|---|---|
| Khomas  | 258 504          | 22 860                       | 90.6  | 0.2   |
| Erongo  | 99 013           | 14 949                       | 84.8  | 2.3   |
| Caprivi | 86 437           | 5 456                        | 49.5  | 17.8  |
| Kavango | 208 441          | 3 697                        | 40.9  | 33.9  |

Source: Republic of Namibia (2006b)



The Caprivi and Kavango regions represent more peripheral Namibia (see table 2). Available infrastructure and social services are poor compared to the other studied regions and human development indicators are lower than in the rest of the country (Mendelsohn et al. 2002). In terms of tourism establishments the regions are less developed but they possess valuable assets such as wildlife together with vegetation, wetlands and scenery not common elsewhere in Namibia. Three large rivers run across the regions, i.e. the Okavango River in the Kavango region and the Zambezi and Kwando Rivers in the Caprivi region. In addition, mammal and bird diversity is greater in Caprivi than in any other region of Namibia (Mendelsohn et al. 2002: 110). The significance of Caprivi is also attributed to its location on the way to important tourist attractions in neighbouring countries, such as Victoria Falls between Zimbabwe and Zambia and Chobe National Park and the Okavango Delta in Botswana. In fact, the Caprivi region falls within the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KaZa TFCA), which is the world's largest conservation area, covering 278 132 square kilometres and including 22 protected areas in Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Memorandum of Understanding was signed by the five countries in 2006 but the establishment of KaZa TFCA is still in process and encompasses a number of challenges, such as issuing one visa to cater for all countries (Suich 2008; Pelekamoyo 2010).

Even though the study enterprises can be loosely regarded as representing private and communal sectors, they belong to four different types of tourism establishments, i.e. private lodges and trophy hunting farms, small tour operators and community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs) (see map 5). The chosen tourism enterprises are quite representative of the Namibian tourism industry and depict the prevailing racial dualism of the Namibian tourism sector and the existing socio-economic and professional differentiation. Apart from two lodges which belong to larger chains, the private lodges and trophy hunting farms are owned by white Namibians who represent a privileged minority group and can be considered as belonging to the capitalist class (Jauch et al. 2009: 10). They encompass third generation Germans or Afrikaners who were born in Namibia and people who have moved to Namibia more recently from Europe or South Africa. The owners of the tour operators, on the other hand, represent the educated, black urban middle class which has expanded after independence but still re-

mains a rather small minority (Duddy 2011b). Finally, the CBTEs represent the black majority and consist mostly of low income peasants in the rural areas.

*Table 3. The number of tourism establishments in the study regions in 2003*

| Region  | Accommodation | Restaurants | Tour and travel | Car hire | Cultural | Other tourism related business* | Total |
|---------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|----------|----------|---------------------------------|-------|
| Khomas  | 317           | 109         | 138             | 55       | 2        | 63                              | 684   |
| Erongo  | 246           | 57          | 67              | 13       | 2        | 38                              | 423   |
| Caprivi | 24            | 4           | 1               | 1        | 3        | 1                               | 34    |
| Kavango | 29            | 7           | 1               | 1        | 1        | 0                               | 39    |

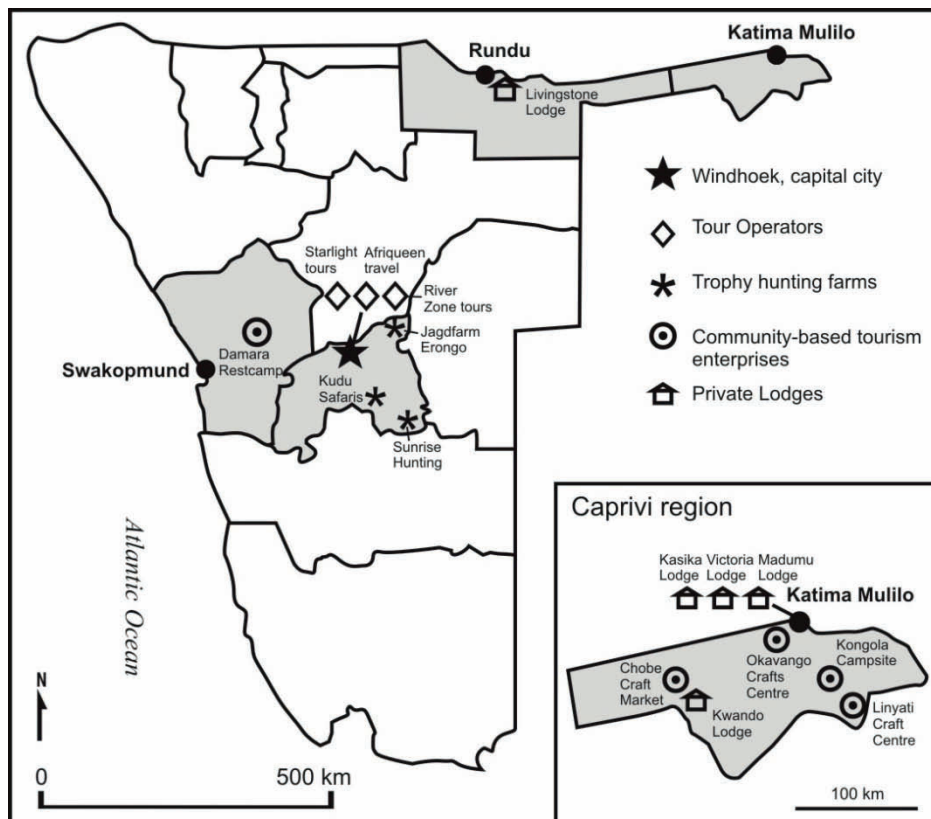
\*excluding conservancies, banks, air charter and Namibia Wildlife Resort

Source: Sherbourne (2009: 241)

Although racial stratification is an important element characterising the tourism sector, it is a challenging topic and requires careful choice of terminology. In the Namibian context, the official discussion refers to advantaged and previously disadvantaged population groups. The latter not only refers to the black population but to the coloureds and Rehoboth Basters, who are the descendants of liaisons between the Dutch and Africans in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. As my informants represent only two groups, consisting of white and black African Namibians, I apply the colour division despite the complexity and stigmatic character of such terms. Furthermore, despite the relevance of racial differentiation in the developmental context of Namibia, professional differentiation appears to be more significant in the tourism context. The latter refers to the division of the studied enterprises into professional, privately owned entities and community-owned entities which tend to rely on external professional and financial support.

The three studied farms are located in the Khomas region and they specialise in trophy hunting, which is important niche tourism in southern Africa. The tourists pay to hunt animals with exceptional physical attributes, such as large horns or tusks which they can carry home, and the hunting activity is accompanied by a professional hunting guide. Trophy hunting is part of consumptive wildlife tourism which is defined as a form of leisure travel undertaken for the purpose of hunting game or fishing for sport

fish (Lovelock 2008: 4). However, the line between consumptive and non-consumptive tourism is debated, since even wildlife viewing, when carried out by great crowds of people, tends to have an impact on the animals and their living environment (Lovelock 2008: 10). Similarly, mountain climbing or bird watching may have consumptive elements (Applegate & Clark 1987). The proponents of trophy hunting argue that it is ecologically sustainable through selective depopulation and it brings more income to the destination, including remote areas with few regular tourists (Baker 1997; Lindsey et al. 2007). The Namibia Professional Hunting Association (NAPHA) was founded in 1974 to promote Namibia as a hunting destination internationally. Currently there are over 400 registered hunting farms (Turpie et al. 2004: 7).



Map 5. Location of study enterprises

Out of the studied lodges four are in the Caprivi region and one is in the Kavango region. Three of them are situated in an urban location, whereas two are in the rural areas. The lodges vary in terms of size, standard and ownership mode (see appendix 4). Two of them are owned by large lodge and hotel chains, whereas three are owned by families. Apart from one lodge they are mainly geared towards overseas leisure tourists, who are prepared to pay for quality services as part of the holiday experience. Domestic tourists rarely stay in lodges, which are perceived to be too expensive for them (Moseley et al. 2007: 50). All the lodges offer other tourism products in addition to accommodation, such as game drives to national parks and tours to local tourist attractions. These activities are expected to increase the length of stay of the visitors, which is regarded as important since generally the occupancy rates in tourism accommodation in the Caprivi and Kavango regions tend to be low (Namibia Tourism Board 2009). In 2007 there were 141 registered lodges in Namibia (Asheeke & Katjiuongua 2007: 47).

The studied tour operators are based in the capital of Windhoek in the Khomas region. Due to their size, they are characterised as small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs)<sup>11</sup>, but since in practice all of them are run by a single person, they are hereafter referred to as small tour operators (see appendix 4). They employ other staff such as drivers or tour guides separately for each tour. There are more than 130 registered tour operators in Namibia, but the great majority of them are owned by white Namibians or foreigners (Karamata & Gwari 2007: 44; Moseley et al. 2007). The Tour and Safari Association of Namibia (TASA) has a special membership category for black economic empowerment (BEE) members who are exempted from the membership fee. The BEE members must have a minimum of 75 percent of their shareholders or proprietors representing the previously disadvantaged population groups. The apartheid policies effectively restricted the formation of SMEs but since independence they have been increasingly recognised as an important avenue for increasing employment, enhancing entrepreneurship and reducing poverty (LaRRI & Joint Consultative Committee 2002: 17).

Five community-based tourism enterprises are part of this study and they consist of three craft centres and a community-based campsite in the Caprivi region and a rest-

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<sup>11</sup> The Namibian Ministry of Trade and Industry categorises an enterprise in the service sector as SME if it has less than five employees (LaRRI & Joint Consultative Committee 2002: 13).

camp in the Erongo region (see appendix 4). Even though the term ‘enterprise’ is not the most applicable to describe their activities or their organisation, it is used here for the purpose of comparison. The term has similarly been used in other academic studies on community-based tourism (e.g. Spenceley 2008; Lapeyre 2011). Furthermore, the CBTEs are supposed to function like enterprises even though this has remained a challenge. For example, the studied CBTEs operate as a mixture of tourism enterprises, co-operatives and community development projects. Currently there are close to 60 registered community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs) throughout Namibia, out of which at least 30 function actively (Katjiuongua 2008; Lapeyre 2011).

### *Methodological choices and fieldwork*

The qualitative approach to this study was chosen because the aim was to study how tourism entrepreneurs perceive, experience, conceptualise and relate to the tourism policy’s development objectives. Such material, comprising meanings and subjective experiences complemented by observations, could not have been gathered through quantitative methods. The field research involved semi-structured interviews and observations. At a more general level, interpretive policy analysis has provided a methodological guideline for my study. According to Yanow (2000: 9), interpretive policy analysis “explores the contrasts between policy meanings as intended by policymakers and the possibly variant and even incommensurable meanings made of them by other policy-relevant groups”. Therefore, interpretive policy analysis does not restrict policy to the language and ideas as understood and intended by the policy’s authors, but also pays attention to others whose understanding of the policy are central to its enactment (Yanow 2003: 245). I find particularly interesting Yanow’s (2003: 237) concept of ‘communities of meaning’ which refer to certain policy relevant groups sharing thought, speech, practice and their meanings. These can be mapped through interpretative methods and their local knowledge can be used to prevent problems and misunderstandings in policy implementation.

The analysed study material derives from primary and secondary sources. The former refers to interviews and observations from the field and the latter refers to various literatures. However, as Polanyi (1983: 4) says: “we can know more than we can tell”. He is referring to the concept of tacit knowledge, which means human knowledge that has been acquired prior to research through personal experiences and unintentional practices (Polanyi 1983; Vilkkä 2006: 32). According to Polanyi, tacit knowledge is present in all research. Similarly, I acknowledge that my previous experience of living and researching in different African countries over a period of 25 years has accumulated into tacit knowledge which has been useful in the collection and analysis of the study material.

The literature review began prior to field research and continued throughout the study process. Apart from academic literature, various policy documents, case studies and research reports of different Namibian institutions have been valuable sources of information. I started by looking for relevant documents and reports by the Namibian government, such as the draft tourism policy, other tourism related policies, national development plans, and Vision 2030 and MET discussion papers on tourism. Soon it became clear that there are a number of non-governmental institutions in Namibia which produce similarly important reports on the specific topics that I am interested in. These include the Namibia Community Based Tourism Assistance Trust, the Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organisations, the Institute for Public Policy Research and the Labour Resource and Research Institute. At the international scale, the documents by the World Tourism Organisation and the World Travel and Tourism Council have provided statistics on the scope of tourism worldwide and in southern Africa. In addition, reports by the Overseas Development Institute cover a wide range of topics related to tourism and poverty reduction. Furthermore, several historical novels, autobiographies and other non-academic writings have deeply enhanced my knowledge and understanding of Namibian and southern African history and development, the legacy of apartheid and the interface of colonialism and nature conservation throughout Africa. Those authors specifically worth mentioning include Namhila (2001), Khaxas (2005), Leys and Brown (2005), Kekäläinen (2006), Kaakunga (2007), Maathai (2007, 2009) and Löytty (2008).

The schedules and durations of the fieldtrips were determined by the research project I was involved in. The first fieldwork took place from mid-December 2006 to mid-February 2007, during which I conducted interviews and gathered observation material from the trophy hunting farms, CBTEs and four lodges (see appendix 5). The second field trip of six weeks took place from June to August 2008 and it consisted of interviews with the personnel of tour operators and one lodge together with nine follow-up interviews with those informants that were accessible (see appendix 5). In addition, I carried out expert interviews to cross-check the gathered information and broaden my knowledge of the study topics. Therefore, the second fieldwork provided a more thorough and diverse understanding of the Namibian society, tourism sector and various challenges in the effort to promote tourism as a development strategy.

A possible methodological weakness is that the studied stakeholders omit certain important actors in the tourism sector, such as larger tour operators, travel agencies, car rentals and government owned Namibia Wildlife Resorts (NWR). In fact, larger tour operators and NWR were considered to be included in the study but for various reasons they had to be omitted. Furthermore, given the time and financial limits on this study, it was necessary to limit both the types and number of enterprises. Similarly, the study was limited to the four regions mentioned above even though there would have been other regions in Namibia worth including. The limited sample poses an important challenge for generalisation. However, the choice to include expert interviews provided a valuable tool for cross-checking the interview and observation material. In cases where I was not sure about the validity of the informants' statements or my own observations, the expert interviews often provided supporting evidence. For example, the expert interviews confirmed that several findings of this study are not restricted to the studied regions, but are in fact common throughout Namibia.

## **Interviews**

Qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful and knowable (Patton 2002: 341). I conducted 28 interviews with 34 persons, some of who are couples (see table 4 and detailed information in appendix 5). I

used an interview guide which is a thematic list of the questions or issues that are to be explored in the course of an interview. In my case, the interview guide included the six tourism policy objectives of which I wanted to hear the informants' perceptions and experiences. The guide makes interviewing a number of different people more systematic and comprehensive by delimiting in advance the issues to be explored. However, the interviewer has to remain flexible to establish a conversational atmosphere and to pursue the detail that is salient to each individual participant (Patton 2002: 343; Ritchie and Lewis (2003: 115). Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2000: 48) refer to the use of an interview guide as 'focused interview' and regard it as useful in stressing the importance of the interviewees' own interpretation of and meaning attached to the topics.

*Table 4. List of study methods and enterprises*

| <b>Studied Enterprises</b>          | <b>Methods used</b>        | <b>Number of people interviewed with interview guide</b> | <b>Number of people interviewed for follow-up</b> | <b>Number of people interviewed informally</b> |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|---|--|
| Farms                               | Interviews and observation | 8  | 3   | 14   |
| Lodges                              | Interviews and observation | 8  | 2   | 11   |
| Community-based tourism enterprises | Interviews and observation | 14   | 5   | 12   |
| Small tour operators                | Interviews and observation | 4  | 1   | -  |
| <b>TOTAL: 16</b>                    |                            | <b>34</b>  | <b>11</b>   | <b>37</b>                                      |

I used different interview guides for private and community-based enterprises where the topics were in a slightly different order (see appendices 2 and 3). The basic question was the same for everyone, but thereafter the discussion flourished in accordance with the kind of issues the informant raised as important and worth discussing. Even though some follow-up issues were listed in the guide, they were discussed to a different degree with different informants. According to Ritchie and Lewis (2003), such responsiveness to the situation and language used by the participants is common with



the use of interview guides. The reason for adopting an interview guide instead of, for example, a semi-structured interview questionnaire, was that I did not want to influence the answers, but rather provide the initial topic and thereafter allow the informants to raise issues and perspectives that were meaningful, important and relevant from their point of view.

The selection of the informants for official interviews was done on the basis of who has the most knowledge of the enterprise and who is therefore able to answer the questions in the interview guide. In the farms and lodges, the interviews with the interview guide were carried out with the owners or managers. In the CBTEs snowball sampling was used so that once the key informants had been interviewed, they would suggest other possible interviewees. However, I also studied their personnel and management structure and approached people whom I considered to be in a position for providing rich information. Such people included, for example, staff members who were on holiday and who were new during the second fieldwork. In the craft centres I interviewed community resource monitors who work closely with the centres but are not employed by them. The positions of the informants in the enterprises are listed in appendix 5.

As the tour operators included no permanent office workers except the owners, I only interviewed them. However, one tour operator had a person doing her internship so I interviewed both of them. The interviewed persons in the enterprises include 18 men and 16 women, out of whom 16 are white and 18 are black Namibians. Age and income levels were not requested from the informants, but it is estimated that nine of the white informants are aged over 50, whereas all the other informants are between approximately 20 and 50 years old. The white informants apparently represent a high income group in Namibia, while the three tour operators are in the middle income range. However, most of the 15 informants in the CBTEs appear to represent low income level, whereas some of their members represent the poorest sections of Namibian society.

I carried all the formal interviews in English, but some of the farm employees and members of the CBTEs did not speak English and in such cases translation was required. Furthermore, in the CBTEs some informants had apparent difficulties ex-

pressing themselves in English. In addition, most CBTE representatives replied to the questions rather briefly and even when I attempted to persuade them to do so, did not raise any further points to discuss. The interviews would have been very short and lacking in content if I as an interviewer had not posed more follow-up questions some of which were based on what previous informants in the same area or setting had said. In general, it might have been better to use participatory methods in the CBTEs, since they are illustrative rather than conceptual for the target group. However, having used Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in my MA research (see Jänis 1996), I knew its limitations and I would have had the problem of comparison between interview and PRA materials, which are quite different in nature. In addition, PRA would have not been possible within the time limits.

Alasuutari (1993) remarks that interviews carried out with interview guides often require a second round of interviewing in order to go deeper into the discussed issues. After my first fieldwork I discovered several follow-up questions which I listed before returning to the field. It is also common in interviews with interview guides that the informant makes his or her own conception of what the research and specific question is aiming at and answers on that basis (Alasuutari 1993). That is, the informant makes a personal choice of what to tell and what to not tell. Sometimes the informants would tell more profoundly about their experiences in personal, informal discussions either after or before the actual interview. In such cases I took notes which were written in the research diary. Furthermore, Pietilä (2010: 415) remarks that when the interviewer and interviewees are of different nationality, language or culture this easily affects the interaction and the answers provided. For example, the informants of the CBTEs did not always understand my question and replied according to their understanding of it.

It was not meaningful to use the interview guide for interviews with the employees of the trophy hunting farms and lodges as they represent the enterprises at a different level and context. Similarly, the topics in the interview guide appeared too complicated for some people directly and indirectly associated with the CBTEs, such as members of craft centres and local residents. Therefore, I decided to carry out informal interviews with all such people to whom I got access (see appendix 5). Patton (2002) calls these 'informal conversational interviews' whereas Flick (2006) describes informal con-

versational interviews as 'ethnographic interviews'. Altogether 37 people were interviewed informally and about half of the interviews were recorded and transcribed. In general, such people were easily approachable and they did not have any objections to the interviews. However, in two farms the employees did not speak English and the only person who could do the translation was the farm owner who mastered both English and Afrikaans. Such interviews were naturally affected by the presence of the farm owner: I could not ask questions that might imply criticism of the farm, nor could the employee make any criticism of the farm owners.

As the first field research revealed, the interviews with interview guides raised a lot of controversial issues, about which I wanted to acquire clarifications and more information as well as to cross-check some of the topics. Therefore, I carried out 23 expert interviews mainly during the second field trip, and wherever I gained access to experts, i.e. in Finland, Namibia and Tanzania. These experts represent individuals with substantial professional experience in the field of tourism, various NGOs operating in the field of tourism and nature conservation, national tourism organisations and people from the Ministry of Environment and Tourism. After the first fieldwork I had acquired an understanding of which organisations are the major actors in tourism, development and conservation issues in Namibia. Therefore, I contacted the key figures in such organisations, who often suggested other similarly knowledgeable individuals to be interviewed. These interviews proved invaluable in the analysis and writing phases when explanations for various issues and phenomena were sought.

In development studies, reflexivity is one of the central strategic themes. According to Patton (2002: 299), reflexivity calls for critical self-reflection and self-knowledge and a willingness to consider how one's own personality and outlook affects what one is able to observe, hear and understand in the field. An important challenge related to gathering the interview material relates to the different educational and professional levels of the informants. It was obviously easier for the private entrepreneurs to understand the policy objectives and explain their experiences related to them than for the representatives of the CBTEs. On the other hand, the informants in the CBTEs have provided interesting and different answers. Furthermore, the comparison between the interview materials among different types of enterprises has been the most fruitful part

of the analysis process and the diversity of informants can also be considered a strength of this study.

## **Observation**

Observation is an essential method in qualitative studies and it can occur at different levels (Patton 2002; Flick 2006). Eskola and Suoranta (2005) distinguish between participant observation and other observation according to the role of the researcher. My role in the tourism enterprises seemed to vary between that of a paying customer, a university student/researcher and a curious outsider who was soon regarded more or less as a friend. Hirsjärvi et al. (1997) and Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002) remind us that while it is possible to distinguish the two extremes of systematic, outsider observation and reflexive participatory observation, only rarely does the actual observation technique represent either of these extremes, instead usually falling somewhere in between.

I used observation as an additional method in all the tourism enterprises except for two tour operators (see appendix 5). The observations were documented in field notes and a research diary which were compiled on a daily basis throughout both field periods. Unfortunately the language barrier to some extent reduced my possibilities to observe the enterprises. For example, in two trophy hunting farms the owners and their employees communicated only in Afrikaans, whereas the employees used their vernacular languages amongst themselves. Similarly, in CBTEs the people speak their local languages, which made observation more difficult.

The purpose of the observation was to deepen my understanding of the issues raised in the interviews and to acquire a more complete picture of the enterprises. This proved valuable as observation revealed aspects which could not be drawn from the interviews. These include the power relations between employers and employees in the enterprises, values and attitudes, various challenges in the community-based enterprises and different socio-cultural contexts of the informants. Furthermore, there were several issues brought up in the interviews that I wanted to counter-check through observation. Similarly, observation provided me with a broader and deeper picture of the entire tourism–development nexus in Namibia. Time constraints limited my possibility to

observe everything I wanted and therefore I had to limit myself to issues that were of most importance. As Vilkkä (2006: 13, 35) remarks, scientific observation is always selective and observation can elicit tacit knowledge from the informants, which can diversify the material gathered through interviews.

## *Ethical issues*

My aim has been to handle and present the research material in an ethical manner. This includes informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, which are generally perceived as important tenets of scientific research (Denscombe 2002; Scheyvens & Storey 2003). Furthermore, Scheyvens and Storey (2003: 140) remark that any research process must ensure the participants' dignity and safety. When I first approached the enterprises either from Finland or in Namibia, I explained the purpose of my study and asked their permission to include them. In addition, before each interview and use of the digital recorder I re-introduced myself and the purpose of the study to the particular informant to ensure his or her willingness to participate in the research. All the enterprises and informants except the interviewed experts were guaranteed anonymity and therefore I refer to the enterprises with pseudonyms. Some of them may be identifiable by those who are familiar with the local context, but in sensitive statements I have protected both individual and enterprise anonymity so that they cannot be identified.

In the community-based tourism enterprises I was aware that my presence as a European might create expectations about my possible connections to the donor organisations. Therefore, I tried to be explicit about my role as a researcher. Occasionally this was challenging, as I noticed a number of issues related to product and service quality which in my opinion could be improved in the enterprises. In some cases I made remarks and suggestions on these matters in informal discussions or during the follow up visits. However, I decided to keep more critical comments to myself and discuss them through my publications.

The question of reciprocity is important in all fieldwork but particularly relevant in development studies, where power imbalances between researcher and research participants may be substantial. Scheyvens and Storey (2003: 157) remark that this is an important ethical issue and exchange of gifts can be easily regarded as 'buying' the informants. Apart from little souvenirs I did not provide gifts to my informants, but instead performed different roles which can be regarded as reciprocity. First of all, in most enterprises I stayed or visited as a customer who paid for her accommodation and other services and who purchased local crafts. Secondly, I assisted the informants in CBTEs in their small requests such as providing a lift or lending small amounts of money. When they complained about their institutional problems and asked me to assist them I explained that I could take their message to the Namibia Community Based Tourism Assistance Trust (NACOBTA), where I was going to meet the key figures for expert interviews.

An indirect form of reciprocity was a project report which included the major results and practical recommendations directed at various tourism stakeholders in Namibia (see Jänis 2008). During the second field trip the report was handed to those informants whom I managed to interview again. In addition, I distributed 45 copies of the report to all relevant stakeholders such as the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, the Namibia Tourism Board and several other tourism related organisations. Through the report the concerns of the tourism enterprises were communicated to the organisations involved in tourism planning and development in Namibia.

Fieldwork often encompasses the dilemma of a dual role of a friend and a researcher and the formation of close or intimate relationships, which creates problems with the management of anonymity and confidentiality (De Laine 2000: 210). This was apparent in my study as many of the informants became more like friends. My close involvement with the informants of Damara Restcamp even culminated in misunderstandings that created a small scale jealousy scandal. However, in the analysis and writing process I have tried to distance myself from the research participants in an attempt to remain objective and critical, whilst at the same time remaining protective of people's anonymity in sensitive issues.

## *Analysis process*

Qualitative research material is diverse and complex and therefore it is characteristic for qualitative researchers to gather study material that allows multiple approaches to its analysis (Alasuutari 1993: 74-75). Wolcott (2001) distinguishes analysis from interpretation. For him, analysis consists of rigorous procedures accepted by the scientific community, while interpretation involves more human activity that includes intuition and utilises the personal attributes of human researchers. However, Mäkelä (1990) points out that even the basic categorisation of qualitative research material involves interpretation. I acknowledge that interpretation has been involved in the analysis and it is not possible to separate the two from each other, but this does not imply that the process was not rigorous and did not adhere to scientific procedures. In fact, the analysis has been done largely while writing the results. Throughout the writing process I have discovered new connections, cross-cutting themes and patterns, which have assisted in clarifying the categories and their components.

The most systematic analysis was carried out with the interviews, whereas field notes and secondary sources provided background information and different perspectives to the interview material. The 28 transcribed interviews with interview guides were inserted into the ATLAS.ti software programme which provided tools for coding and writing memos. ATLAS.ti is specifically designed to support a grounded theory approach but, on the other hand, any qualitative research analysis would involve some kind of coding or indexing procedure (Silverman 2000; Ritchie & Lewis 2003; Ruusu-vuori et al. 2010). First the interviews were coded in a very inductive and intuitive manner in order to see what they contain with the thematic structure of the interview guide as the only framework. After the second fieldwork, new interviews and all the follow-up interviews were inserted into ATLAS.ti and coded by existing and new codes. Finally, the overall number of codes became 195. Simultaneous to coding, memos were written and attached to specific citations. In the end there were a total of 191 memos, which contained comments on methodological and analytical issues.

After completing the coding process, the individual codes were divided into two basic groups. These were factors related to how the enterprises promote the tourism

policy objectives and factors related to the constraints on that effort. The codes related to each policy objective were placed under these two categories on simple charts on separate sheets and on each sheet the three types of study enterprises were differentiated. Thereafter I started to look for some common patterns in the research material which could be reduced to a few cross-thematic codes that describe the data in a more condensed way. Charmaz (2004) and Lofland et al. (2006) call this process 'focused coding', the purpose of which is to reduce the material into clearly differentiated categories. Eventually there were 60 focused codes.

The focused codes were placed on six separate sheets, each devoted to one of the six policy objectives. Each sheet had a separate space for each of the three types of enterprises. By analysing the codes on separate sheets I started to look for common patterns and characteristics, which would merge certain codes into a category. In addition to analysing what the informants said in the interviews I paid attention to why and how they said it. This is where the field notes consisting of observations were particularly useful. Finally, the categories were contextualised within the theoretical discourses, after which the initial categories were further condensed into fewer categories. The process was conducted simultaneously with the writing and editing of the entire manuscript and therefore involved constant alternation between writing, analysing, interpretation and contextualisation. Sometimes it felt like solving a puzzle; trying to find the missing sentences and relocating certain sentences and sections in different chapters. I also had to choose which issues raised in the interviews are discussed in each chapter, since all the policy objectives are closely interrelated. For example, human-wildlife conflicts were raised in relation to poverty reduction but I discuss them in the chapter on environmental sustainability. Similarly, supply chains were raised in relation to regional development but I discuss them in the chapter on poverty reduction.

An essential part of the analysis is the communication of research results to the research participants in the field. When the process of initial coding was finished, I prepared a list of my basic findings concerning the farms and lodges and sent the list to them through e-mail for commenting on. Even though they provided only positive remarks, it was an attempt to cross-check the validity of the findings. In addition, when I distributed copies of the project report I encouraged the informants to provide feed-



back and critical comments on the findings. Interestingly, all the comments were positive, and although the lack of criticism could be interpreted as a sign of validity, my role as an academic researcher might have inhibited them from openly criticising the contents of a published report. In addition, the research project organised workshops in Namibia which acted as forums for discussing the findings. These, together with the project facilitated publications (see Jänis 2008, 2009), provided me with mid-term feedback on the analysis and supported the writing process.

Triangulation provides a possibility to increase the accountability and validity of academic research (Silverman 2000; Patton 2002). Even though traditional forms of triangulation such as multiple methods and different types of study material were applied, the contextually and interpretively informed triangulation proposed by Roth and Mehta (2002: 163) can be regarded as similarly useful. Contextually informed triangulation weighs information collected from different sources and individuals by knowledge of the information's context, its reliability and potential biases. For example, the interview contexts and power relations in the interview situations of this study call for reflexive analysis. Similarly, the policy documents and statistical information of tourism require critical analysis of the context and the purposes for which the information has been produced. One attempt at overcoming the potential biases in this study is the inclusion of expert interviews. Interpretively informed triangulation, on the other hand, weighs collected information by knowledge of informants' worldviews or value systems and how they may shape informants' interpretations. This implies paying specific attention to the different roles and positions of the informants in the society of Namibia.

## The political economy approach to tourism and development

This study engages in relevant discourses on tourism and development through a political economy approach. There are multiple definitions for political economy but generally it can be defined as an analytical effort to break down the barriers that separate and isolate disciplines such as politics, economics and sociology in the analysis of states, markets and societies, particularly in the era of increasing economic globalisation (Cameron et al. 2008: xxii; Balaam & Veseth 2008: 10). The political economy approach adopted here is associated with the structuralist tradition of international political economy (IPE), which has developed from 1970s into a distinct field of study. IPE is commonly regarded as a sub-field of International Relations, even though some academics claim that IPE involves broader disciplinary interests (O'Brien & Williams 2004: 1; Cameron et al. 2008: xxi; Cohen 2008).

Mosedale (2011: 2) in a recent title *Political economy of tourism. A critical perspective* claims that political economy has received relatively little attention in tourism research. Cornelissen (2005a: 675) nevertheless remarks that tourism is an important topic in the field of political economy, as it involves the flow of capital, finance, goods, knowledge and humans on a very large scale, along with the associated global consequences. Similarly, Uddhammar (2006) points out that tourism can be regarded as a global commodity chain which reflects the network and connections between producers and consumers. The political economy of tourism concerns a wide variety of topics. These include, for example, tourism as a global production and consumption process subservient to global hegemonic institutions, unequal distribution of benefits and ownership structure of tourism both globally and locally, the role of tourism in cultural commodification of host societies and interconnections between tourism, colonialism and global power relations (Dieke 2000; Sharpley 2002; Bianchi 2002; Cornelissen 2005a; DeHart & Kontogeorgopoulos 2008; Telfer & Sharpley 2008; Hall & Lew 2009: 114; Clancy 2011). Therefore, there is a specific focus on how international tourism manifests global inequality, which is defined here as unequal economic, political and social structures between nations deriving from colonial times (Greig et al. 2007). As Bianchi (2002: 297)

remarks, the core question of political economy of tourism is to what extent different modalities of global tourism are leading to a reduction or increase in the inequality of access to power and resources.

In applying political economy of tourism to developing countries, several academics have examined tourism in relation to development theories (Scheyvens 2002; Sharpley 2002; Telfer 2002a; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Reid 2003; Cornelissen 2005a). More recent studies have applied the political economy approach, for example, to studies on global commodity chains in tourism, class analysis in tourism, regulation theory, governance and foreign direct investments (Bramwell 2011; Clancy 2011; Cornelissen 2011; Hall 2011; Meyer 2011). This study embraces the political economy of tourism and development through three current discourses, which are closely interrelated. The discourse on tourism, power and inequality is inherently related to political economy as it concentrates on the relationship between tourism and unequal power relations at both global and local levels. It can be regarded as a more critical approach to tourism and development. On the other hand, the discourses on tourism in relation to sustainable development and poverty reduction reflect more instrumental and conventional approaches, since they are embraced by donor agencies and they are increasingly at the core of tourism planning in southern Africa. However, in addition to their instrumental focus they are of current interest in academic research on tourism and development (Mowforth & Munt 2003; Telfer & Sharpley 2008; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Spencer 2010). These two discourses are regarded as significant in increasing the understanding of the developmental impacts of tourism, but from the political economy perspective it is important to give attention to their ideological underpinnings, Eurocentric premises and consequent inadequacies and contradictions. This implies critical analysis of the concepts of poverty, sustainability and development and their relationship with tourism in southern Africa.

## *Tourism, power and inequality*

The discourse on tourism, power and inequality first received thorough attention in the 1980s in the publications of De Kadt (1980), Lea (1988) and Britton (1982, 1989). These authors questioned the unequal share of the benefits of tourism between the host developing countries and the richer countries from which tourists originate. Nash (1989) even regarded tourism as a form of imperialism. Later on the topic has been touched on, for example, by Britton (1996) and Brohman (1996). Even though the theoretical approach of these writings, such as use of dependency theory, can be regarded as outdated, the topic itself has not lost its importance. In fact, it is even more topical today since tourism can be regarded as playing a part in current forms of global inequality. In this study, the question of power is approached from the basic question of *who benefits*. This is at the core of the discourse, even though it has not been at the core of tourism studies and even less so in the realm of tourism policy and planning (Hall 2010: 209; Clancy 2011: 76).

One of the characteristics of tourism and unequal power relations on a global scale is the nature of tourism as a trade commodity in the globalised world. Since the 1960s there have been pressures on developing countries to open themselves to international tourism and favour it in their economic strategies by welcoming foreign capital and making fiscal concessions (Lanfant & Graburn 1992: 96). Higgins-Desbiolles (2006: 1195) claims that contemporary tourism has accommodated itself to the hegemony of the market, which can be reflected in the way tourism is regarded as an 'industry'. Similarly, Milne and Ateljevic (2004: 84) assert that tourism must be viewed as a transaction process which is driven by the global priorities of multinational corporations, geopolitical forces and the broader forces of economic change. In the global markets there is increasing competition between smaller tourism companies and more influential multinational corporations that often exercise vertical integration (Burns & Holden 1995: 26; Meethan 2001: 50; Clancy 2011: 87; Lapeyre 2011). This reflects the current tendencies where free market policies favour larger and stronger multinational corporations at the expense of weaker and smaller local industries (Jauch 2001: 38; Shaikh 2005). As Telfer and Sharpley (2008: 57) point out, countries interested in pursuing tourism as an

agent of development must enter a very competitive global market characterised by complexity, uneven distribution and volatility. In similar vein, Schilcher (2007: 65) remarks that within the contemporary system of liberalised markets, many governments in the developing countries have no choice but to elevate tourism so that it constitutes the 'lead sector' in the economy and thus appears to be the only hope for economic development.

The significance of tourism in Africa's development has been highlighted by a number of institutions such as the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and SADC. For example, NEPAD's Action Plan for Tourism states that: "In all African countries there is now heightened awareness of the potential of tourism and the fact that tourism is a significant economic force" (NEPAD 2004: 9). However, NEPAD, which was originally proposed by a few African key politicians in 2001 as a pledge to extricate the African continent from under-development and global marginalisation, has been criticised as a home-grown version of the Washington Consensus (Bond 2006: 124; Melber 2009a: 59). Cleverdon (2002: 15) remarks that even though tourism is an economic sector publicly heralded by the governments of SADC countries, few public developmental funds have been allocated to it. In fact, tourism development in southern Africa tends to rest heavily on external funding and foreign investment. For example, 34 percent of the World Bank's tourism-related lending is in Africa (Ba & Mann 2006: 2). Tourism is promoted because it is expected to bring foreign exchange, which is required by most African countries for repayment of their foreign debts. On the other hand, it can be questioned to what extent new debts incurred by governments to finance the tourism sector enhance broader socio-economic development in those particular countries. Apart from international financial institutions, a range of donors are involved in supporting tourism related projects in the continent. These include UN organisations (UNEP; UNDP; UNESCO; UNCTAD) and bilateral agencies such as DFID, USAID, GTZ and SNV (Ba & Mann 2006: 3). In addition, various NGOs and conservation bodies such as WWF and IUCN are involved in funding tourism development.

## **Fortress conservation**

Another example of the unequal power relations within tourism relates to the so-called fortress nature conservation in southern Africa during the period of colonial rule to support the interests of the colonisers. Most game parks and other protected areas which were created during the colonial era in southern and eastern Africa were established as an after-effect of excessive hunting by the colonial hunters (Scheyvens 2002: 86; Jones 2006: 484). As Landau (1998: 153) states: "The big game hunt in Africa was part of the theatre of imperial ideology". As a result, local populations were removed from their living environments and resettled, often on marginal land where they had to resort to illegal hunting, which was regarded as poaching (Matengu 2003; Ojalammi 2006; Hoole & Berkes 2010; Kreike 2010). Meanwhile, hunting was reserved for the colonial masters as an exclusive pleasure activity (Spierenburg & Wels 2006: 296). Similarly, other traditional user rights of local populations such as collecting firewood, medicinal plants and grass for thatching were severely restricted in the protected areas (Ferreira 2003: 38; Uddhammar 2006: 663). As a result, relationships between local communities and the conservationists were characterised by hostility and mistrust (Scheyvens 2002: 86; Ojalammi 2006). Furthermore, it has been claimed that the strict conservation measures alienated local people from wildlife, and this has frequently transformed wildlife from a valuable commodity into a threat and a nuisance (Johannesen & Skonhøft 2005: 209).

Even today, some scholars argue that wildlife conservation in Africa is largely a product of international conservation agencies aiming to protect and conserve wildlife for its intrinsic, symbolic and aesthetic values, which may differ from the more instrumental and economic values of rural Africans (Neumann 2000; Johansson 2008: 98; Harper & Rajan 2007: 332; Brockington & Scholfield 2010). New conservation areas are established continuously, which implies evictions of local populations from the conserved areas with little compensation (Dowie 2009: xxii). Nevertheless, governments are in support of conservation measures because nature and wildlife are regarded as important tourist attractions and because conservation is a billion dollar business funded largely by multinational corporations (Dowie 2009). Korhonen (2007: 153) as-

serts that current integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) resemble largely colonial practices even though they try to encompass more people-centred approaches. This is supported by Neumann (2000: 236), who argues that there is ignorance about the historical forces that link underdevelopment and environmental degradation in Africa. On the other hand, community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) and other ICDPs encompass the capacity to increase biodiversity and promote empowerment in communities that had been largely excluded from state led natural resource management and conservation efforts in the past (Timothy 2007; Murphree 2009; Roe et al 2009). Whether they manage to achieve these aims remains a highly debated topic (Ferguson 2006: 43). Furthermore, private farms and game parks have played a significant role in improving biodiversity in southern Africa, where they are a peculiar phenomenon (Turpie et al. 2004; Scholz 2009: 155; Nelson 2010: 9).

In relation to the conservation aspect it is useful to understand that tourism to Africa, which came to represent the epitome of wilderness, untamed, unspoilt nature and pristine peoples, developed out of European Romanticism (Van Beek 2007: 154). Vast national parks with abundant game and surrounded by indigenous peoples have dominated the European image of Africa until today. Africa has become synonymous with a European sense of authenticity, in which the continent and its people only get shape, meaning and personality against a certain landscape (Draper et al. 2004: 346). Furthermore, Africa fits well the ‘romantic tourist gaze’, which refers to the increasing fascination of the ‘developed’ world with the cultural practices of developing societies and the development of the tourist as a ‘collector’ of places gazed upon and experienced on the ground (Urry 2002: 57). As Wishetemi, Spenceley and Wels (2007: 2-3) claim: “The image of tourist ‘Africa’ is a neo-colonial cultural construction sold to international tourists by travel agents and legitimated by African governments who want to attract the foreign exchange that comes with the tourists”.

### **Inequality in human mobility**

Finally, tourism reflects unequal power relations in the world through the patterns of human mobility which have intensified tremendously over the past decades. However,

only some 5-7 percent of the world population has the possibility and resources to travel abroad (Handsuh 2008: 34). As Sharpley (2009: 18) remarks, major international tourist flows and receipts remain highly polarised and regionalised, being concentrated among the richer countries in Europe and North America. Furthermore, while tourism is a leisure activity based on voluntary travel of the privileged few, there are huge masses of people travelling against their will as a result of conflicts, oppression, environmental degradation and poverty. These people include close to 10 million refugees, 26 million internally displaced persons and 20 to 30 million unauthorized migrants (UNHCR 2008: 66; IOM 2009). Out of the last an estimated 15 000 have died in their attempt to enter Europe or USA in the last 15 years (King et al 2010: 76). In addition, global climate change is expected to displace from 200 million to 1 billion people worldwide by 2050 (King et al 2010: 72; Renner 2010: 129). Several tourist receiving countries in the developing world are the sources of these forced migrations and the migrating people face enormous obstacles if they make efforts to access the tourist generating countries. Hall and Lew (2009: 6) and Hannam and Knox (2010: 160) make an important observation that people from richer Western countries are usually welcomed and provided far more privileges in crossing international borders than people from developing countries. This is not only manifested in the massive efforts to prevent immigration from poorer to richer countries, but even those who travel as tourists from developing countries experience enormous barriers if they wish to enter Europe or North America. In addition, Hall and Brown (2006: 110) remark that particular sectors of international tourism reflect rigid racial stratification.

This study engages in the discourse of tourism, power and inequality from a Namibian perspective. In terms of nature conservation Namibia has followed the same pattern as elsewhere in southern Africa; fortress conservation has been replaced by community-based approaches to conservation and natural resource management. The government has adopted a market-oriented development path which encourages foreign tourism investments and the private sector, whereas the formerly disadvantaged population lacks the assets and skills to become more engaged in tourism. Therefore the question of *who benefits* is highly topical and requires thorough analysis. Community-based approaches to tourism and natural resource management are practical efforts to



distribute the benefits of tourism more evenly, but specific attention is paid to how equally they manage to implement this at the local level. Finally, the ability of the independent, postcolonial government to address prevailing inequalities in tourism and in society at large is similarly an important focus of attention.

### *Tourism and sustainable development*

The large scale environmental concern preceding the concept of sustainable development dates back to 1972 when the Club of Rome published its report *The Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al. 1972) and the United Nations held a conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm. However, the concept came into the public arena in 1980 when the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources presented the *World Conservation Strategy* (IUCN 1980). These events and publications coincided with the emergence of environmentalism, which criticises the conventional model of development (Baker 2006: 2). The common definition of sustainable development was provided in the Brundtland Report *Our Common Future* in 1987, in which it was defined as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the needs of future generations (WCED 1987: 40). The report set an agenda for global environmental governance and for renewal of international economic relations between developed and developing countries (WCED 1987; Baker 2006).

Since the Brundtland Report, hundreds of definitions have been provided for sustainable development, a circumstance that reflects both the ambiguous and the controversial character of the concept (Baker 2006; De Vries & Petersen 2009: 1007). However, what is generally agreed is the fact that sustainable development includes three interrelated dimensions; the economic, the social and the ecological. According to Baker (2006: 165), these dimensions have different priorities in different societies. In the context of developing countries, a priority for economic development appears to be economic growth, eradication of poverty and rural development, whereas priorities for social development include overcoming illiteracy, providing adequate sanitation and

access to clean drinking water, health care and decent housing. The priorities for ecological sustainability tend to include upholding sustainable patterns of resource access, combating desertification, deforestation and soil erosion as well as protecting biological diversity.

The concept of sustainable development can be criticised as a manifestation of Western hegemony and for allowing the current inequitable consumption patterns to continue in different parts of the world. Robinson (2004) further provides three critical remarks about sustainable development. First of all, the vagueness and ambiguity of the concept reflects its highly political nature, which implies that it is defined differently according to the political and philosophical positions of those proposing the definition. The second critique concerns the hypocrisy of the concept. Robinson (2004: 374) refers to cosmetic environmentalism, which permits different claims of sustainable practice to be made. This reflects the difficulty of measuring what is considered sustainable. On the other hand, Robinson acknowledges that there are increasing pressures for officially approved certification, standards and labels which are important efforts to standardise the sustainability criteria. The third concern is delusions of sustainable development which are fostered in two particular ways. Even though it is acknowledged that biophysical limits cannot accommodate current levels of consumption, emphasis is still placed on economic growth and the western development model. In addition, sustainable development does not adequately address issues of power, exploitation and redistribution. Instead, proponents of sustainable development offer an incrementalist agenda that does not challenge any existing entrenched powers or privileges. (Robinson 2004: 376).

Notwithstanding this justified criticism, it can be argued that sustainable development has brought environmental concerns to the centre of global development efforts in an irreversible manner. This is demonstrated in the increasing comprehension of the interconnectedness between poverty and environment and between consumption and environment, especially in relation to climate change. Furthermore, it has been increasingly understood that there are explicit and implicit global implications related to changes in local environmental conditions.

## Sustainable tourism

Not long after its establishment, the concept of sustainable development was applied to the tourism sector, which experienced a demand for alternative, more sustainable, small scale tourism compared to perceived exploitative and unsustainable mass tourism (Smith & Eadington 1994; Mowforth & Munt 2003). Since the mid-1990s sustainable tourism has been increasingly referred to as a more sustainable and responsible approach to all tourism, which on the other hand has led to criticism that the concept is vaguely defined, widely interpretable and even misused to the extent that it has become a mere marketing ploy (Lansing & De Vries 2007: 81; Telfer & Sharpley 2008). Undeniable, however, is the fact that today it is difficult to find any official tourism plan or policy in the world which does not state that it adheres to the principles of sustainable tourism (Sharpley 2009: xii). For example, the World Tourism Organisation has prepared ten official statements and declarations related to sustainable tourism and similarly, in southern Africa sustainable tourism has become a major goal (Jenkins 2000b: 67; Saarinen et al. 2009: 10). In addition, the United Nations Marrakech process on Sustainable Consumption and Production (SCP), launched in 2003, recognises sustainable tourism as one of the seven key initiatives towards the global shift to SCP (Bowles 2010: 120).

Telfer and Sharpley (2008: 42) remark that over the past 15 years, the concept of sustainable tourism has been the dominant issue in both the study and practice of tourism, leading to the establishment of related journals such as the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* and the *Journal of Ecotourism*. On the other hand, the lack of clarity in the definition of sustainable tourism leads to difficulties in assessing how widely and in which forms it is practised in different parts of the world. In fact, Sharpley (2009: xiv) claims that there is little evidence to suggest that the principles of sustainability or sustainable development have been adopted among major sectors of the international travel and tourism industry. Furthermore, Sharpley (2009: xvii) claims that “the impasse reached in the academic study of sustainable tourism development suggests that it is time to move beyond its restrictive, managerialist ideals and to explore tourism and development within a contemporary global political-economic and environmental framework”.

The World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO 2002: 10) defines sustainable tourism as tourism that meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. In addition, the definition implies management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems. However, there is a difference between viewing sustainable tourism from tourism-centric and development-centric viewpoints. A tourism-centric approach emphasises the sustaining of tourism itself as an economic activity and the preservation of the natural, man-made and socio-cultural resource base on which tourism depends in particular settings (Telfer & Sharpley 2008: 44). On the other hand, a development-centric approach considers tourism within a developmental context so that the goal is to promote sustainable development through tourism in the whole destination society (Telfer & Sharpley 2008: 44). Both approaches are important and valid but require differentiation in the discussion of tourism and sustainable development.

Sharpley in his title *Tourism development and the environment: Beyond sustainability?* (2009) reviews how sustainable tourism manages to embrace both the developmental and sustainability objectives of its parental paradigm. According to Sharpley (2009: 70), the development objectives of sustainable development include improvement of quality of life for all people, satisfaction of basic needs, self-reliance and endogenous development. However, due to the scale and structure of the tourism production system and its inherent unequal power relations, as well as western dominance of tourism development planning and policy, there tends to be low compatibility between tourism and development (Sharpley 2009: 74). Similarly, Liburd (2010: 6) remarks that tourism may run counter to other sustainable development initiatives, for example through the industry's low-skill, low-wage structures and long working hours. Furthermore, tourism is inherently dependent on several external factors which may affect the demand for tourism and this prevents tourism from enhancing endogenous development. On the other hand, the community-based and participatory approaches have the potential to promote endogenous development and cater for the basic needs as defined in a local context (Sharpley 2000: 12; Saarinen 2009b: 83).

According to Sharpley (2009) and Southgate and Sharpley (2002), the principles of sustainable tourism reflect more closely the environmental sustainability objectives. These include sustainable use of natural resources and limited pollution emissions, which are embraced by governments and tour companies, at least in principle, especially since sustainability supports their immediate business interests (Sharpley 2000: 13). On the other hand, Sharpley (2009: 77) remarks that despite a number of individual efforts by tourism companies, it will only be when the entire tourism sector, including the tourists, adopts more sustainable practices that tourism will be able to contribute to global sustainability. Some recent studies, however, indicate that there is scant awareness among the majority of tourists about the environmental impacts of tourism, and tourists are reluctant to change their behaviour since they consider themselves entitled to enjoy their holidays without pondering environmental consequences (Miller et al. 2010: 641; Weaver 2011: 9). In addition, each destination has a unique set of developmental needs and perceptions of sustainability. For example, Saarinen (2009b: 85) emphasises that defining environmental sustainability in different tourism related contexts in southern Africa requires careful analysis of historically contingent social, economic and political practices and discourses of the current power relations.

One approach to sustainable tourism is carrying capacity, which has been proposed as a mechanism to identify the thresholds of a tourism destination to absorb changes (Liu 2003: 469). In practice, this has implied the definition of a maximum number of visitors that an area can accommodate without excessive deterioration of the environment or declining visitor satisfaction (Liu 2003: 469). However, such limits are difficult to define and carrying capacities may differ according to their environmental, social, economic or psychological dimensions. An alternative approach to establishing limits for environmental and socio-cultural change resulting from tourism is the concept of Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) which pays attention to the degree of change resulting from tourism as decided on by local consultation and measured by indicators (Telfer & Sharpley 2008: 203). Similarly, a community-based approach to sustainable tourism indicates that the limits of growth are understood as dynamic and contested ideas that are constructed and reconstructed during the process of develop-

ment (Saarinen 2009b: 85). Therefore, the concept of sustainable tourism is not objective but social and loaded with power issues (Saarinen 2009b: 85).

The applicability of tourism in the promotion of sustainable development is increasingly studied through the concept of sustainable livelihoods (SL). As a people-centred approach, SL emphasises people's capabilities, assets and the activities required for a means of living. Therefore, SL can be utilised to analyse how tourism is and might be incorporated into the existing mix of livelihood strategies at a local level and how it both complements and conflicts with existing activities (Ashley 2000). In similar vein, SL can be used to analyse tourism as a form of livelihood diversification, especially in rural communities (Lee 2008; Tao & Wall 2009). This approach has been used in a number of studies where the focus of analysis has been the overall role of tourism in poverty alleviation and sustainable development at a local level (e.g. Ashley 2000; Luvanga & Shitundu 2003; Tao & Wall 2009; Mbaiwa & Stronza 2010).

### **Tourism, consumption and climate change**

Despite its popularity and incontestable importance, the concept of sustainable tourism can be criticised in several ways. As Sharpley (2009: 65) remarks, environments are, in essence, the product of socio-cultural, political and economic processes and therefore sustainable tourism development constructed on western-centric interpretations of nature may not match constructs of nature in other cultures. Similarly, Mowforth and Munt (2003: 30) point out that currently sustainability in tourism refers as much to ensuring continued profits through capital accumulation and maintaining middle-class lifestyles in the richer countries, as it refers to environment.

Furthermore, tourism includes an inherent contradiction, involving as it does excessive consumption and increasing aviation in an age of global climate change. It is estimated that 43 percent of all international arrivals are by air and some five percent of global carbon dioxide emissions are from tourism (Gössling et al. 2008: 874). Furthermore, most of these emissions are generated by less than two percent of the world's population, those who participate in international aviation on an annual basis (Peeters et al. 2007). Even though aviation is the largest source of such emissions, tourism also

generates carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases through other means of transport, accommodation and various other activities (Peeters 2007: 13). Developing countries are expected to suffer most from the effects of climate change and therefore every effort to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions should be at the core of sustainable tourism. According to Bauer and Scholz (2010: 83), southern Africa, one of the world's poorest and most vulnerable regions, is warming up faster than the global average. The assumed effects of climate change in southern Africa include declining food security resulting from crop failures, increased competition for water and the wider spread of tropical diseases such as malaria (IPCC 2007: 435; Bauer & Scholz 2010: 88; Gomera et al. 2010: 295). Ironically, tourism to Africa may also suffer as increasing number of mammal species could become endangered and tourist attractions such as waterfalls, coral reefs and other ecosystems may be negatively affected by climate change (IPCC 2007: 435, 450; Gössling et al. 2009: 109; Bauer & Scholz 2010: 88). Furthermore, Gössling et al. (2009: 104) point out that the potential for increased costs for the consumer arising from climate change mitigation practices may lead to comparative price advantage for destinations other than southern Africa.

As a global consumption activity tourism creates waste and competes for scarce natural resources and it can therefore be described as a land- and resource-hungry industry (Eriksson et al. 2009: 9). In developing countries large amounts of agricultural land, marine resources and other ecosystems have been transformed into tourist resorts, the consumption levels of which are often substantially higher than local living spaces. This tends to increase the already vast ecological debt of the richer tourist generating countries in the North to the poorer tourist receiving countries in the South (Bond 2006: 160; Eskelinen 2009a). The areas chosen for tourism development may appear unspoilt, uninhabited and remote to a tourist, but from local residents' point of view the same areas may contain productive sites for agriculture, forest utilisation, pastoralism or fishing. Furthermore, tourism utilises often scarce water resources and in high class resorts water consumption per tourist may be more than 60 times the level of local consumption in societies where the majority may lack access to clean drinking water and adequate sanitation (Gössling 2006; Eriksson et al. 2009: 11).

Tourism is inherently based on consumption but this conflicts with ecological sustainability. Since 1960 global consumption levels have increased sixfold and the Earth's ecological carrying capacity has already been exceeded. Western lifestyles are characterised by high levels of consumerism, which is rapidly spreading all over the world. The culture of consumerism has evolved simultaneously with European industrialisation and modernisation since the late seventeenth century. Furthermore, 20th century capitalism generated 'excess capitalism' which has contributed to the high carbon consumption of the richer countries, demonstrated particularly by increasing long-haul tourism (Urry 2010: 92). These global consumption patterns are highly skewed and characteristic of the wealthier population groups even though evidence illustrates that higher levels of consumption do not significantly increase the quality of life beyond a certain point, after which they may reduce it. Nevertheless, the belief that more wealth and more material possessions are essential to achieving a good life has grown noticeably across many countries. (Assadourian 2010: 4-11).

In tourist-generating societies consumption is seen as a means of social classification and an element of social life, with people seeking to find an identity or achieve distinction through the products they consume (Telfer & Sharpley 2008: 156). This creates a need to continuously develop more specialised tourism products. Despite signs of increasing interest in environmental and responsible consumption models, Telfer and Sharpley (2008: 164) argue that there is no evidence of an overall 'greening' of the global tourism industry. According to them, the drastic increase in ecotourism is explained more by tourists' search for undisturbed nature than by their environmental values. Such arguments can be disputed, however, and they call for critical analysis of the different roles of tourists, actors in the tourism industry and host societies in promoting and enhancing environmentally sustainable forms of tourism.

The fundamental principle of sustainable development is a holistic approach which means that all elements of tourism experience should be sustainable (Telfer & Sharpley 2008: 47). However, Saarinen (2009b: 86) points out that the focus of sustainability has been mainly on destinations and tourism practices in those areas, whereas less attention has been paid to the unsustainable character of tourism as a phenomenon. Therefore, the debates on whether tourism can be sustainable and whether tour-



ism promotes sustainable development are likely to continue. A positive outcome from such debates may cause the tourism sector to adopt a more responsible approach and both tourists and host societies to look for new ways of redistributing the wealth and opportunities created by tourism so that it would benefit larger segments of local populations.

This study distinguishes between tourism as a promoter of sustainable development on the one hand and ecologically sustainable tourism on the other hand. The former focuses on the role of tourism in economic and social development in the Namibian context. The aim is to find out how sustainable development is embraced in tourism planning and policies and how such principles are reflected in the empirical material. This is related to the applicability of tourism as a development strategy in Namibia. The aspect of tourism and ecological sustainability is considered in relation to sustainable utilisation of natural resources and environmental sustainability of tourism in Namibia from the perspective of the studied enterprises. However, the underlying definition of sustainable tourism in this study is not restricted only to ecological sustainability but involves a more holistic approach and regards socially responsible aspects of tourism as equally significant. Therefore a development-centric definition of sustainable tourism is embraced.

### *Tourism and poverty reduction*

Poverty reduction as a concept dates back to the 1970s, but it was launched globally by the World Bank's World Development Report in 1990 and it was in line with the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) prescribed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in the 1980s (Culpeper 2005: 1). Since then poverty reduction has become the major theme in international development and it is one of the eight Millennium Development Goals adopted by the international community at the United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000. In the course of this process, most developing countries have prepared Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), which were originally a

condition for eligibility for debt relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) programme initiated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. However, later on PRSPs became a sign of qualification for the loans provided by the two institutions (Gould 2005b: 2). In fact, all World Bank assistance and lending is directed to the sectors that are part of the PRSPs (Graig & Porter 2006: 88). Tourism features as a focal sector in 90 percent of PRSPs (Ferguson 2011: 243).

Despite the widespread adoption of poverty reduction as a global development goal, the definition and measurement of poverty has remained a highly contested matter. For example, poverty can be defined in absolute or relative terms, as a subjective or objective phenomenon and from narrow or broad perspective (Greig et al. 2007; Eskelinen 2009b). Rahnama (1992: 161) argues that global poverty is a modern, Eurocentric construct which groups entire nations together as 'poor', on the grounds that their overall income is insignificant in comparison with those dominating the world economy. This has led to a set of interventions, including the SAPs, which prescribed universal tools for addressing global poverty. Similarly, the PRSPs have produced a familiar neoliberal template which is applied across Africa (Steward & Wang 2003). However, such tools adhering to neoliberal tenets have been claimed to have led to the 'globalisation of poverty', that is to say creating even more poverty throughout the world (Chossudovsky 1999; Willis 2005; Graig & Porter 2006). From this it can be concluded that insufficient attention is paid to the process of 'impoverishment', which refers to the maintenance and reproduction of societal structures that feed global inequality (Wilska et al. 2004: 142).

Laderchi, Saith and Steward (2003), distinguish four major approaches to poverty, three of which have been specifically applied to developing countries. The monetary approach is the most commonly used and it is based on quantitative identification of a poverty line which differentiates the poor and the non-poor. For example, the World Bank defines poverty in absolute terms by focusing on individual income or consumption level, which in the case of the poor is less than US \$1,25 (previously \$1) per day. Even though such an indicator has been criticised for narrowness and inappropriateness in capturing deeper aspects and the heterogeneous nature of poverty, it dominates the poverty discourse in most international development agencies. In addi-

tion, the World Bank's poverty line (\$1) is the basis for measurement of the first Millennium Development Goal which aims to halve the population living in extreme poverty by 2015.

The capability approach was pioneered by Sen (1999), who emphasises the aspect of individual freedom to live a fulfilling life. It regards monetary income as an inadequate measure of well-being, and instead views poverty as the deprivation of basic capabilities. However, Sen (1999) does not provide a specific, universal list of the essential capabilities as they may differ across cultures and for different persons. Nevertheless, he recognizes that in dealing with poverty it is necessary to focus attention on certain centrally important functionings that are essential for survival and dignity, such as good nutritional status, good conditions of health, a good level of education, and self-respect (Chiappero-Martinetti & Moroni 2007: 370). This approach led to the development of the Human Poverty Index (HPI), which encompasses measures of literacy, life expectancy and standard of living. Different HPIs are used for developing and high income OECD countries whereas the Human Development Index (HDI) has been applied by UNDP since 1990 as a measure of socio-economic development for all countries of the world.

The participatory approach was originally developed by Chambers, who has pioneered several participatory research techniques (Chambers 1997, 2007). For example, the World Bank has used participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) since the 1990s in numerous developing countries to guide the PRSPs. PPA is defined as "an instrument for including poor people's views in the analysis of poverty and the formulation of strategies to reduce it through public policy" (Norton et al. 2001: 6). According to Chambers (2007: 143), PPAs have opened up aspects of poverty, which have been overlooked or given insufficient priority in traditional poverty analyses. These include differences between community-level poverty and household or individual poverty, the decline of traditional safety nets and local visions of poverty relating to prevailing community norms, among other aspects. It has been acknowledged that the participatory approach includes multiple dimensions and several of its aspects are contested. For example, the PPAs have been criticised because ultimately they have been interpreted by external 'professionals' and used for institutional purposes, while having little practi-

cal impact on the poverty situation at the local level (Laderchi et al. 2003: 25). Similarly, Graig and Porter (2006: 80) comment that PPAs add little wider analytical scope to the structural nature of poverty and they routinely exclude poor people's political organisations such as unions and parties. Nevertheless, Chambers (2007: 158) asserts that a new paradigm can be identified which advocates participation and pluralism of perceptions of poverty. The experience, conditions and realities of poor people, and their analysis of these, are at the core of the paradigm, instead of externally imposed poverty definitions and measures.

Especially towards the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the link between poverty reduction and tourism has been highlighted. According to the World Tourism Organisation (2004: 7), between 1990 and 2001 tourism has grown 110.9 percent in low income countries. Furthermore, Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 1) remark that tourists spend almost three times the level of official development assistance in developing countries and in this regard tourism has been described as the world's largest voluntary transfer of resources from rich to poor people. The World Tourism Organisation adopted the poverty reduction focus in its initiative called Sustainable Tourism – Elimination of Poverty (ST-EP), which was launched at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002. The aim of the initiative was to establish a foundation that would channel sustained resources for research and to support small and medium sized projects in order to benefit the poorest communities by enabling them to access sustainable livelihoods through engaging in tourism (UNWTO 2002: 15). In 2004 this was followed by a report called *Tourism and Poverty Alleviation – Recommendations for Action*, which provided more specific guidelines for private tourism enterprises to engage in pro-poor tourism activities (UNWTO 2004). Similarly, many tourism NGOs working in developing countries have adopted poverty reduction as one of their major goals (Kennedy & Dornan 2009).

According to Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin (2000: 1-2), tourism as a sector for pro-poor economic growth has several advantages. First of all, a tourist comes to the destination and provides opportunities for selling additional goods and services. Secondly, tourism can diversify local economies including those of marginal areas with few other export and diversification options. Thirdly, tourism offers labour-intensive and

small-scale opportunities with low barriers to entry compared with other non-agricultural activities, in addition employing a comparably higher proportion of women than other sectors. The World Tourism Organisation (2004: 10) has further listed that many developing countries have a comparative advantage over the Northern industrialised countries in terms of climate, wildlife, landscape and cultural diversity. In addition, the infrastructure required by tourism such as transport, communication, water supply and sanitation can also benefit poorer communities. Finally, apart from providing material benefits tourism may enhance cultural pride and greater environmental awareness as well as lead to reduced vulnerability through diverse income sources. According to Ashley and Elliott (2003: 5), tourism can be both a motor of macro-growth and a means of delivering pro-poor local growth without necessarily having to choose one or the other.

### **Pro-poor tourism**

The discourse on tourism and poverty reduction led to the creation of a concept of 'pro-poor tourism' which was originally launched by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) in 1999, following a report that was compiled for DFID by Deloitte and Touche, the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) (1999). Pro-poor tourism is defined as "tourism that generates net benefits for the poor" (Roe & Urquhart 2001: 2). It is not a specific tourism product or an alternative type of tourism but an overall approach to the entire tourism industry. The approach includes increasing the access of the poor to the economic benefits of tourism and addressing the negative social and environmental impacts associated with tourism. In addition, these aspects are promoted in the policy framework by increasing the participation of the poor in tourism planning processes and encouraging partnerships between the private sector and poor people (Ashley & Roe 2002: 62). Most research related to the concept has been carried out by the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership which is a collaborative research initiative of the International Centre for Responsible Tourism (ICRT), IIED and ODI. The promoters of pro-poor tourism acknowledge that it overlaps with other similar concepts such as

sustainable tourism and community-based tourism but emphasise the difference that pro-poor tourism has made the delivery of net benefits to the poor at all levels a goal in itself (Ashley & Roe 2002: 63). Zhao and Ritchie (2007: 11) take the concept even further by proposing a new research framework called 'anti-poverty tourism' (APT) which refers to any tourism development in which poverty alleviation is set as a central or one of the central objectives. The central themes to be studied in APT are destination competitiveness, local participation and destination sustainability.

In their recent title *Tourism and poverty reduction. Pathways to prosperity* (2010), Mitchell and Ashley of the UK based Overseas Development Institute propose three pathways to study the benefits the poor can acquire from tourism. The first pathway is direct effects of tourism on the poor, such as labour income and other earnings. However, the concept of labour income involves a controversial aspect. On the one hand, it is claimed that in some developing countries hotel and other construction sites create significant pro-poor income as the majority of the workers represent the poorest segments of society (Mitchell & Ashley 2010: 77). On the other hand, the poorest are often in a weak position to bargain for higher salaries and other workers' rights and this tends to leave them vulnerable to exploitation. In this sense, pro-poor tourism differs from fair trade tourism which pays attention not only to fair salaries but also to fair working conditions in the destination (FITSA 2010). Non-labour income includes collective income to communities who lease land, cooperate with private enterprises or practice community-based tourism. In addition, non-labour income includes philanthropic flows from national parks and private enterprises exercising Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Finally, direct effects similarly include non-financial livelihood changes such as improved infrastructure and services, access to skills, networks and markets, as well as new channels for community organisation.

The second pathway is secondary, indirect benefit flows from tourism to the poor. These can be estimated through induced impacts which occur through supply chains in tourism and when tourism workers spend their wages in the economy. The former takes place when the poor sell their products and services to the tourism enterprises operating in their vicinity. These include, for example, accommodation, catering, construction, furnishing, gardening, transportation and laundry services. The income

earned from such supply chains can be described as 'pro poor flows' (Ashley & Hayson 2008: 130). What distinguishes pro poor flows from 'inter-sectoral linkages', which similarly refer to the supply chains, is the emphasis given to the proportion of poor among those who provide the supplies (Ashley & Hayson 2008: 130). However, there are multiple challenges in making the local supply match with required standards and punctuality in order to bridge the gap between small-scale tourism products and the international market (UNWTO 2004; Van der Duim & Caalders 2008). Torres and Momsen (2004: 311) remark that ethnic and class differences between the local producers and the purchasers in the tourism industry may hamper equality in negotiations and cause misunderstandings. Furthermore, there are ethical considerations concerning, for example, sex workers. According to Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 72) that is an important pro-poor flow but sex tourism itself reflects persisting inequalities in host societies and unequal power relations between tourists and the prostitutes. The World Tourism Organisation has prepared detailed guidelines for tourism enterprises for establishing and maintaining local supply chains. These include improving information networks and setting ambitions and standards for the supplies, as well as providing assistance for the suppliers to improve the quality and capacity of their production (UNWTO 2004: 21).

The third pathway to estimate the role of tourism in poverty reduction is through dynamic effects on macro and local economies. According to Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 87), there is virtually no assessment of how dynamic effects specifically impact the poor. Nevertheless, they may encompass substantial benefits to the poor and therefore they are important to include in the analysis of tourism and poverty reduction. The dynamic effects include improvements in infrastructure and possibilities for human resource development. For example, road networks in rural areas may be improved due to tourism, and this may increase farmers' ability to transport their products to markets. An important component of tourism is tax revenue to the government but the impact of this on the poor depends on the effectiveness of redistributive policies. Furthermore, tourism may lead to changes in the entire production structure of a local economy, which may involve both positive and negative changes from the perspective of the poor. On the one hand, there may be encouragement to entrepreneurship and the development of SMEs, since tourism tends to support the discovery of new products and

exports. On the other hand, a tourist boom may result in a surge of foreign currency that can cause the appreciation of the external value of the domestic currency, making exports less competitive. Similarly, a tourist boom can cause an increase in domestic prices.

### **Market vs. structural approach to poverty**

The pro-poor tourism approach can be criticised for being based on pro-poor growth ideology, according to which economic growth is seen as directly benefitting the poor in a society (Dollar & Kraay 2002; Scheyvens 2007; Harrison 2008; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Clancy 2011). The dominant poverty agenda places emphasis on the market as the key medium for poverty reduction and has failed to address exogenous factors that maintain poverty, such as finance or trade policies, global inequalities or donor responsibility in ensuring aid effectiveness and resource adequacy (Storey et al. 2005: 35). This results from the overriding influence of the international financial institutions on the poverty agenda (Graig & Porter 2006). Similarly, Gould (2005a: 142) points out that within the prevailing framework poverty is posited as technical problem which can be solved through domestic budgetary choices, instead of paying attention to external economic issues and fundamental economic mechanisms such as productivity of labour and patterns of accumulation. Jamieson and Nadkarni (2009: 118) remind us that even if pro-poor tourism is advocated as an approach, few if any tourism and poverty officials have any education or training in using tourism as a poverty reduction tool. Furthermore, the areas with the highest levels of poverty often lack the necessary transportation and communications infrastructure essential to meeting the needs of the tourism industry.

Schilcher (2007: 60) points out that pro-poor tourism should not be about the industry but the needs of the 'poor', who should be enabled to decide on their development priorities. As Butcher (2003: 129) remarks: "Rather than constituting an attempt to liberate people from the constraints of their environment, pro-poor tourism organises around these constraints". For example, Mitchell, Keane and Laidlaw (2009) claim that 28 percent of the expenditure of climbers to Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanzania



is pro-poor and 60 percent of the pro-poor benefits accrue to the climbing staff as wages and tips. Such figures may appear impressive but the pro-poor impact may be undermined by widespread exploitation of the porters. This includes poor working conditions, overloading them, tips and wages being retained by the tour operators and poor implementation of minimum wages (Mitchell et al. 2009; Kilimanjaro Porters Assistance Project 2010). Schilcher (2007: 74) similarly points to a micro-macro dichotomy common in pro-poor and sustainable tourism approaches, which define both the problem and solutions from a global perspective while failing to address the concepts at the micro level. In similar vein, Chock, Macbeth and Warren (2007: 80) remark that the pro-poor tourism agenda appears to be largely dictated by corporate and bureaucratic interests whose focus is garnering political support for tourism as a policy priority. Jamieson and Nadkarni (2009: 117) suggest that the term pro-poor tourism could be replaced with the term 'tourism as a tool for development' (TT4D) as a more contemporary, robust and politically correct term which traces its roots to a more anachronistic development vocabulary. They argue that TT4D should be viewed not as charity but as a business intervention by benign intermediaries, seeking to optimize economic as well as social returns on their investment (Jamieson & Nadkarni 2009: 119). The latter is what differentiates benign intermediaries from their pure commercial counterparts.

Finally, lacking from the entire discourse on pro-poor tourism is a more thorough focus on how to define the 'poor'. The basic assumption of a homogeneous group of 'poor and marginalised people' in developing countries, common to pro-poor tourism and other pro-poor economic growth models, reflects a highly biased, and often Eurocentric, attitude and a lack of thorough understanding of the political, cultural and economic stratification as well as geographical differences within the societies in developing countries. In the recent studies on pro-poor tourism the poor encompass a variety of groups from unskilled to semi-skilled workers and from the entire informal sector, including SMEs, to those living under US\$ 1 per day (Mitchell & Ashley 2010). However, when discussing pro-poor impacts of tourism it is important to distinguish whether the poor include all semi-skilled workers and SMEs or only the most marginalised people with the lowest income levels. This exemplifies the relative nature of the concept of poverty. Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 34) remark that even though many non-

management tourism workers are poor in international terms, they are often not the poorest in their own countries.

As poverty reduction is one of the Namibian tourism policy's development goals, its practical relevance and relation to the realities of the studied tourism enterprises is of specific interest in this study. This calls for comparison between different conceptualisations of poverty in the Namibian context and critical analysis of poverty in various geographical and socio-cultural settings. In addition, the role of tourism in poverty reduction involves a question of who is responsible for poverty reduction measures, which in turn is related to aspects of power. Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 103) remark that few of the previous studies on tourism and poverty reduction differentiate between different segments across the tourism sector. Therefore, the closer analysis of this study of the differences between private and community-based tourism enterprises is important.

## Economic contributions, values and responsibilities

Tourism is inherently an economic activity and accordingly, the Namibian government perceives tourism primarily as a trade and export commodity which is expected to bring revenue. As indicated in the Third National Development Plan and the tourism policy, the government has a strong interest in earning foreign exchange from tourism and in realising its potential as a major contributor to Namibia's economic growth (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 4; Republic of Namibia 2008: 125). In addition, tourism is expected to have an extensive multiplier effect, and deliver jobs and income beyond the areas directly benefitting from tourism (Ministry of Environment and Tourism (2008: 4). Multiplier effect refers to the amount of new economic activity generated as basic income from a tourism activity circulates through the economy (Goeldner et al. 2000: 420-421). In other words, tourism is supposed to increase demand for various services, which should in turn stimulate employment and increase the circulation of money at national and local levels. Such services include accommodation, restaurants, transport, entertainment and financial services.

Even though Namibia's economic growth has averaged 4.7 percent, it is claimed not to have met the demands of rapid population increase and high unemployment (Dubresson & Graefe 2001: 54; Republic of Namibia 2008). Despite a -0.7 per cent growth rate of 2009 following the recent global recession, the estimated growth rate for 2010 is 4.2 percent (Bank of Namibia 2010: 6). Namibia claims to have pro-poor economic growth, where development in the rural areas is given high priority and specific attention is paid to poverty, unemployment and persisting disparities (Republic of Namibia 2006a). However, as Thirlwall (2002) claims, economic growth does not necessarily mean economic or social development. For example, a study of the last 15 national budget allocations reveals that more resources have been allocated to defence, security and intelligence, whereas finance for education, health and housing has declined (Mbai & Sherbourne 2004). Melber (2007: 115) remarks that despite the praise given by international financial institutions and foreign investors for Namibia's attractive and competitive tax system, the system has failed to induce redistribution of wealth

in a meaningful way. Nevertheless, in the 2009/10 budget, education received the largest share of public spending, which was 21.3 percent (Institute of Public Policy Research 2009: 7). Similarly, spending on social security has increased in the form of pensions, child welfare grants and a government medical scheme (Sherbourne 2009: 46).

Tourism in Namibia is private sector driven and private enterprises are expected to play a key role in enhancing economic growth. They represent the country's formal economy which is based mainly on export-oriented primary sector activities such as mining, fisheries, commercial agriculture and a fast growing service sector. However, the Namibian economy also consists of a large informal sector and subsistence agriculture. (Hansohm 2000; Republic of Namibia 2008: 57). Despite the local economic importance of the informal economy especially in many developing countries, it is usually omitted from official economic calculations (Ulvila & Pasanen 2009). This applies also to Namibia where the informal sector is undervalued, although there is a rapid increase in small enterprises (Dahl & Mohamed 2002). For example, community-based tourism such as craft production has significant local economic importance, even though it is characterised as representing the informal sector (Labour Research and Resource Institute 2004: 2).

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the studied enterprises as economic actors in the tourism sector and to discuss the different economic opportunities they entail at national, regional and local levels. The private tourism enterprises function as professional actors in mainstream tourism which is based on consumption of formal and well established tourism products. Furthermore, their values are mainly individualistic and they adhere to the concept of entrepreneurship, which is associated with competitive advantage, increased productivity and wealth creation through profits (Luke et al. 2007: 312). The private enterprises acknowledge their substantial role in the formal economy. The community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs), on the other hand, operate mainly in the informal sector in rural communal areas and they represent different socio-cultural contexts and more communal value systems. As a result their members perceive the economic contribution of the enterprises primarily as immediate support to local economic needs. Even though this appears to conflict with the sustainability of tourism as an economic activity, it directly promotes the social aspects of sustainable

development such as satisfaction of basic needs and improvement of quality of life. Therefore, the two types of enterprises complement each other in the effort to promote sustainable development.

The chapter starts by looking at the perceived role of private enterprises in contributing to economic growth in Namibia. Thereafter the chapter illustrates how the CBTEs operate and how their representatives perceive the local economic contributions. The discussion also concerns the Namibian government which derives substantial revenue from tourism. In principle, the government is supposed to direct part of the tourism revenue to enhance social development in different regions. This would be at the core of sustainable development. Furthermore, the tourism policy acknowledges the government's role in promoting tourism and ensuring an appropriate infrastructure and investment climate (Ministry of Environment and tourism 2008). However, as this and the following chapters illustrate, the performance of the Namibian government and regional authorities is contested as regards the role they have played in both tourism and social development.

### *Contributions and complaints of private enterprises*

The studied private enterprises represent different actors of the Namibian economy, such as large domestic and international chains, family enterprises and small enterprises. Most of their representatives perceive the concept of economic growth in an orthodox way which reflects their living and involvement in the modern cash economy. The informants are eager to list various factors through which they contribute to the national and the regional economy (see table 5). This is not surprising since tourism is their major livelihood and obviously they want to prove to a foreign researcher that they are an important part of the Namibian tourism industry. However, two farm owners consider tourism a volatile sector and therefore prefer to keep cattle in addition to organising trophy hunting.

*Table 5. Economic contributions of the private tourism enterprises*

| <b>Type of economic contribution</b> | <b>Trophy hunting farms</b>  | <b>Lodges</b>  | <b>Tour operators</b>  |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Tax revenue                          | Tax revenue from accommodation<br>Tax revenue from purchase of foodstuffs and beverages  | Tax revenue from accommodation<br>Tax revenue from purchase of foodstuffs and beverages                                    | Tax revenue from tours and purchased products and services   |
| Marketing and investment             | Marketing through internet, brochures and international trophy hunting conventions<br>Investments in infrastructure and purchase of equipment and building materials | Marketing through internet and brochures<br>Investments in infrastructure and purchase of equipment and building materials | Marketing through internet, brochures and international tourism trade fairs<br>Investments in vehicles and expansion of services |
| Tourist spending                     | Spending of the hunters on farm, tours after hunting and souvenirs   | Spending of the tourists on services and souvenirs   | Spending of the tourists on services and souvenirs   |
| Use of other services                | Air Namibia<br>Taxidermists and shipping agents for trophies<br>Accommodation and restaurants in the tours   | Tour operators and travel agencies   | Car rental companies<br>Accommodation and restaurants  |

The private tourism entrepreneurs highlight tax revenue as an important economic output, although one of them claims not to pay taxes because the government is alleged not to fulfil its responsibilities either towards the tourism sector or towards the majority of the population. The tax revenue accumulates directly from the offered services and indirectly from the purchased products. The trophy hunting farms are aware of their economic significance in the tourism industry. In fact, trophy hunters often pay higher fees per client than conventional tourists (Lindsey et al 2007: 456). In 2005, trophy hunting generated N\$ 316 million and contributed 2.3 percent to Namibia's GDP (Metzger 2008). In the past few years, the annual growth rate of the sector has been around 12 percent and Namibia attracts the second largest number of hunters from abroad in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa (Lindsey et al. 2007: 460; Metzger 2008).

Similarly, private lodges are an important part of the accommodation sector which accounts for the great majority of all tourism related businesses in Namibia (Turpie et al. 2004: 11). However, taxes and different fees paid to the government are not only regarded as a positive contribution but also as a burden. The owner of Livingstone Lodge lists the fees he is obliged to pay: *“Through Namibia Tourism Board we pay the bed levies, registration fees, your boats have to be registered, your licences for fishermen go to the regional authority, the regional authority get money for each and every tourist that I take out in a boat, then of course there is the tax you pay.”* Furthermore, through their economic contribution, such as the tourism levy, the private enterprises expect the Namibia Tourism Board (NTB) to market Namibia effectively as a tourist destination. However, the private entrepreneurs express dissatisfaction with the NTB and feel that they fulfil what is considered the government’s responsibility by marketing Namibia as a country in addition to their own enterprises.

The trophy hunting farms’ main marketing channels are international trophy hunting conventions and the internet. The farms are more dependent on marketing since, unlike normal guest farms; they are not open to anybody and accommodation must be booked in advance. The owner of Kudu Safaris describes the impact of marketing on the Namibian economy: *“Let’s say our marketing budget is 70 000 N\$, then I would say 80-90 percent of that money is spent locally on flight tickets, brochures, websites, stall and decorations for the stall. Most of that money is spent locally. So it’s a big circle.”* Each farm builds its own marketing stall at the trophy hunting conventions, where interested clients can acquire information and make direct bookings with the farm owners. Similarly, the lodges in the Caprivi and Kavango regions claim that they market not only their farms but the regions as a whole, which they consider underrepresented in the marketing of NTB. On the other hand, the situation has led to closer cooperation among local enterprises to market the regions as a tourist destination. The Caprivi Promotional Project has created two publications entirely funded by private enterprises (Caprivi Promotional Project 2006, 2008).

Unlike the farms and lodges, the tour operators have less capacity and funds for marketing and therefore they are marketed by the Namibia Community Based Tourism Assistance Trust (NACOBTA) through brochures and in tourism trade fairs. Tour

operators qualify as members of NACOBTA if they involve community-based tourism products in their tours and require assistance in their establishment in the tourism sector (Katjiuongua 2008). However, all the studied tour operators practice additional marketing by themselves through the internet. Similarly, two of them have been sponsored to attend international tourism trade fairs. Although all the studied tour operators are well established and have managed to identify their customer groups, their owners point out that it is more difficult for them to compete with larger enterprises due to the inequality in marketing assets.

### **Investments and multiplier effects**

All the studied private enterprises are in a process of investing and diversifying their services in terms of developing the basic infrastructure, such as building new or better accommodation facilities, purchasing vehicles and other equipment and expanding their available services. For example, at the time of the first fieldwork all the three farms were in the process of expansion by building either new accommodation facilities, slaughter houses or other structures and improving the game management facilities such as water points for the animals. Due to the pressure on land reform, the farm owners partly justify their land ownership through their economic contribution in the tourism sector. Despite their fears of possible land appropriation by the Namibian government, the farm owners continue to invest their income in the farms. Two farm owners expressed their serious concern about the appropriation of white owned farms in Zimbabwe. Even though such cases are rare in Namibia, a number of white owned farms have been expropriated since 2004 as part of the commercial land reform (Von Wietersheim 2008). The appropriation is not only an economic issue, but involves emotional aspects. For example, Jagdfarm Omaruru was originally bought by the relatives of the current owners in 1907 and has since remained in the ownership of the same family. As in Kudu Safaris, the owners of Jagdfarm Omaruru hope that their children will be able to take over the farm after their retirement. According to Von Wietershaim (2008), most of the white farm owners have strong generational ties to their land, feeling that they belong to it and regarding it as their 'home'.



The private entrepreneurs highlight the multiplier effect of their enterprises and link the required ancillary services to their economic contribution. The farm owners emphasise that due to the increasing demand in the trophy hunting sector, investments have similarly led to the creation of other required services such as taxidermists, which prepare the skins and the trophies. Furthermore, the farm owners encourage their hunters to tour the country after hunting and to purchase Namibian souvenirs. The owner of Kudu Safaris explains: *"It's not a matter of getting people to spend all their money at your place and then go back. This country has so much to offer, we don't just market ourselves, we market the country."* In similar vein, the tour operators and lodges highlight their contribution through the multiplier effect and through the spending of tourists.



*Picture 1. Preparing the trophy animals' skins, horns and other parts for display is important business for taxidermists.*

Since trophy hunting is an expensive activity, the farms attract up-market tourists who are claimed to spend approximately US\$ 10 000 per person for a trip. The lodges and tour operators, on the other hand, attract a larger variety of clients consisting of both up-market tourists and budget travellers. However, the lodges are concerned about South African self drive tourists who make up a substantial proportion of people visiting the Kavango and Caprivi regions. They are claimed to be mainly drawn to the regions by the rivers, where they practice catch and release fishing, and often stay in

areas which are not demarcated campsites in order to avoid the camping fees. Furthermore, they carry most of their food and drinks from South Africa, which reduces the local economic benefits of their visits (Asheeke & Katjiuongua 2007: 39). Some lodge owners claim that as a result of former South African military activity in the Caprivi region several South Africans still regard it as their 'backyard'. This is confirmed by Matengu's (2008) study on lodge owners' perceptions of the Caprivi region as a tourist destination. In addition to their direct economic contribution, the private enterprises make use of other tourism related services which they consider a similarly important contribution. Two of the tour operators do not yet possess their own vehicles, instead hiring the vehicles from car rental companies for every tour. In addition, one of the farms is enthusiastic about promoting Air Namibia as a national airline in order to bring more economic benefits from tourism to the country. For the farm owner, it is not only a matter of favouring the domestic airline for economic reasons but a matter of pride.

### *Economic contributions and social responsibilities in community-based tourism*

Community-based tourism can be regarded as a practical intervention to reduce the inequality of the Namibian tourism sector. Although CBTEs contribute to national economic growth through attracting visitors, spending the derived income and cooperation with the private sector, they are first and foremost expected to contribute to local economies, especially in communal areas, by providing employment opportunities and sources of income. However, this is based on the assumption that they function as business entities, the aim of which is to attract customers for properly designed and marketed tourism products. If the tourism product is not well designed or the quality is low, private tourism enterprises are likely neither to market it nor to bring customers to consume the product (Asheeke & Katjiuongua 2007). All this requires basic under-

standing of the tourism system<sup>12</sup>, but such awareness appears to be limited among the studied CBTEs. Furthermore, Asheeke and Katjiuongua (2007: 21) point out that rural communities engaged in tourism may not understand the risks involved in entrepreneurial activities and the time lag involved before a new venture becomes profitable.

It is important to bear in mind that the idea of turning hospitality into a commercial product that is part of the cash economy is relatively new to many rural residents in southern Africa. This is emphasised by Symonds (2008), who has an extensive experience with CBTEs in Namibia: *"You are trying to engage these people from a farming background who can barely read and write, and you expect them to run a business!"* This is similarly the case in other parts of the developing world. For example, Suntikul, Bauer and Song (2009: 12) have studied rural communities in Laos and found out that villagers have offered tourists food and drinks and showed them around the local attractions but the hosts refuse payment for these services because such hospitality is part of their culture. Nevertheless, Becker (2009: 110) argues that the very intent of CBT is to guide the rural residents away from the conditions of subsistence agriculture towards participation in the regional economic cycles of production, consumption, demand and supply markets that eventually link with domestic urban centres.

One of the solutions to bridge the gap of inadequate business skills in rural communities is the formation of partnerships between local communities and the private sector. Out of the studied CBTEs, Kongola campsite was engaged in two different partnerships and Damara Restcamp was in a negotiation with a private partner to establish a joint venture lodge. Such partnerships have become increasingly common in Namibia and they are formal schemes, contracts and agreements between a private enterprise and a community which usually refers to a conservancy or village (Roe et al. 2001: 11; Iihuhwa 2008). The aim of the partnerships is to increase the efficiency of tourism activities and lead to fairer distribution of revenues among rural communities (Lapeyre 2009a: 654). Out of all the income earned in Namibian communal conservancies in 2009, more than 70 percent already came from partnerships with the private sector (NACSO 2010: 30). These include, for example, joint venture lodges, campsites and trophy hunting. However, Lapeyre (2009b) demonstrates that private investors perceive

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<sup>12</sup> See figure 1 in the introductory chapter.

current tender processes for partnerships time consuming and cumbersome. In addition, the financial risk involved is perceived as high which has resulted in a limited interest among private partners in establishing new partnerships.

Whether CBTEs function alone or in partnerships a number of factors are crucial for their ability to contribute to local economies. Manyara and Jones (2007: 641) suggest critical factors for the success of CBTEs, such as awareness and sensitisation, community empowerment, leadership, capacity building and an appropriate policy framework. In the interviews with the studied CBTEs, the economic contribution was related to the perceived responsibility of the CBTEs to enhance the social development of the communities concerned. In the craft centres this takes place through direct income to the craft producers, but some CBTEs regard community development as their major focus, to be funded with the income from tourism. In the interviews and observations, donor involvement and marketing appear to closely relate to the ability of the CBTEs to function successfully and contribute to the communities.

### **Donor involvement: Dependency versus self confidence**

Donor organisations tend to play a specific role in the establishment of CBTEs in terms of drafting business plans, setting up basic infrastructure and training the staff with adequate skills (Ndjavera 2007; Symonds 2008; Lapeyre 2011). Therefore, donor involvement may be crucial for the success of CBTEs, which is often a prerequisite for wider support for the enterprise among community members. All the studied CBTEs have received donor support in the aforementioned fields from various Namibian and foreign development and conservation NGOs. However, at the moment of the fieldwork all the CBTEs, except Kongola campsite and Linyati Craft Centre, were financially self sustainable. On the other hand, this does not mean that they do not require external support in other forms. In fact, institutional support and capacity building seem to be needed even if financial self-sustainability is achieved.

In the Caprivi region, a conservation NGO called Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) provides substantial financial and technical support for local conservancies and CBTEs. For example, the organisation has played a major

role in establishing Chobe Craft Market, which was initially a craft selling point under a large tree. The organisation supported the construction of a shelter for the crafts and this was eventually upgraded into a lockable market. In addition, IRDNC assisted the centre to organise itself as a formal organisation with a constitution and management committee. Even though after 15 years Chobe Craft Market appears as a properly functioning and economically successful CBTE, the manager is convinced that the market cannot manage without IRDNC support. He explains that the role of IRDNC is more that of a higher institution which assists the centre in difficult situations: *"If there is a big problem we can ask them to assist us. We don't know whether we will be able to manage the difficult issues"*. The difficulties he refers to are the occasionally poor relationship between the management committee and the staff and the presence of committee members who are not committed to their positions and tasks. Similarly, IRDNC support is regarded as necessary in Linyati Craft Centre, as described by the community resource monitor: *"If they leave us I don't know if we can manage to maintain this market"*. The centre was built as a community effort but the craft producers received practical and institutional training from the Rössing Foundation, which is the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) body of Rössing Uranium mining company<sup>13</sup>. The manager's complaint may, of course, have been influenced by the informant's expectation that I as a foreigner would have some connections to the donors.

IRDNC has equally assisted Kongola campsite in preparing a business plan for a new campsite that is to be funded by a trophy hunting company with which the conservancy has a partnership agreement. The building process has taken several years and it has faced various difficulties, including the resistance of five families scheduled for relocation from the area where the campsite was to be built. It appears that the conservancy and campsite representatives are not in a hurry with the new campsite and that they have confidently left the matter to those whom they perceive to have more knowledge and understanding of tourism, such as IRDNC and the trophy hunting company. The conservancy manager is comfortable with such an arrangement: *"We have even seen that through the trophy hunters our campsite will be having a high market, because the hunters who will be camping - they will still sell our campsite overseas when they go home"*. However, the

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<sup>13</sup> The Rössing Foundation was established in 1978 and its CSR activities include support to Namibia's CBNRM programme and local craft producers' associations.

trophy hunters have an exclusive right to occupy the new campsite during the best tourist season from July to November. The conservancy representatives seem not to understand that there is little market for the campsite during the low season, a period of heavy rain and flooding of the river. Few visitors come to the Caprivi region during the rainy season, when there is an increased malaria risk and several roads and places become difficult to access.

In all the three mentioned CBTEs there seems to be a certain lack of self confidence, which is reflected in their perceived continuous need for external support and intervention. It is easier to let the so called experts take the leading role in making difficult decisions and enterprise development than to carry the full responsibility at a community level. Such passivity apparently derives from colonial policies, but it may also be related to a perceived inability to run a tourism enterprise. In the case of Kongola campsite the involvement of IRDNC is also a matter of authority. All the decisions concerning the campsite are carried out at the conservancy committee which is elected every three years. However, the conservancy manager explains that the members usually vote for elderly men as they are traditionally regarded to possess more experience and wisdom and therefore respected as reliable decision makers. In fact their experience and knowledge of tourism is often even more limited than that of the younger generation, as explained by the manager: *"Yes, but we just don't know who will come to the new committee, they are the people who can kill the future of the conservancy. If they come from the village attitude, it is difficult for them to understand"*. Since IRDNC is listened to and respected by the conservancy committee its presence may ensure that more experienced views on tourism development in the conservancy are taken into account.

The above indicates that donor involvement includes a danger of donor dependency, which may reduce the economic sustainability and institutional capacity of CBTEs. This implies that after a tourism enterprise has been established it fails to run the operational phase without a continuation of either financial or technical support. One of the reasons for this is claimed to be the fact that most donors to community-based tourism and CBNRM projects are primarily conservation organisations, which are geared to conservation and rural development instead of having a business approach (Asheeke 2008; Dixey 2008; Lapeyre 2011). Other possible reasons include high

staff turnover in some CBTEs, poor management and unequal power relations within the community or between the community and donors or private partners.

Okavango Craft Centre and Damara Restcamp are at the opposite ends of the donor involvement spectrum. They have actively sought donor funding but their key figures seem to possess the self confidence to criticise the donors' views and even to defy their advice. Okavango Craft Centre was first established by ten local artists as an arts association and since then it has received support from various NGOs. In 2003 a foreign development NGO assisted in upgrading the craft centre and organised workshops in entrepreneurial skills and designing for craft producers. However, the donor had a strong vision as to how Okavango Craft Centre should be developed and the project manager enforced a number of changes contrary to the association's needs and aspirations. For example, the donor did not want the centre to be a member of NACOBTA and it prohibited any cooperation with the lodges, as explained by the centre's manager: *"I have approached most of the lodges and they like the idea. But the problem is [the donor]. They don't want us to do it. The problem is they are not artists so they can't see how we need to co-operate with the lodges."* This was interesting since cooperation with the lodges would have been an avenue of increasing the sales through new customers and effective marketing.

Damara Restcamp is another example of a well established CBTE which has received financial and technical support from various NGOs. For example, a craft centre located at the restcamp was built with the support of a Namibian NGO, which also trained local women in various craft production and sewing skills. Several of the employees, such as managers, kitchen staff and tour guides have attended courses which have been sponsored by NGOs and private tourism enterprises. Both consecutive managers of the restcamp express a number of visions as to how they want to develop and diversify the restcamp's services and what the possible sources of funding for such improvements could be.

Self confidence may assist CBTEs to develop and to search for and choose the types of partners with whom they wish to cooperate. On the other hand, self confidence may be restricted to a few powerful individuals who have more knowledge and experience of tourism or entrepreneurial activities. Such individuals may blend business

management with prevailing power hierarchies, which tend to run counter to the aspirations for democratic benefit sharing of the donors. For example, the management practices of Damara Restcamp have been a concern of several donor NGOs (Louis 2007). This is pointed out by Ndjavera (2007) who is a business advisor at NACOBTA: *“We have trained them a lot, - we put a lot of money into it but we couldn’t improve the management situation because of their traditional ways of doing things.”*

### **Marketing the tourism product**

Even though the studied CBTEs have their established tourism products (see appendix 4), none of them practice active marketing on their own, unlike the private enterprises. Instead, they are marketed through the website and brochures of NACOBTA. In addition, the CBTEs in Caprivi are marketed through IRDNC and the Caprivi Promotional Project. The marketing and bookings of Kongola campsite are carried out by a local tour operator called Tutwa Tourism & Travel as a partnership agreement where the conservancy pays a commission for Tutwa on every client. However, the owner of Tutwa points out that the people in the conservancy originally opposed the idea of a commission, as they do not understand how much work, effort and money must be spent in effective marketing before clients start to book the campsite. She further comments that people working in community campsites do not understand the business principles of tourism and required punctuality. At times, the campsite personnel have not even been present on a day and time that she has agreed to bring them clients. (Sharpe 2007). Nevertheless, the conservancy manager at Kongola campsite appears to understand the relationships between well marketed tourism products and economic benefits: *“If we receive more tourists, then they will bring foreign currency in our country. That would help the country and the conservancy itself. If they come in large numbers then the money that we distribute to our people, it also increases.”*

Craft production in Namibia has undergone a change so that traditionally domestic items are increasingly being produced for the tourism market. The craft producers may still produce similar items for home consumption or for sale, but the difference is that crafts for sale involve higher aesthetic requirements in order to become marketable.



ble. The craft centres in Caprivi cooperate with Omba Trust which was formed in 2006 to coordinate the efforts to support craft production in Namibia and to offer trading channels for Namibian arts and crafts (Le Roux 2008). Omba Trust therefore markets the crafts to a wider clientele through its members, these being Omba Gallery, Namibia Craft Centre and Mud Hut Trading. The latter exports Namibian arts and crafts to several countries based on fair trade principles. However, the producers in Caprivi have difficulties complying with the quality requirements of the wholesalers, as explained by the community resource monitor of Linyati Craft Centre: *“Even now we are having an order but it’s very hard to meet the needs with those people from Omba. We sent some baskets and they said that the 20 they have agreed but other 17 baskets could be back, they are not so nice”*<sup>14</sup>. Le Roux (2008) of the Omba Gallery elaborates that since tourists visiting Caprivi are often willing to buy the lower quality products the craft producers do not see the need to produce better quality. Nevertheless, all the craft centres apply a grading system to assure high quality. When the craft producers bring their products to the centres the producer, manager and a committee member scrutinise the products’ size, neatness, design and the materials used. The producers are provided training in how to ensure good quality products (see figure 4). Based on the examination, the product is provided a grade from A to D, grade A being of the highest quality and that which deserves the highest price. However, even if high quality is achieved, another challenge for craft producers is the lack of new designs and ideas in order to improve and diversify the products (Le Roux 2008; Symonds 2008). This is particularly a problem of rural communal areas, whereas in larger towns there are high quality art and craft designers whose products are exported to a number of countries (Le Roux 2008).

Forstner (2004) illustrates the challenges of marketing in community-based tourism. According to her, the distance from markets appears to be the major issue in CBT. This refers not only to physical distance, but to ‘socially and culturally determined distance’ between rural service providers and their markets (Forstner 2004: 500). The latter distance is the difference between the socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of local communities and their international visitors. In Namibia, tour operators control

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<sup>14</sup> This means that out of the 20 baskets sent to the Omba Gallery only three were of the required quality.



*Picture 2. New designs improve the access of locally produced baskets to markets outside the local craft centres.*

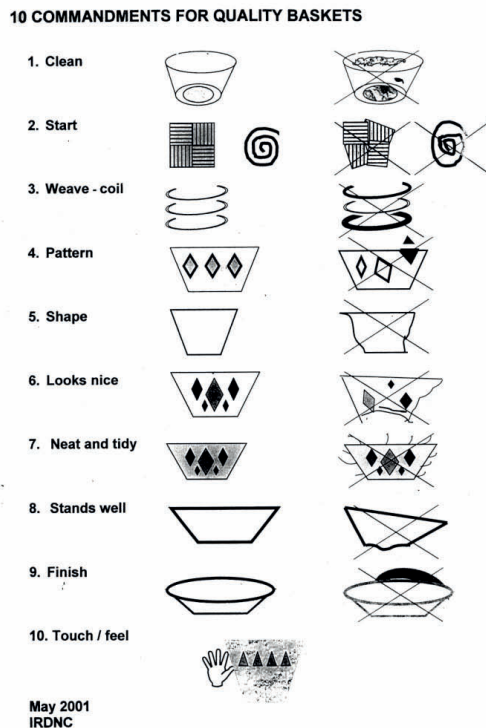
most tourist flows and for this reason the marketing of CBT should involve establishment of commercial networks with the operators. This is rarely the case in CBTEs, which limits their potential to attract significant tourist numbers. (Lapeyre 2010: 767). Finally, an important aspect related to the need for marketing is the location of CBTEs. For example, Chobe Craft Centre is ideally located at a junction where people turn onto a road that leads to several national parks and lodges. Kongola campsite is in the opposite situation, as it is neither visible nor close to a main road and there are no private tourism enterprises in its vicinity.

Naturally, the concept of marketing is rather abstract and not all the informants, including some managers, understand what it entails. Symonds (2008) explains that people do not understand the need for marketing; instead they expect people to come to them.<sup>15</sup> However, it was important to discuss marketing, especially in those CBTEs which complained about the lack of customers and consequent limited eco-

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<sup>15</sup> It is important to note that rural or farm-based tourism enterprises even in European countries tend to have similarly inadequate skills and resources for effective marketing (Sharpley & Vass 2006: 1043).

conomic benefits. In each craft centre I tried to approach the topic more concretely by asking if they advertise the crafts to the nearby lodges. This could take place by placing some of the crafts for sale in the lodges or asking them to advertise the location of the centres. However, this appears not to be a high priority, except in Okavango Craft Centre.



*Figure 4. 10 commandments for producing quality baskets with illustrative pictures.*

Source: IRDNC office, Katima Mulilo.

Apart from Okavango Craft Centre, the centres do not organise workshops where tourists can see how the crafts are produced, even though this could be used as a marketing tool. For example, in her PhD study Miettinen (2007) studied tourists' reflections on their personal experience of craft production in Namibia and found that such encounters are highly valued by tourists. According to Miettinen (2007: 238), the personal encounter, or seeing the production process, attaches a greater positive meaning to the products they buy. However, Paxton (2008), who has several years' experience of

working with rural craft producers, explains that such workshops are difficult to organise, especially with women, since they tend to be busy with agricultural activities in distant rural areas and may engage in craft production only in the evenings or after harvesting. Furthermore, if the tourists do not purchase the produced crafts items the producers may become disappointed and discouraged.

### **Tourism, community development and reciprocity**

Community-based tourism takes place in a local cultural context and especially in rural areas the values of communality and reciprocity tend to conflict with the profit-oriented capitalist nature of tourism. In practice, this may lead to challenges in financial administration and juxtaposes commercial interests with communal interests. Since community-based tourism is supposed to create economic benefits for the members, it may be difficult to understand the economic needs of the enterprise related to sustainability and profitability. For example, Symonds (2008) and Diggle (2007) explain that when CBTEs become successful, they could use part of the profit to outsource some of their most demanding activities such as bookkeeping, administration and auditing, but this is rarely the case, the studied CBTEs being a case in point. Instead, additional income is often distributed directly to the members or kept in the CBTEs' bank accounts without concrete ideas of how to invest it (Louis 2007).

Chabal (2009) claims that in Sub-Saharan African societies accumulation of wealth is not a public virtue but what matters is how the wealth is distributed. Therefore, generosity tends to outweigh efficiency and individual achievements become meaningful when they are translated into public recognition as interpreted by the community. While such broad generalisations can be contested, this kind of socio-cultural contextualisation helps us to understand why the major goal of CBTEs may not be profit accumulation and further investment, but rather the acquisition of tangible benefits by the entire community from a tourism product. On the other hand, those in a powerful position who decide how tourism income is distributed and who actually provide support or loans to community members may deserve special prestige in the eyes of the community. This may enhance such a person's social status and influence in the

community as people try to create good personal relationships with them (Hydén 2006: 74). Some informants of the studied CBTEs were observed to have acquired such a key role in the community due to their powerful position in the enterprises. Furthermore, Newsham (2007: 169) provides an example how influential positions in communal conservancies can be further used for political purposes.

The combination of business and community development focus involves some risks. For example, Damara Restcamp is owned by the development association which carries out community development projects, but in practice the two, together with the conservancy where the restcamp is located, have appointed the same people to managerial level and they have no clearly separate bank accounts (Ndjaveru 2007). The manager describes the restcamp's multiple community development activities thus: *"As I said, we are helping the church. If there is a ceremony with children and so on, we help them, and also we help the school and small projects we have in the location. We are having a programme of Catholic Aids Action where we feed the children"*. Therefore, the economic benefits of the enterprise are associated with the assistance and support provided to the community. Other informants of Damara Restcamp similarly explain that people in various emergency situations can turn to the manager of the restcamp to ask for assistance. In addition, the restcamp pays the salaries of three teachers at a local kindergarten. The manager regards such responsibility as obvious: *"It's a community kindergarten, so it's a community restcamp!"* In the ad hoc discussions with local villagers not directly involved in the restcamp, the positive image was confirmed and appeared to result from such responsiveness to people's immediate needs.

Apart from explicit community development projects the CBTEs may respond to the communities' needs through lending small amounts of cash. This may not be viewed as misappropriation as the purpose is usually to return the borrowed amount. However, a failure to do so is not necessarily regarded as punishable since repayment can be done through reciprocal exchange of physical or material assistance, which is a common practice in rural Namibia (Kaakunga 2007). In fact, reciprocity includes the possibility of non-payment since a person with resources is expected to share his wealth with the expectation that he will be similarly assisted one day if the need arises (Hydén 2006: 76). Therefore, what may appear to an outsider as misappropriation may in fact

be perceived as reciprocity in the local context. This is illustrated by Chabal (2009: 48), who discusses different obligations in Africa as a means of sustaining one's place in a network of belonging. Providing help for a person in immediate need could be regarded as a general obligation in a community to which everybody wants to belong. Similarly, a person who requires instant cash for emergency needs is regarded as eligible to be assisted by a CBTE. What may be not properly understood in community-based tourism is that proper financial management is a requirement for equal benefit sharing and the economic success of the enterprises. In this regard, problems arise when an enterprise loses substantial amounts due to people's inability to pay back their loans. For example, the representative of the donor organisation supporting Okavango Craft Centre describes the practices encountered when they started supporting the centre: *"Whoever needed money from the association, they just dug into the cash, 'cause all those association members, each had a cheque book and signing rights. And in the end of the month people couldn't pay the salaries of the guys and no pay went to the guys whose artefacts were sold."*

Nevertheless, the informants of the studied CBTEs are aware that constant borrowing from an enterprise's account tends to be a loss for the whole community. For example, Kongola campsite has asked Tutwa Tourism & Travel to deposit the campsite's share of the clients' fee in the conservancy's bank account instead of bringing it as cash. They acknowledge that cash could easily be borrowed by campsite workers or villagers who might not be able to pay it back and therefore the funds would be safer in the bank. Similarly, CBTEs as large cash reserves may tempt some people to deliberately misappropriate large sums for personal purposes (Symonds 2008). In Chobe Craft Market a manager was found to be misappropriating the centre's funds after which she was dismissed by the committee. Such misappropriation is claimed to be rather common in Namibian conservancies and community-based tourism enterprises (Asheeke 2008; Katjuongua 2008; NACSO 2010: 71). A community resource monitor of Chobe Craft Market illustrates the temptations involved in financial management: *"Money is not the problem but a person is having problems with money."*

In the craft centres community development takes place through sales income which is paid to the producers at the end of every month. However, the manager of Okavango Craft Centre regards the role of the centre as wider than just selling crafts:

*"There are even street kids we are looking at. They are very poor and my suggestion is...I've even talked to the council, that once the centre is finished, I want to bring all the street kids under one roof where they can be taught skills".* The other two craft centres are located within conservancies which have started to require their share of the revenue since the craft centres are seen to generate income. This once again illustrates that the sharing of CBTEs' economic benefits involves local power contestations. However, both craft centres have managed to refer to their constitution, which stipulates that the income is to be distributed only to the members of the craft producers' associations. In Linyati Craft Centre this has come at a cost, as the conservancy refuses to allow its vehicle to be used to collect crafts from producers who live up to 50 km away from the centre.

### *Tourism and responsibilities in regional development*

One of the Namibian tourism policy's objectives is the reduction of regional development inequalities. There are sharp regional variations in human development as well as in wealth and income distribution between Namibia's regions (Republic of Namibia 2006b). To a large extent, they are a historical legacy of the creation of ten ethnic homelands following a proposal by the South African Odendaal Commission in 1964. In practise, it implied that 93 percent of the non-white Namibians were forced into ten reserves which represented 40 percent of the land area. (Lee 2003: 24). The homeland concept was premised on the idea of mediating social conflicts and creating spatial distance among various population groups, which ensured the hegemony of the local white minority (Du Pisani 2000: 55). The establishment of the homelands enforced the territorial, symbolic and structural spatial divide important to the apartheid regime. Therefore, the official policy was one of spatial separation, not of regional development (Du Pisani 2000: 58). In fact, all regional development plans in the South African colonial era were conceived of and developed within the parameters of the apartheid system (Frayne 2000: 56).



In addition to historical reasons, regional disparities stem from environmental and political factors. Most rainfall and productive agricultural land is in the northern parts of Namibia, whereas the southern parts are extremely arid and have low soil fertility (Mendelsohn et al. 2002). Furthermore, the majority of Namibia's population lives in the northern regions and they belong to the Owambo ethnic group, which played the major role in the country's liberation struggle. For this reason the Owambo constitute the backbone of the Namibian ruling party, SWAPO's former supporters, and the government is alleged to allocate more regional development efforts to those regions (Larsen 2003: 13). Chabal (2009) explains that such excessive partiality of politicians towards their home area is common in large parts of Africa and it is connected to the importance of origin. By that he refers to the interface of land, ancestors and belief systems which are intertwined and affect African politicians' identity and actions, resulting in greater affiliation with certain geographical locations.

After independence Namibia was divided into 13 administrative regions and there have been efforts to decentralise governance and regional development. In 1997, the Namibian government launched a decentralisation policy which was complemented by the Decentralisation Enabling Act in 2000 (Kuusi 2009: 128). The regions are divided into 102 constituencies and regional councils consist of representatives from each constituency (Mendelshon et al. 2002: 140). However, Hopwood (2007) claims that the central government has been reluctant to devolve full powers to the regional councils, which are instead reduced mainly to planning and advisory roles. Therefore, decentralisation is still in process and involves a number of challenges faced by regional and local authorities (Hopwood 2007; Kuusi 2009). The government acknowledges that one of the most important challenges is fiscal decentralisation, which provides more financial autonomy to the regional level (Republic of Namibia 2008: 56).

The role of tourism in regional development has been studied in different parts of the world. The main impetus for this has been the notion that there are peripheral regions which may possess significant tourist attractions (Telfer 2002b). Where this is the case increased economic activity resulting from tourism can enhance regional development, such as improved provision of social services and infrastructure. The concept of a region can be defined in multiple ways but in this study it refers to an adminis-



trative region in Namibia. According to Namibia's tourism policy, tourism can reduce regional development inequities through distributing the tourists and the consequent benefits of tourism more evenly across the country. This can be done by marketing less developed areas with tourism potential and supporting tourism facilities in areas that are en route to an established tourism destination, as well as by promoting domestic tourism. (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2005, 2008).

The owners of the tour operators, who apparently are most exposed to regional differences, openly question the concept that regional development results from tourism. They point to the business nature of tourism and to the lack of local linkages, as elaborated by the owner of Starlight Tours: *"If the tour operators are making use of the facilities there, if not then no. It only improves the lives of the local people maybe directly employed by a lodge but otherwise all the money goes into the lodge. So it's only the local people who are employed who benefit"*. This refers to regional leakage and lack of local linkages, which will be covered in more detail in the following chapter on poverty reduction. The tour operators tend to take their customers to the most famous tourist attractions, and although they do market other regions as well, this is often dependent upon the ethnic origin of the owners. The informants, representing the Owambo and Herero cultures, explain that they are keen to introduce their own cultures to the clients. In the home regions it is also easier for them to establish the necessary networks for cultural tourism that might involve visiting local households and small enterprises. Furthermore, they can share with the tourists the knowledge of their culture. This kind of affiliation with a certain region and its culture is apparently an advantage for indigenous tourism SMEs, which can market visits to places outside the most popular tourism routes. This would serve both regional development and product diversification in the tourism sector.

For the informants in the CBTEs the question of regional disparities appears less important than their preference for staying in home village or region. Such informants have great respect for and a close affiliation with their home environment and community, to which they belong. Therefore, traditional social networks, linguistic similarities and cultural bondage play an important role, and they obviously stem partly from the homeland policies. Another important reason for preferring the home area is related to living costs: for example, the manager of Damara Restcamp describes her unwillingness

to live in the coastal tourist town of Swakopmund, where she has previously worked, in this way: *"Maybe if I go to Swakopmund I have to look for work and if I get a job I have to pay for a hire of a room, to pay for water and electricity, so it's much. But here I can build a hut and if they give me a job, it's only my food and school fee. So here we can live cheap"*. Similar attachment to home areas is demonstrated by the informants in the Caprivi region.

### **Lack of rural services**

In Namibia only 7.1 percent of the rural population have access to gas or electricity (Republic of Namibia 2008: 196). This affects community-based tourism especially, including the rural CBTEs of this study. The interviewed representatives regard the lack of electricity as a problem for the enterprises. For example, the community resource monitor of Linyati Craft Centre explains: *"The tourists they used to come and ask us if you could have a fridge and some cool drinks but what we find now difficult is the electricity. --- If we put extension and sell food and cool drinks it can attract customers and improve the market"*. This illustrates the consumptive element of tourism and a need for services which require electricity, although the demand for cool drinks is understandable in Namibia where distances are long and temperatures during the hot season can be above 40° C. However, the same craft centre suffers from the lack of customers and the emphasis is on increasing or diversifying the supply without much consideration of how demand could be increased. The latter would require more emphasis on marketing and networking with private enterprises. Nevertheless, Asheeke and Katjiuongua (2007: 38) point out that without electricity CBTEs are barred from using important communication methods such as fax, e-mail and cell phone, which are a prerequisite for bookings and other communication.<sup>16</sup>

Damara restcamp and the entire village have been equipped with solar panels but only a few of them work. Due to low rainfall the use of solar energy seems highly appropriate but the problem revolves around responsibility and maintenance. The cooker and fridge at the restcamp's restaurant operate with gas. The lack of electricity is re-

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<sup>16</sup> However, the representatives of all the studied CBTEs used cell phones, which they charged by using car batteries and other innovative methods.

garded as a major problem associated with the slow action of the regional officials, as expressed by the manager: *"So every year it's just promises and promises. People they promise us 'don't worry, we will do everything', but then nothing happens."* In Damara Restcamp several informants point to their experience of intraregional inequality, which is regarded partly as a political and ethnic issue, as highlighted by the manager: *"Erongo makes a huge amount of income for the whole country because it is too much rich in tourism, fishing and mining. But political-wise, you can be within the region and if you are SWAPO then you will think of the SWAPO, not the damara."* This reflects the political character of regional authorities and their close association with the ruling party.

The trophy hunting farms have similarly lacked rural services such as electricity and boreholes for water but they have had their own resources to fund such services. Two farms have established their own electricity lines, while one considers it too expensive and instead prefers to use a diesel generator. The farm owners explain that it would have taken too long to wait for the government to carry out its responsibility by supplying such services. In this regard the farms have played an important role in developing rural services, albeit on private lands. However, the farm owners express rather limited understanding of the development inequalities in other regions and the role of tourism role in addressing them.

### **Contested responsibilities in the Caprivi and Kavango regions**

As in the case of other economic aspects discussed in this chapter, the issue of regional development through tourism involves the question of the distribution of roles and responsibilities between the government and the private sector. The latter creates a need for supplies and services in a region and provides employment opportunities, whereas the government is expected to provide the basic infrastructure and to promote different regions equally across Namibia. In the Caprivi and Kavango regions, the lodge owners regard these government responsibilities as inadequately addressed. They see immense potential for tourism development in the two regions in terms of wildlife, conservation areas and the Zambezi River, but they express disappointment with government efforts to improve the regions' tourism facilities and to market the regions

more efficiently. Similarly, regional and municipal authorities are alleged to lack understanding of tourism, which results in a negative attitude towards tourism investors. Apart from the lack of interest and support for tourism, the government is accused of not fulfilling its responsibilities regarding the socio-economic development of the regions. As a consequence some lodge owners therefore regard their role in regional development as important but albeit insufficient, as expressed by the owner of Madumu Lodge: *"This Caprivi has been neglected for many years by the government. --- So any lodge in that effort to make a business here is contributing to the Caprivi."*

The Caprivi region's current marginalisation has to be understood within a larger historical and socio-political context. The Caprivi Strip was originally acquired by Germany in 1890 as part of a territorial swap with Britain, by which the Germans endeavoured to gain control of a route to their East African territories via the Zambezi River (Fisch 1999: 7). From the late 1960s to the late 1970s the Caprivi Strip played an important role in South Africa's regional destabilisation policy and the strip was transformed into a military zone where South Africa's Defence Force (SADF) trained secret military units and launched cross-border raids to Zambia and Angola (Zeller 2009: 145). After independence, the income opportunities generated by the military forces were lost and simultaneously the region attracted hundreds of exiles who returned from neighbouring countries. Frustration and competition for scarce economic opportunities, together with political rivalry, led to a secessionist attack in 1999 by armed militants called the 'Caprivi Liberation Army'. The Namibian security forces restored the situation with coercive measures but security in the region was considered problematic until mid-2000. (Zeller 2009: 146). Furthermore, the unresolved trials of the prisoners accused of plotting the secession have created tensions between the central government and the region that continue to this day (Melber 2009b: 468).

The security situation affected the Caprivi region's image as a tourism destination for several years after the secession attempt. The tour operators explain that the region still suffers from a bad reputation and its location over 1200 km from Windhoek is problematic. The owner of Kasika Lodge explains that before the current crisis and turbulence in Zimbabwe, large numbers of visitors used to come to Caprivi, from where they made arranged tours to Victoria Falls. However, in the past few years the

visitors have avoided travelling to Zimbabwe and instead prefer to see the falls from the Zambian side. Therefore they drive straight to Livingstone, which is one of Zambia's major tourism hubs, located only some 200 km from Katima Mulilo. According to



*Picture 3. The lodge owners of the Caprivi region regard the Zambezi River as possessing unutilised tourism potential.*

several lodge representatives, the accessibility and comparative advantage of Livingstone has been greatly improved by the bridge that was built across the Zambezi River in 2004.

Although the lodges complain about the lack of government interest in Caprivi, the government has donated N\$ 138 million to a project named Waterfront, which is expected to involve the construction of a four star hotel, an aquarium, a floating restaurant, a Crocodile Park, a golf course and various other amenities in Katima Mulilo. The funding has been provided by the Ministry of Finance and the aim is to stimulate tourism as a basis for overall socio-economic development of the Caprivi region (Nadimi 2007). According to the lodge representatives, the positive aspect of Waterfront is that it improves services for regional tourists and it may encourage the government to open a regional office of NTB. However, the project is also perceived to be unrealistic and the management of the project has been accused of large scale corruption (Lumamezi 2010; New Era 20.10.2008). As Telfer (2002: 124) remarks, if the strategy behind re-

gional development is to generate economic benefits for those living in peripheral areas, then governments have to plan regional tourism in a such a way that it maximises the benefits to the local community. In order to achieve this, the challenge for Waterfront is to provide employment opportunities for the local population and to support communal conservancies. Furthermore, local tourism training and production of goods and services for tourism establishments should be boosted.

### *Summary*

This chapter has discussed the policy objectives of economic growth and reduction of regional development inequalities. The chapter shows that the representatives of the studied tourism enterprises are aware of various economic contributions in Namibia at national, regional and local levels. However, the private and community-based enterprises perceive the economic contributions in different ways, which reflects their different values, socio-economic contexts and professional stratification. The private enterprises contribute to the formal sector through the revenue and multiplier effects they create, but there are conflicting views on the role of the government and the private sector in terms of marketing Namibia as a tourist destination. As the empirical material demonstrates, the private enterprises express dissatisfaction with the government's input to the tourism sector. This is related to resource allocation in the government budget which has not prioritised tourism.

The CBTEs contribute to local economic needs as defined by the communities concerned, but such explicit focus on community development easily jeopardises the economic sustainability of the enterprises. This is further accentuated by the lack of entrepreneurial skills and reliance on external interventions by donor organisations. The donors' support to community-based tourism is invaluable, but as the empirical material indicates the donors' preferences and views on enterprise development may even conflict with the views of the CBTEs in question. Through their emphasis on community development the CBTEs address the social aspect of sustainable development, some-

thing that is not of major concern for the private enterprises. Even though the equality of access to social benefits of a CBTE may be reduced by local power hierarchies, such enterprises play an important role in the rural areas lacking other economic and employment opportunities.

The chapter similarly illustrates that tourism is a potential tool for regional development in Namibia, but the representatives of the studied enterprises regard this potential as undercapitalised. This is related to the government's perceived inability to address regional development inequalities and to the neglect of certain regions such as Kavango and Caprivi. On the other hand, even in well developed regions there may be high intraregional inequality, as illustrated in the case of Damara Restcamp in the Erongo region. Therefore, the study elaborates that basic services seem to be accessible to people on the basis of class and power rather than on the basis of equity. This is seen, for example, in the case of private farms which can afford their own electricity and water supply systems, whereas the people in rural communal areas have to rely on the government to provide such services. In the latter case, political motivations may affect the provision of rural services.

## Tourism, poverty reduction and structural challenges

Poverty reduction has been at the centre of Namibia's development agenda since independence. The Human Development Report of 2009 illustrates that 49.1 percent of the population lived under the poverty line of US\$ 1.25 a day and 62.2 percent under the poverty line of US\$ 2 a day during the years 2000-2007, even though Namibia performed better than average in sub Saharan Africa in several other human development indicators (UNDP 2009: 177). The latest effort to estimate poverty and inequality in Namibia was carried out by the Central Bureau of Statistics in 2008. The new approach measures poverty by determining a food basket based on actual consumption patterns in low income households and taking into account the costs of non-food requirements. Such measurement indicates that 28 percent of Namibians live under a poverty line of N\$ 262.45 per person per month (Central Bureau of Statistics & National Planning Commission 2008: 9). In terms of GDP Namibia belongs to the lower middle income countries, but Namibia's Gini coefficient, an official measure of inequality, is 0.74, which is the highest among those countries where it has been measured (UNDP 2009: 197). Therefore, poverty and inequality are intrinsically interwoven in Namibia and they are often analysed together (Levine 2006; Van Rooy et al. 2006; Jauch et al. 2009). High income inequality is demonstrated by the lack of middle class earning between N\$ 810 and 4020 per month. Recent figures indicate that only 9.1 percent of Namibia's population falls into middle class, which is the second lowest in southern Africa after Zambia (Duddy 2011b). Poverty measurements indicating drastic income inequality are presented in table 6.

Poverty in Namibia is related to complex historical and geographical as well as socio-cultural and political factors. Colonial history created the background for a highly unequal society, whereas rural poverty is largely related to the dualistic pattern of the agricultural sector, low soil fertility and the general aridity of the Namibian climate (Schade 2000). In addition, gender inequality and HIV/AIDS are regarded as current challenges



*Table 6. Poverty measurements indicating income inequality in Namibia*

| <b>Poverty measurement</b>                             | <b>Income and consumption patterns of the richest</b>                 | <b>Income and consumption patterns of the poorest</b>                                 |
|--|---|---|
| Namibia Household Income and Expenditure Survey (2006) | 2 % with the highest income spend less than 40 % on food              | 10 % with the lowest income spend 60-100 % of their income on food                    |
| UNDP Human Development Report (2009)                   | The richest 10 % account for 65 % share of income or expenditure      | The poorest 10 % account for 0.6% share of income or expenditure                      |
| Central Bureau of Statistics (2008)                    | 0% of German speaking and 0.6% of English speaking Namibians are poor | 28 % of the population live under the poverty line of N\$ 262.45 per person per month |

Sources: Republic of Namibia (2006b); Central Bureau of Statistics & National Planning Commission (2008); UNDP (2009: 197).

in both rural and urban areas (Republic of Namibia 2007: 236; Jauch et al. 2009: 40). For example, HIV/AIDS is indicated as one of the major reasons for poverty in Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) which were conducted in all the regions between 2003 and 2006. Gender inequality is claimed to derive from discriminatory practices against women in pre-colonial communities and apartheid policies of restricting women's education and introducing the migrant labour system (LeBeau 2001; Namhila 2001; Khaxas 2005; LaFont 2007; Jauch et al. 2009: 2). Currently some 40 percent of all households in Namibia are female-headed and their income levels are considerably lower than those of male-headed households (Jauch et al. 2009: 40). Ipinga et al. (2004) remark that gender inequality in Namibia is closely related to class and racial inequality.

There are significant differences in the incidence of poverty between rural and urban areas. The rural areas host more than half the poor households in all Namibia's regions (Republic of Namibia 2006b). Similarly, the majority of poor households are concentrated in the northern regions with higher population density. Reduction of rural poverty is regarded as an essential component of Namibia's rural development strategy and the government has set a target that by 2011/12 the percentage of poor households should be reduced from 42 percent to 37 percent (Republic of Namibia 2008: 198). In

statistical terms, Caprivi and Kavango are among the four regions in Namibia which have the highest incidence of poverty (Republic of Namibia 2008: 194).

According to the draft tourism policy, tourism is expected to reduce poverty through increasing national revenue that can be distributed to address government priorities. In addition, poverty can be addressed through creating jobs and business opportunities around the country (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2005: 35). However, the final tourism policy lacks concrete suggestions as to how tourism can alleviate poverty, apart from promoting community-based tourism and increasing tourism investments in communal areas (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008). The latter especially reflects a market approach to poverty where the benefits of tourism are expected to trickle down to the poor. The market approach is similarly encompassed in the three pathways suggested by Mitchell and Ashley (2010) for studying the tourism–poverty nexus. As already mentioned direct benefits of tourism on the poor include labour income, other earnings and collective income together with philanthropic flows. Indirect benefits include supply chains when the poor sell their services or products to the tourism sector. Finally, dynamic effects on macro and local economies include improvements in infrastructure and human resource development.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the perceptions and experiences of the studied tourism enterprises towards poverty reduction. The three pathways of Mitchell and Ashley (2010) provide a useful framework for the discussion. The chapter begins with an analysis of poverty as a tourist attraction and proceeds to looking at whom the representatives of the studied tourism enterprises regard as responsible for reducing poverty in Namibia. Employment creation by private enterprises is perceived as important for poverty reduction and this involves the question of HIV/AIDS which is felt both among the employees and employers. The disease similarly affects the rural craft producers who largely depend on income from their crafts.

Supply chains constitute an important and increasingly studied avenue of reducing poverty through tourism. The chapter discusses the possibilities and limits for supply chains in the studied enterprises and illustrates how regional characteristics play an important role in the matter. Finally, collective income provides a channel for poverty

reduction measures in CBTEs but it involves several challenges related to benefit distribution and transparency in partnership with the private enterprises.

### *Poverty as a tourist attraction*

An interesting aspect which is omitted from the discourse of tourism and poverty reduction is the aestheticisation and commodification of poverty as a tourist attraction. According to Mowforth and Munt (2003: 69), this is related to the search for authenticity and a desire to experience 'real' poverty, especially among Western tourists exploring other cultures in the developing countries. In travel circles there has even emerged a new concept of 'poorism', which refers to visiting specifically poor communities in tourism destinations all over the world.<sup>17</sup> The township tours which are common in Namibia and South Africa easily fit into this category, although what the tourists experience as poverty in urban townships may in fact be average middle class lifestyles in the local context. Therefore, the experience of poverty is highly subjective and related to the origin and living standards of a tourist. In fact, the entire concept of poverty is highly Eurocentric and it can be asked why a specific lifestyle or community is conceptualised as poor even though a modest lifestyle and low levels of consumption may similarly be examples of ecological sustainability. Furthermore, material poverty often receives more attention than the cultural richness and diversity among the visited communities. In this regard, the role of a tour guide is important; either he/she can reinforce existing prejudices of a tourist or make a tourist reflect upon his/her own lifestyle, culture and values.

Büscher (2010: 272) argues that appropriating poverty as a commodity is inherently opportunistic, as it purposefully uses the tension between reality and image to open up new avenues for future capitalist production of value. The poor are the tourist attraction but they may profit very little from it unless they are involved in tourism through partnerships, SMEs or community-based projects. Furthermore, their full ben-

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<sup>17</sup> See <http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-poorism.htm>

efits may be restricted by a lack of skills and assets to participate in tourism. Using poverty as a tourist attraction creates a dilemma that its attractiveness is related to lifestyles which are often considered 'primitive', especially by Western tourists. Brockington et al. (2008: 141) refer to such phenomenon as 'ethnotourism'. The problem with ethnotourism is that when rural residents take the initiative to improve their living conditions with the income from tourism, they may alter their traditional lifestyles and therefore 'spoil' the tourist attraction. For example, the owner of Starlight Tours explains that the rural households in northern Namibia, to which she takes her customers so they can see local people in their own living environment, use tourism income for upgrading their houses and improving their standards of living. According to her, such development is natural for people who live modestly but it reduces their attractiveness for the tourists: *"And the minute I start sending clients to these people they are now putting up the iron shacks, when they are getting a little bit of money, and it's spoiling the whole concept! Like the owners of the house they don't understand when I say, please don't put up the iron sheet, because the minute they do it I'm not gonna take people there anymore."*

In this sense, poverty is consumed as a cultural attraction and therefore the poor are expected to maintain their specific lifestyles if they aspire to continue receiving income from tourism. For example, Saarinen and Niskala (2009: 71) explain that in the case of the Ovahimba in north-western Namibia, the static and passive roles may continue to strengthen the very economic and social structures that define them mainly as objects. Saarinen (2010b) demonstrates that some Ovahimba women prefer their children not to attend school so that they are likely to retain traditional culture, which is acknowledged as a valuable tourist attraction. An alternative way of selling poverty as a tourist attraction is through cultural villages, which are open air museums depicting certain lifestyle and cultural practices. However, the culture in such context is as an artificial construct designed to satisfy the tourists' demand for authenticity. This can be used as an opportunity to 'preserve' certain lifestyle as a tourist attraction, even though the particular community may have abandoned certain traditional elements. For example, Henderson (2009) elaborates that in some south-east Asian countries local cultures are displayed in artificial settlements depicting traditional lifestyles of certain tribes who nowadays actually live in modern houses somewhere else. Although such cultural village-

es involve moral dilemmas concerning commodification of culture and poverty, they may reduce tourist intrusions into people's privacy and enhance the recognition of traditional knowledge. In Namibia there are a number of cultural villages throughout the country.

### *Poverty, power and responsibility*

The interviewees' definitions of the causes, nature and dimensions of poverty reflect their power positions and their relationship with other people and the government. This in turn is related to whom they regard as responsible for reducing poverty in Namibia. For example, some informants are of the opinion that the responsibility to address poverty is mainly that of the Namibian government. In this line of thought private enterprises contribute to the government through tax revenue which can be directed to poverty reduction measures through redistributive policies. However, Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 101) claim that according to previous studies this depends on the effectiveness of the redistributive policies and therefore focusing only on tourism growth is not sufficient. In this regard, it can be asked whether redistribution has taken place simultaneously with impressive tourism growth. For example, Winterfeldt (2007: 68) claims that the Namibian government's economic rationale for liberalism is characterised by neglect of genuine social responsibility, while Melber (2005b: 317) states that since independence the visible results of the state's policy direction are not really indicating a political will to serve the poor. The owner of River Zone Tours perceives the government's inability to address the poverty situation as interlinked with growing inequality: *"In this country of Namibia, if you are poor you are still poor. If you are rich you go ahead and get more rich."*

The other extreme is to associate poverty with poor people's perceived passivity and associated inability to improve their own conditions. Therefore, the responsibility is pushed onto the poor themselves. For example, the farm owners' conceptualisations of poverty reflect their personal experiences within their own socio-cultural spaces. This is

obviously related to their limited exposure to poverty, especially in communal areas, as demonstrated by the owner of Kudu Safaris: *"If people are willing to work, there shouldn't be poverty in the country. That's my personal view. If you are willing to work for a few dollars per hour then there's always work. And there are always things that need to be done. But one can't always afford to pay people what they expect."* The lodge representatives in the Caprivi and Kavango regions are apparently more aware of the poverty situation in their area, perhaps due to closer cooperation with rural populations and more severe poverty. However, the passivity of the poor is of as much concern to them as it is to the farm owners. Although some associate poverty with laziness there is also some understanding of the impact of colonial policies. For example, the owner of Livingstone Lodge explains that in the Kavango and Caprivi regions the South African Defence Force (SADF) used to provide the communities with everything during the liberation struggle in order to keep them on their side. The role of the local people was to remain passive objects. It is claimed that this attitude persists today as the external provision continues in the form of food aid brought to the two regions.<sup>18</sup>

Some farm and lodge entrepreneurs recognise that they can address poverty through corporate social responsibility (CSR), which is becoming increasingly common in the tourism sector worldwide (Meyer 2007; Tepelus 2010). CSR is closely related to travellers' philanthropy, which refers to voluntary donations of travellers to tourism companies that support local communities (Kennedy & Dornan 2009: 189). Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 58) remark that such philanthropic flows can reach those who cannot otherwise participate in the tourism economy, such as schoolchildren, orphans and the disabled. For example, the farms participate in the Namibia Professional Hunting Association's education fund, which supports schools and hostels that host the farm employees' children. The schools are provided with basic equipment and talented students receive awards of N\$ 250. The lodges' CSR efforts include supporting an orphanage, operating a public telephone accessible to villagers and using lodge vehicles to transport sick villagers to a clinic or hospital when required. Due to the high inequality

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<sup>18</sup> Due to alternating floods and droughts the regions largely depend on food aid and other support provided by the government and aid agencies.



*Picture 4. Children at the orphanage that is supported by several lodges in Katima Mulilo as part of their CSR.*

in Namibia, CSR appears to be common among private companies and the Namibian media provides a lot of publicity for such donations. Naturally, for the tourism enterprises involved in CSR the efforts are important for their public image and can be used as a marketing tool. Nevertheless, the study of Novelli and Hellwig (2011) indicates that Namibian tour operators perceive CSR as an important part of responsible tourism.

The efforts of the private sector to address poverty can be constrained by the prevailing structural and geographical limitations. For example, the tour operators are rather critical about the role of tourism in poverty reduction and point out that tourism is first and foremost a commercial profit-oriented activity. Tourist attractions and service providers are not necessarily in the areas with the highest degrees of poverty, while the rural–urban context is just as important as pointed out by the owner of Madumu Lodge: *“If the lodge is in the bush, then that whole community around it will benefit from the lodge. So it depends on where the lodge is situated. We are situated here, not far from town. Our impact on Katima is minimum.”* On the other hand, lodges in the rural areas tend to restrict traditional land uses and livelihoods. This may imply the loss of access to grazing and agricultural land, to trees and plants which may have been used for medicinal and nutritional purposes and to hunting and fishing areas (Murphy & Roe 2004: 131). For example, the employees of Kwando Lodge complain that the villagers are not allowed to practice fishing on the river, which is used instead as a recreational area for tourists.



Finally, the issue of responsibility relates to the conceptualisation of poverty among the 'poor'. The majority of the members of Damara Restcamp are apparently poor in material wealth but a tour guide does not recognise poverty in the village: *"Well, in our community I don't see such a thing"*. This statement was supported by several of the villagers in informal discussions. This reflects the contextual nature of the concept of poverty, a fact which is largely ignored in the discourse of tourism and poverty reduction and the concept of pro-poor tourism. Similarly, the members of CBTEs in Caprivi express different conceptualisations of the degree of poverty in the region. In other words, it is important to ask who has the power to define a group of people or a community as poor. Furthermore, if people in a specific context do not perceive themselves as poor, do they have a responsibility to change their livelihood or other practices that are partly reasons for their poverty?

### *The impact of tourism employment on poverty reduction*

The poverty situation in Namibia is related to high unemployment which, according to the Namibia Labour Force Survey of 2008, currently stands at 51.2 percent (Heita & Ekongo 2010). The figure applies to a broad definition of unemployment which includes those that are unemployed and actively looking for work as well as those not looking for work but available for it. Unemployment is worst among the youth and women with 83 percent of youth aged 15-19 years and 58.4 percent of all women being unemployed (Heita & Ekongo 2010). In addition, the phenomenon is more severe in rural than in urban areas. One of the major government objectives is therefore employment creation and the target is to reach a total employment rate of 66.7 percent by 2012 (Republic of Namibia 2008: 70).

Declining output of the agricultural sector, limited size of the domestic market, a relatively small manufacturing sector and a lack of required skills are stated as the major causes for persisting unemployment (Bank of Namibia 2004: 9). Furthermore, unemployment in Namibia is of a structural nature so that skills and available jobs do not



meet (Republic of Namibia 2004: 69). The shortage of skilled people has been further exacerbated by the spread of HIV/AIDS (Phororo & Venditto 2000: 131). According to Mufune (2002), increasing unemployment has led to a heterogeneous labour market with plenty of irregular and poorly paid jobs, accounting for rising poverty and social exclusion.

The tourism policy states that one of its aims is to give guidance, advice and direction to tourism development in order to increase employment opportunities for Namibians (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 18). In 2006, the number of tourism-related jobs was calculated to reach 20 588 (Namibia Tourism Board 2008). The tourism policy regards tourism as a labour-intensive industry requiring a broad range of workers at all levels. Employment can take place in direct tourism services where there is a possibility to progress from entry level to skilled positions, but in addition, through a multiplier effect tourism has the potential to create employment beyond the areas directly benefiting from tourism (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 4).

The farm and lodge representatives regard employment as a useful way to reduce poverty. This is an important viewpoint, since in the whole of Namibia 46.4 percent of all income is derived from salaries and wages (Republic of Namibia 2006b). In fact, trophy hunting employs between 10 000 and 12 000 Namibians and private lodges account for one fifth of all employment opportunities in tourism (Turpie et al. 2004: 13; Kronsbein 2008). However, the benefits of tourism employment for poverty reduction are constrained, on the one hand by HIV/AIDS, which affects women especially, and on the other hand by the seasonal character of tourism. In addition, the type of employment can affect the potential poverty reduction impact and in this section farm employment is analysed in this regard more thoroughly due to its peculiar character.

## **Women and HIV/AIDS**

In the trophy hunting farms the positions are highly gendered with distinct employment opportunities available for men or women. However, the lodges emphasise that most of their staff consists of women; in Madumu Lodge the figure is claimed to be 80 per-

cent. The substantial share of women in tourism employment in southern Africa is recognised by scholars, particularly in the accommodation sector (Manwa 2009; Mitchell & Ashley 2010: 37; Ferguson 2011). Tourism employment is significant especially for single headed households, which are products of different situations. Some women may have lost their husbands due to HIV/AIDS or other illness and some have divorced, whereas others have been physically or financially neglected by their husbands or the father of their common children. The lodges do not employ women only because the duties are highly gendered but because women are perceived to be more trustworthy. The owner of Madumu Lodge provides an example of this attitude: *“That goes back to culture: they are responsible for the children, not the man. Just that mere fact makes them more reliable. Men are prone to drink and things like that...”* On the other hand, female employees in several lodges indicate that the wages are low and therefore they are forced to look for additional jobs, such as cleaning or housekeeping, to meet the daily needs of their extended families. This is a common pattern in female tourism employment throughout southern Africa (Manwa 2009: 68).

For female employees the inadequacy of the salaries is related to HIV/AIDS, the prevalence of which is 18 percent in the Kavango region and 42 percent in the Caprivi region (Castro et al. 2007: 8; UNAIDS 2008: 15). The particularly high prevalence in Caprivi is related to multiple issues such as limited sexual education in schools due to the stigma of the disease, existing superstitions in the rural areas, patriarchal sexual practices including incestuous female initiation and high mobility of people through the region (Iipinget al. 2004; Kurz 2007; Matengu 2007; Jauch et al 2009: 39). In addition, free medication and health care for HIV patients attract people from neighbouring countries and that tends to increase the official statistics (Matengu 2007).<sup>19</sup> Finally, Kurz (2007) explains that in Caprivi prostitution is an important factor related to HIV/AIDS, although there are no studies depicting the relationship between tourism and prostitution. On the one hand tourism employment may reduce women’s economic vulnerability, which is one of the major reasons for their engagement in prostitution (Iipinget al. 2004: 217), but on the other hand, tourism may increase the demand for prostitution, as has happened both in southern Africa and in several other major tourist

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<sup>19</sup> Access to antiretroviral treatment is available for all individuals in Namibia who have tested HIV-positive and whose CD4 cells are below 250 (Shemeikka et al. 2009: 192).

destinations in the world (Leuchtag 2003; Cabezas 2004; Montgomery 2008; Mbaiwa & Darkoh 2009: 225).

The burden of HIV/AIDS is also felt on the side of the employers. Their employees often become sick and have to attend funerals of their dead relatives. This may limit the employment opportunities as the lodges face additional costs of keeping a sick or absent employee who has to be replaced by someone else. The replacement in itself may create more employment in the short term, but in the longer term the lodges may be able to spend less on employment. Rising labour costs in the tourism sector as a result of HIV/AIDS are a common phenomenon throughout southern Africa (Siiskonen 2009). Only Livingstone Lodge has taken proactive measures against HIV/AIDS by taking its employees for testing, treatment and counselling. The owner explains: *"We have a system here with two staff members, who are on treatment that once a month we go there together, and I think if the lodges support it you can keep your workers. We have now one worker who has been on ARV for three years and she's doing fine."* Interestingly, the farm owners have not experienced significant HIV/AIDS related problems in the farms. However, limited testing opportunities and the hidden nature of the disease may reduce the known cases. Partly it can also be explained by proportionally smaller infection rates in the Khomas region and the emphasis on HIV/AIDS related training in the courses provided by NAPHA.

The tourism policy recognises the adverse impacts of HIV/AIDS on the tourism industry and encourages employers to develop employee assistance programmes (Republic of Namibia 2008: 10). Developing such programmes requires that the employers themselves are sufficiently aware and equipped to deal with HIV/AIDS. In the case of at least one lodge this is apparently not the case, as demonstrated by the statement of the owner, of Afrikaans origin: *"You see, in my culture group we don't have this HIV phenomenon. We don't understand what these people go through...I went for a psychology doctor to help me to handle these matters. Because what happened in my business, the moment somebody goes and is tested positive, I don't know this. I will only experience that this woman or this man will start getting aggressive, start stealing..."* This indicates that there is a need for educating the employers. Such education would enhance the aim of the national HIV/AIDS policy to create an envi-

ronment where different sectors recognise, respect and protect the rights of people living with HIV/AIDS (Shemeikka et al. 2009: 231).

### **Seasonality as an opportunity and a burden**

A controversial aspect related to tourism employment and poverty is seasonality, which refers to a cyclical pattern that repeats itself and therefore creates a temporal imbalance in the demand. This may be expressed in terms of the number of tourists, their expenditure and their occupancy rates. (Jang 2004: 819). Seasonality is mainly caused by the major holiday seasons and weather conditions in the tourist originating countries (Nadal et al. 2004: 698). On the one hand seasonal demand creates job opportunities for an additional amount of people, especially in the informal sector, and on the other hand seasonal labourers tend to face instability of income, low wages and possible periods of no income at all. All the studied enterprises refer to the need for seasonal employment, which is related to regular tourist seasons and to fluctuating demand for additional labour. For example, the need for additional employees during the high season is demonstrated by the owner of Jagdfarm Omaruru: *“When more hunters are coming in, the more staff we need. When the hunting season starts now in February, we must look for other people.--- There’s a lot to do with the maintenance and you can’t do it all alone.”*

The farm owners explain that seasonal employees for jobs such as construction of fences and buildings are always available. The same applies to the lodges, which hire construction and maintenance workers on a temporary basis. According to the manager of Kwando Lodge, seasonal employment provides a larger number of job opportunities in the neighbouring conservancy than the lodge can offer on a permanent basis. Seasonal employees are naturally not as expensive for the employers as permanent staff, who must be provided with certain rights and benefits. In fact, Beddoe (2004: 11) claims that the global tourism industry tends to favour casual labour because it is perceived as more flexible and to result in greater efficiency. However, such generalisations should be made with caution, since working conditions tend to vary greatly between countries and employers (Mitchell & Ashley 2010: 39).

The owners of the tour operators work as guides themselves for some of their time and additional guides are employed separately for each tour because it is considered too expensive to employ them permanently. Therefore, the tour guides are highly affected by seasonality and their employment is greater during the high season. However, the tour operators try to reduce the impact of seasonality by attracting domestic and South African tourists outside the major tourist seasons. The owners of the tour operators further point out that taking customers to visit CBTEs is as important for poverty reduction as employment offered for tour guides.

All the CBTEs use seasonal employment, which they regard as a valuable opportunity for their members. The use of seasonal employment by the CBTEs provides a greater number of people a possibility to receive at least some income from them, which is expected to increase their positive outlook towards the enterprises. For example, the manager of Kongola campsite explains that there are more assignments for seasonal labour than for permanent employees, and seasonal staff is contracted equally from different villages in the conservancy. The maintenance duties are highly labour intensive, such as production of fire bricks, clearing bush with machetes and repairing roads after rainy seasons. Similarly, Damara Restcamp employs a lot of seasonal staff and the recruitment is based on a principle of equity in terms of providing as many people as possible an opportunity to work and earn income. To achieve this, the restcamp employs most seasonal employees only for a week in order to allow rotation of the staff. Such jobs are mainly labour intensive physical work which does not require specific tourism related skills.

### **Controversial farm employment**

Private farms in Namibia are specific social spaces with distinct and inherently unequal power hierarchies deriving from colonial times (Werner 2002). Farm employment as part of the entire agricultural sector is crucial, but the living and working conditions of farm employees is a sensitive topic which raises a lot of controversial issues (Werner 2002; Lee 2003; Karamata 2006; Angula 2008). There are about 6000 commercial farms which employ approximately 37 000 farm employees (Harring & Odendaal 2007). The

farm owners express particular pride about the employment they offer and regard it as contributing to poverty reduction. The studied farms employ both full-time and seasonal employees, some of who come from the northern and north-eastern regions where the male employees' families reside. Apart from employing single employees, all farms also employ full families, in which cases both the man and the woman work. The farm owners indicate that this arrangement is ideal since the spouses living together and working on the farm tend to be less affected with what is considered unwanted behaviour. Families are also provided education on family planning and HIV/AIDS and their children are encouraged to attend school.

In all the studied farms the employees had actively looked for work in the trophy hunting farms and several of them had previously worked in other farms. Their reason to look for farm employment was the lack of other job opportunities, especially in northern Namibia. All interviewed farm employees sent money to their extended families outside the farm. In this sense farm employment, together with other tourism employment, may contribute to poverty reduction. The farm owners are particularly proud about the income levels of their employees which are claimed to be substantially higher than in cattle farms. Karamata (2006: 50) explains that the staffs of white commercial farms enjoy the highest income and material conditions of all farm employees. This, however, does not preclude mistreatment and abuse by the farm owners. For example, it is common for farm employees to work overtime without compensation (Karamata 2006: 26). The interviewed farm owners indicate that when hunting takes place, long working days are common as the hunting expeditions cannot be planned with any specific time boundaries. However, outside hunting periods the staff have regular working hours and are entitled to paid annual leave.

All of the studied farms indicate that their employees earn well above the minimum wage of N\$ 2.20 per hour, but the total income derives from different sources. For example, the owners explain that the hunters provide generous tips after their stay. Even though this is beneficial for the employees as it increases their monthly income, the farm owners may feel less obliged to pay higher salaries as part of the employees'

income is provided directly by the guests<sup>20</sup>. In addition, all the farm owners explain that the employees are provided food rations, which is a common practice on all Namibian farms (Karamata 2006: 10). This implies that the farm owner buys large quantities of food from wholesalers and provides it to the staff thus contributing to the salaries in the form of food. From the employers' point of view, the rations are part of the various benefits that the employees acquire by staying on the farm, as described by the owner of Jagdfarm Omaruru: *"He's got free housing, free meat, free wood. And he's got his rations: millie meal, sugar, tea, coffee, matches...in addition he can buy some spaghetti or soap or whatever he needs."* The farm owners' perception is that cash is often used to buy alcohol and cigarettes and it is therefore to the benefit of the employees and their families that they receive food rations.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, it may be that this sort of patronising attitude merely reinforces the passivity that seems to prevail and maintain poverty in Namibia.

In terms of poverty reduction an important question relates to whether the farms contribute to the social livelihood of the staff (Angula 2008). This raises the question of land ownership. The rights of the employees to utilize the land and assets on the farms where they work are often restricted (Karamata 2006: 33). In one of the studied farms some members of the staff were allowed to keep their goats but cattle keeping was prohibited. However, in the Namibian context cattle are not only an important economic asset but also a source of pride, self-worth and identity (Von Wietersheim 2008). Some employees keep their own cattle in the northern parts of Namibia, but others are landless and have no other possible place for cattle.

### *Tourism, craft production and basic needs*

Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 55) claim that there is increasing scepticism about the value of community-based tourism in delivering poverty reduction because of the inability of

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<sup>20</sup> The farm owners encourage their clients to provide tips for the farm employees and provide instructions as to how and when the tips should be paid.

<sup>21</sup> In the past it was common that the farm employees were given a part of their wage in alcohol instead of money at the end of the month and alcohol abuse is still a common problem among them (Angula 2008).

most schemes to achieve their most fundamental goal, that of directing sustainable benefit flows to poor communities. Even though this is an important and perhaps valid claim, it omits the significance of even minor benefits from the perspective of the poor. From the efficiency point of view investing in a largely non-profitable CBTE may be seen as a waste of resources and a failure to address poverty, but from a local point of view the few benefits and jobs created may have considerable significance. For example, craft production as a form of community-based tourism is considered as an important source of income throughout southern Africa (Miettinen 2007; Spenceley 2008; Manwa 2009: 71). In addition, craft income can be considered pro-poor, since crafts are usually made by people from low income groups and sold by them or small traders, and are usually made from local raw materials (Overseas Development Institute 2009: 3). Furthermore, craft production is especially important for women, particularly in Namibia where, apart from tourism, women have fewer opportunities than men to access jobs in the formal sector (Republic of Namibia 2008: 229). In 2009 the documented craft income in the rural conservancies was N\$ 1 233 047, but the figure excludes data from the sales of informal craft outlets (NACSO 2010: 23). This section elaborates the significance of craft income for women, who form the majority of craft producers in the studied craft centres. However, this is not to deny the unimportance of craft income for men, who mostly engage in woodcarving from which they can earn even higher income because the carvings are more expensive and sometimes very large.

Women produce baskets, bags and other items from palm leaves, mats from papyrus and jewellery from nuts and seeds. In addition, they produce decorated clay pots. The craft producers explain that they use the income primarily to cater for basic needs such as education of their children, defraying health costs, building houses and purchase of food. However, due to rising consumer prices the proportion absorbed by food buying is claimed to be increasing.<sup>22</sup> In addition, some women use the income for hiring a plough during the ploughing season. Those who earn more have managed to purchase their own plough. A community resource monitor of Chobe Craft Market indicates that tangible products such as sewing machines or cell phones are perceived as highly useful but require the possibility to save several months' income. Similarly, only a

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<sup>22</sup> During the first fieldwork in 2007 Namibian average inflation was 6.7 percent and during the second fieldwork in 2008 it was 10.3 percent (Bank of Namibia 2010; Duddy 2011a).



few female craft producers have managed to purchase the most important and expensive investments such as cows and oxen. In principle, the major beneficiaries of all the CBTEs are in rural areas. Okavango Craft Centre is the only urban CBTE but even there more than 90 percent of its members live in rural areas.

The craft producing rural women are largely subsistence farmers growing major food crops such as pearl millet (mahangu), sorghum and maize. Income is received from selling surplus production but some informants emphasise that the yields are often reduced due to droughts, floods and crop damage by elephants. Other sources of income include government pensions and selling harvested thatch grass and reeds. However, the income from craft sales can be considerably higher than from the traditional sources of income. On average, the craft producers earn between N\$ 200 and 500 per month but there is a large variation depending on the craft centre. Some women in Chobe Craft Market earn up to N\$ 1000 per month, whereas in Linyati Craft Centre there are women who make no more than N\$ 150 in several months from selling crafts. Furthermore, the majority of craft producers in Caprivi come from households that own very few, if any, cattle (Murphy & Roe 2004: 127). This can be regarded as a sign of vulnerability as cattle are used for bartering, investment, dowries, as a source of cash income and also for ploughing the fields (Murphy & Mulonga 2002).

The high HIV/AIDS prevalence increases the daily costs of the craft producers. The majority of the households have an increasing number of orphaned relatives to provide for and the duty of caring for sick relatives rests on women (Edwards 2007). This is a common trend throughout Namibia that HIV-infected patients who begin manifesting AIDS return to rural areas to be cared for by their female family members (Iipinga et al. 2004: 264). In the informal discussions with the craft producers it was demonstrated that it is not exceptional for one woman to cater for more than ten AIDS orphans in addition to her own children. HIV/AIDS is regarded as reinforcing women's vulnerability, which is described like this by a community resource monitor of Chobe Craft Centre: *"Usually if you lose a husband his family might take everything. But if you are lucky people understand and they leave you with something. In most cases that women have been divorced you are being left without anything. So these are the women who maybe are getting 500 bugs*



Picture 5. Women producing crafts for sale in the Caprivi region.

*from making crafts.*” In the Caprivi region, close to half of the households are single headed extended families consisting of a woman, her children and grandchildren together with other relatives such as grandparents (Bandyopadhyay et al. 2009: 738). However, in some villages the share of female-headed households is up to 80 percent (DeMotts 2008: 187).

The HIV/AIDS situation is described as limiting the craft producers’ ability to produce crafts for sale and reducing their income. A community resource monitor of Chobe Craft Market explains: *“What we have realised is that in most of the cases the women don’t produce as much as we want the crafts. Like in the peak season, when we have a lot of tourists coming in, the women will say “because I’m looking after five orphans, because their parents died out of HIV/AIDS and other diseases” so you find that their income goes down.”* However, HIV/AIDS does not only lead to financial loss but also to the loss of heritage. As pointed out by some informants, highly talented arts and crafts producers have passed away before they had managed to teach their skills to the next generation. The HIV/AIDS situation in the Caprivi region is currently addressed through a Behaviour Change Communication Strategy implemented by local conservancies. The strategy focuses on peer education of the conservancy groups to change their behaviour in alcohol and drug abuse, having multiple and concurrent partners and unwillingness to go for voluntary testing. (NACSO 2010: 77).

## Dignity and self-employment

The interviewed people who work with craft producers emphasise that it is not only the income as such that is important. In terms of poverty reduction, the women's improved ability to take care of their dependants and to decide on the use of their own income is similarly useful. This is explained by Symonds (2008): *"It tends to empower them and they become more confident, it builds up their self esteem, it's very obvious. In the old days they used to sit back in the meetings and men were doing all the talking and women were listening at the back and not participating but now they are standing up there..."* In fact, this is an expected outcome of CBTE projects, which have been supported by IRDNC since the organisation has a deliberate strategy to build confidence and skills of women in community-based tourism enterprises and communal conservancies (Jacobsohn 2008). Furthermore, craft production can maintain and revive the cultural heritage of different ethnic groups, as tourists express interest and respect in the local crafts and the accompanied new skills enable rural women to redefine their roles as active members of society (Miettinen 2007; Paxton 2008; Symonds 2008). In other words, craft production can increase a sense of dignity among rural Namibian women. Timothy and Nyaupane (2009) remark that maintaining cultural heritage, for example through local craft production, is an important component of sustainable tourism.

Due to the high unemployment level and lack of resources for further education, craft production is perceived as some kind of self-employment for women. In addition, it is an important source of income for many young school leavers. This is demonstrated by the second manager of Okavango Craft Centre: *"I can see that there are many of these youngsters. That even from rural areas, they are making some of these baskets, so at least, it's improving their poverty. Because when they are failing to finish the school or go to the high institution, then they can involve themselves in making the crafts so they are self-employed."* The craft production skills are either learnt at home or taught by other craft producers. The master weavers and woodcarvers, who are elderly and experienced artists, hold workshops in local schools and craft centres where they teach the skills. For example, in all the studied craft centres the producers make visits to local primary schools to encourage the pupils to engage in craft production. On the other hand, some informants express their con-

cern that despite such efforts not all the youth are interested in craft production which is perceived to reflect a traditional way of life.

Even though the socio-economic situation is more precarious in the Caprivi region, the craft centre of Damara Restcamp in the Erongo region is described by the informants to similarly support local women in earning necessary income and learning new skills. In addition, Miettinen (2007) illustrates the significance of craft income for rural women's livelihoods and empowerment in the Kunene region and Rigneus (2003) has concluded the same in an urban context in Windhoek. However, common to all these contexts are the difficulties for women to access the markets with their products. This requires skills in product development and marketing which in turn often necessitates cooperation with NGOs or private tourism enterprises.

### *Limits to supply chains in tourism*

Supply chains refer to a variety of products and services which are purchased by tourism enterprises from local producers (Tapper & Font 2004: 1). For example, sourcing local agricultural products is regarded as one of the key benefits that the tourism sector can provide in developing countries (Meyer 2007: 569). Furthermore, as small-scale rural agricultural producers tend to belong to the poorest income groups in most countries, the supply chains between agriculture and tourism can often be categorised as pro-poor flows (Mitchell & Ashley 2010). However, Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 65) claim that pro-poor tourism (PPT) literature has paid scant attention to earnings of the poor from supply chains, compared to the focus on direct economic benefits. None of the studied enterprises mentioned sourcing local products or services in relation to poverty reduction but they were noted in relation to economic growth and regional development. This illustrates that tourism enterprises lack knowledge of practical avenues to promote pro-poor tourism even though they might be willing to establish supply chains.

In terms of agricultural supply chains, Namibia's geography acts as a significant constraint. For example, the farms purchase all their food items from retail shops in Windhoek since they live in such a dry area that agricultural production other than live-stock keeping and game farming are virtually impossible. The average annual rainfall in the Khomas region is 200-350 mm. The lack of water and aridity similarly hamper vegetable production in Damara Restcamp, where the average annual rainfall is only 100-150 mm. (Mendelsohn et al. 2002: 84). The only domestic animals in the area include goats and donkeys. Therefore, the restcamp purchases all the food items from the closest urban centres. However, local gemstone miners are allowed to bring gemstones for sale at the craft centre and the restcamp purchases firewood from local suppliers.

The Caprivi region, on the other hand, has a suitable climate and better soils for agriculture, but the variety of agricultural products is limited to basic food crops. Despite the possibility to grow vegetables and fruits, such products are mainly imported from Zambia. The nearest Zambian town Sesheke is just across the border, connected by a bridge from Katima Mulilo, and there an increasing number of petty traders commute between the two towns (Zeller 2009). In the Kavango region, the rainfall and soils near the Okavango River are suitable for cultivation but there is similarly limited agricultural production. The lack of agricultural production in the two regions is explained as a result of passivity among the local population. An additional factor is the frequency of alternating droughts and floods, which make weather patterns unpredictable in the Caprivi region.

On the other hand, if a private enterprise provides incentives and technical support in farming, local agricultural production can be boosted and diversified. For example, Kwando Lodge has supported its neighbouring villages in establishing vegetable gardens. The lodge purchases fresh products and provides the villagers with a secure income. Simultaneously, the villagers have diversified their diets since they make use of new vegetables. This shows that the supply chains can become mutually successful. There are other similar projects in the Caprivi region and in fact, IRDNC plans to establish vegetable gardens in several communal conservancies of the region with the aim of generating income and diversifying the diets of HIV positive patients. The conserv-

ancies are expected to sell the vegetables to their nearby lodges, which have already expressed interest and willingness to cooperate with such efforts. (IRDNC 2009).

There seems to be little interaction between the studied urban lodges and local producers in terms of supply chains. Madumu Lodge is an exception and purchases certain food supplies from the local market because they are considered cheaper, fresher and provide tourists with a taste of local food. Even if some of the products are imported from the Zambian side, this can be considered as pro poor income for those who sell them at the market. In addition, there are some wild fruits and mushrooms which could be sold for tourism enterprises, but so far there has not been commercial utilisation of these resources.<sup>23</sup> Naturally, it is important to take into consideration the possible competition for resources and increase in prices if there is substantial demand from the tourism sector. It also depends who the major customers are in the enterprises. Kasika Lodge attracts primarily Namibian customers and if the local diet includes beans and pumpkin leaves, the customers are not likely to choose them in a restaurant. The owners of Madumu Lodge have, on the other hand, found that there is demand for local dishes which are perceived to be different, especially among European tourists.

Supply chains do not need to be restricted to agricultural products. Private enterprises can purchase other local products and services and promote local crafts and CBTEs to their customers. For example, the building materials of the lodges such as wooden poles and thatched grass are purchased locally to a large extent. In addition, some of the furniture is made by local carpenters under contract. In fact, the supply chains can considerably increase if sourcing of local employment is taken into consideration. All the lodges, farms and Damara Restcamp make use of local or less wealthy Namibians from other regions to carry out cleaning, catering, construction, maintenance and security.<sup>24</sup> When supply chains involve the promotion of local crafts and CBTEs the tourists can experience an aspect of local culture and the producers receive clients who might not otherwise find them. For example, Kudu Safaris takes its customers to visit local weavers and Livingstone Lodge takes its customers to visit local craft producers. Next to Kwando Lodge is a community-based cultural village and

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<sup>23</sup> Chobe Craft Centre with support from IRDNC has an exceptional plan to include small stalls for local producers to sell honey, meals and firewood (IRDNC 2009).

<sup>24</sup> The problems related to seasonality of the contracts have been discussed in the previous sections.

campsite which are both actively marketed by the lodge to its clients. In addition, the tour operators take their customers to individual households where the guests are offered local dishes and drinks in a homely atmosphere. Similar interest in promoting local supply chains has been documented by Novelli and Hellwig (2011) in their study on Namibian tour operators.

According to Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 74), the scope for policy and intervention to boost procurement of local supplies is widely regarded as considerable. For example, the tourism policy does not even mention supply chains; instead, poverty reduction measures are associated with community-based tourism and tourism development on communal land (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 7). The lack of supply chains could therefore be addressed through greater awareness of possible supply chains and the benefits they entail for both private enterprises and local service providers. Various NGOs and tourism associations could play a role in educating the tourism sector about such possibilities, which are documented in case studies throughout southern Africa (Ashley 2006; Ashley & Hayson 2008). Furthermore, supply chains can be promoted as part of black economic empowerment, which is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

### *Collective income, partnerships and power structures*

Collective income is generated through community-based tourism or when communities engage in partnerships with the private sector. In community-based tourism collective income refers to profit that remains after the running costs of a CBTE are covered. In partnerships collective income can accrue from leaseholds of communal land or a trophy hunting concession to a private partner. Other sources of income include provision of a share of profits by a private partner to the community. (Murphy & Roe 2004; Mitchell & Ashley 2010). Mitchell and Ashley (2010: 51) explain that collective income is important for poverty reduction for three reasons. Firstly, it supports a wider range of households than individual income and can therefore benefit even those sectors of the population who are not capable of working. Secondly, it can be used to fund in-



vestments which otherwise would not be realised due to lack of resources. Thirdly, regardless of the amounts involved, collective income can be a substantial additional benefit in addition to wages and it can reduce the financial volatility of rural households. Furthermore, apart from financial benefits, communities can gain through the development of social infrastructure and legal entities which can negotiate different forms of interaction with government and private sector.

There are different ways to distribute collective income to the members of CBTEs. Murphy and Roe (2004: 128) indicate that the most common redistribution channels in communal conservancies in the Caprivi and Kunene regions have been projects on social services, social funds and cash payouts to individuals and villages. The redistribution mechanisms vary according to the size of the membership. In conservancies with few members individual cash payouts can be considerable but if the number of members is high it is more appropriate to direct the revenue to those investments that serve the entire community. For example, the social funds provide financial support to the members on specific request and according to need. The villages usually deposit the income in bank accounts and the revenue is used for purposes decided on by the entire village. These include basic infrastructure such as maize mills, grain storage facilities and houses for teachers. The social services include rehabilitated schools and clinics. (Murphy & Roe 2004: 129).

Two of the lodges have a partnership with surrounding communities which have provided them with leaseholds for a period of ten years. Such lease agreements form the majority of current partnership contracts in Namibia (Lapeyre 2009b: 383). The agreement stipulates that the lodges provide a monthly commission to the community. The initial amount is paid to the conservancy which is supposed to distribute it to the members. However, equal distribution of the commission has remained a challenge, as the authorities representing the conservancy committee may be tempted to take a larger share for themselves. Therefore, benefit sharing and its potential poverty reduction impact is affected by existing power structures, as demonstrated by the manager of Kwando Lodge: *“For example for a certain amount of months it was 20 000 dollars and within*



*all put together, the conservancy and the four sub-kbutas<sup>25</sup> would withdraw the money from the bank and divide it 5000 to each kbuta. But then the senior indunas took 5000 dollars, he put 3000 in his pocket and gave each junior 1000 each. And that's not for the benefit of the community.*" The traditional authorities have significant power at a local level in communal areas and their role has been recognised after independence by the Traditional Authorities Act of 1995 (Hinz 2002). However, although they may take their expected share of tourism revenue, the traditional authorities may enjoy considerable trust and prestige in the local context.

Power structures do not only affect benefit sharing within communities but they are also at play in the relationship between communities and private partners (see Emptaz-Collomb 2011). Apart from Kongola campsite's marketing partnership with the local travel agency, the conservancy has a partnership with a trophy hunting company which occupies the campsite during the hunting activity.<sup>26</sup> However, the private partner has retained substantial dividends which are supposed to accrue to the conservancy. The latter is not in a position to complain to its major sponsor and source of customers. (Diggle 2007). In fact, several conservancies in the Caprivi region are claimed to have faced similar difficulties with their private trophy hunting partners (IRDNC 2009: 2). Interestingly, when I interviewed this entrepreneur he denied that he had a partnership agreement, although it is possible that a misunderstanding may have occurred during the conversation. Nevertheless, these two examples illustrate that a lack of transparency on either the private or the community side may limit the equal sharing of collective income and eventual poverty reduction impacts from partnerships. These factors highlight the necessity for impartial facilitators between communities and private partners who engage in a partnership. However, Davidson (2008) points out that if a private partner offers a lucrative agreement for a community or conservancy, it may be difficult for an NGO to intervene in the agreement in order to ensure equality and fairness. Furthermore, Lapeyre (2009b: 496) indicates that private investors are

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<sup>25</sup> In the Silozi language induna refers to individual traditional authority, such as a village headman, and khuta refers to a council of headmen.

<sup>26</sup> Trophy hunting concessions are an increasingly popular income generating activity in communal conservancies; in 2009 32 trophy hunting concessions provided N\$ 7 151 236 in benefits to 37 conservancies (NACSO 2010: 33).

highly suspicious of the intermediary NGOs due to the latter's alleged partiality towards the communal partner and insufficient business skills related to tourism.

From the individuals' point of view collective income may not be the most desired benefit of tourism. In fact, the conservancy manager of Kongola campsite considers it inadequate compared to the direct benefits to be gained through employment: *"Even if the conservancy is trying to uplift, it's only a few. Even though we give this benefit distribution, it won't cover because when they do it one time, it leaves everyone poor again. If there could be some employment, everybody could be getting something in a month to alleviate the poverty situation."* The same is concluded by Murphy and Roe (2004: 136), who argue that the provision of individual benefits through employment and entrepreneurship has greater potential for poverty reduction than collective income. However, the total number of employees in CBTEs is rather small; in 2007 around 170 people were employed full time and around 60 were part-time workers (Lapeyre 2011: 193). The scarcity of employment opportunities has led to a desire in nearly all communal conservancies to engage in lodge partnerships with the private sector (Diggle 2007; Louis 2007). Lodges are expected to provide employment for locals but communities tend to lack understanding of such issues as viability and occupancy rates, which determine whether it is possible to establish a lodge (Diggle 2007; Ndlovu et al. 2010). In addition, lodge partnerships are further complicated by long and costly negotiation processes, low educational levels of the rural communities and cultural differences leading to communication problems (Diggle 2007; Murphy 2007; Lapeyre 2009b).

At best partnerships provide collective income and enable rural communities to become active partners in tourism through acquired skills and investments in human resources. For example, Lapeyre (2009b: 405) illustrates that formal training courses provided to local employees in partnership lodges has been evaluated as worth N\$ 385 720 in 2007. However, Mbaiwa (2005: 103) claims that in Botswana some partnerships have marginalised the local communities, making them mere labourers and landlords who passively derive income from tourism regardless of their participation or performance. In such cases the intended transfer of skills from the private tourism company to the partner community does not take place. The same is concluded by Ndlovu et al. (2010), who claim that the joint venture model in Namibia's communal

conservancies “seems to create an environment where local communities become passive, dependent and powerless partners of up market tour operators”. Therefore, although they create jobs and income, partnerships may reinforce aspects of power and inequality which are supposed to be addressed through the partnership agreements.

## *Summary*

This chapter has discussed the policy objectives of poverty reduction and employment creation. The chapter highlights a controversy that has not been acknowledged in the discourse on tourism and poverty reduction; namely that poverty is both utilised as a tourist attraction, especially for the Western tourist gaze, and simultaneously tourism is expected to provide avenues for reducing poverty. The chapter demonstrates that poverty reduction is perceived among the studied enterprises mainly as the Namibian government’s responsibility. However, the government is criticised by various academics for not adequately addressing poverty and therefore the reality of redistribution of tourism revenue for the benefit of the majority can be questioned. In the case of the Caprivi and Kavango regions, the structural challenges related to poverty include high HIV/AIDS prevalence, gender inequality and lack of social services, together with dependence on subsistence farming and highly fluctuating weather conditions. Therefore, the results indicate that there is a need for cooperation and coherence between the planning of tourism and rural development.

The dominant market approach assumes that private tourism enterprises contribute to poverty reduction indirectly and therefore complement the government’s efforts. However, as the chapter illustrates, the commitment of private enterprises to poverty reduction depends on how they perceive the poverty situation. In addition, the main motive of private enterprises is to create profit and it is therefore not their concern if the salaries are sufficient for existing needs, or if aspects like seasonality affect people’s livelihoods. Furthermore, the market approach to poverty does not question the nature of tourism, which is based on selectivity in attractions, service providers and

economic linkages. Even though supply chains provide an avenue for income generation for the poor, they can be limited due to geographical and socio-cultural constraints.

The chapter argues that community-based tourism can address poverty more directly through various channels. These include income from employment and craft production as well as collective revenue from partnerships. In terms of poverty reduction, the non-financial benefits such as improved self-esteem of women and acquired skills in business can be regarded as equally important. However, local power hierarchies may lead to uneven distribution of financial benefits in community-based tourism, which may have an effect on the efficacy of poverty reduction through tourism revenue. It can be argued that the discourse of tourism and poverty reduction inadequately addresses these multifaceted aspects, power relations and the structural inequality behind poverty.

## **The colonial legacy, inequality and the complexity of transformation**

Southern Africa, and especially the former settler colonies, form a region where fundamental socio-political transformations have taken place in recent decades (Köbller & Melber 2001: 147; Murombedzi 2010: 33). The concept of transformation is used especially in the South African context and it refers to the process of transforming the society by demolishing the socio-economic structures based on apartheid policy. Therefore, transformation is explicitly linked to unequal power relations as the colonial legacy in post-apartheid societies. South African academics, for example, have applied the concept in research about postcolonial transformation of the economy and the inequities of the land sector. (Shubane 2007; Sooka 2007).

As South Africa has done, Namibia has introduced 'broad-based black economic empowerment' (BBEE) or shortly 'black economic empowerment' (BEE) as a government intervention to engage the black majority in the mainstream economy. According to Shubane (2007: 64), the key reason for implementing BEE in South Africa is to correct the dispossession that took place during apartheid in terms of denying the black population many basic rights and assets which were necessary for people's livelihoods. However, Southall (2007: 89) remarks that a government programme which is so centred on race involves a philosophical dilemma in post-apartheid countries devoted to the pursuit of non-racialism and the abolition of all forms of discrimination based on colour. Nevertheless, he argues that BEE has been historically necessary in South Africa to overcome the legacy of internal colonisation and the same justification is applied in Namibia (Gaomab 2005; Angula 2007; Southall 2007).

BEE is fairly well established in South Africa, but in Namibia even agreement about the definition has taken time, not to mention the actual implementation of BEE (Sherbourne 2009: 359). Hangala (2007: 7) comments that BEE is not the only means to empower previously disadvantaged people, pointing to the fact that extension of basic infrastructure, improvements in educational and the health system and efficient delivery of basic services are equally important interventions in redressing inequality. Similarly, Jauch (2007: 10) points out that the key question in BEE should be: who is

supposed to benefit from it and to what extent are socio-economic structures supposed to be transformed? He further comments that designing BEE to benefit workers and the poor in general under the current conditions is a major challenge, referring to the capitalist economic structure adopted by the Namibian government (Jauch 2007: 10).

The concept of BEE originates in South Africa, where it has been systematically practised in a variety of fields, including tourism (Allen & Brennan 2004; Rogerson 2004a; Cornelissen 2005: 70; DEAT 2005). For example, the South African Tourism Scorecard measures seven indicators and their sub-indicators in tourism enterprises, on the basis of which the enterprise receives a BEE score. The indicators include, for example, the percentage of black people and particularly black women as shareholders, managers, supervisors and employees in tourism enterprises. A positive BEE score is one of the criteria for accessing government incentives and support. (DEAT 2005). In Namibia, BEE is officially supposed to consist of increasing the ownership, management and control of productive assets by previously disadvantaged Namibians through the promotion of small and medium sized enterprises, human resource and skills development, employment equity and preferential procurement (Gaomab 2005). However, there are different understandings and conceptualisations of BEE in Namibia and it is currently being transformed into a new concept called the Transformational Economic and Social Empowerment Framework (TESEF). The primary aim of TESEF is claimed to be the empowerment of previously disadvantaged Namibians through social justice, economic growth and transformation (Angula 2007: 11). Furthermore, BEE is closely connected to 'affirmative action' which was similarly introduced in the two countries after independence to restructure the civil service and private sector in order to make them more representative of the populations<sup>27</sup> (Jauch et al. 2009: 45).

In the context of tourism in Namibia, transformation refers to the process of diversifying the ownership structure and providing opportunities for previously disadvantaged population groups to become active partners in the sector. The tourism industry is dominated by the white Namibians, who owned 99 percent of all registered tourism enterprises and held 60 percent of all senior managers' positions in 2007 (Karamata &

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<sup>27</sup> However, affirmative action in Namibia and elsewhere is alleged to have failed in redistribution of wealth and instead it is claimed to have transformed inequalities based on race and ethnicity into inequalities based on class (Jauch et al. 2009: 45).

Gwari 2007: 42). In 2010 the share of fully black owned tourism enterprises had risen to 6.6 percent, consisting mainly of tour and safari operators, tour facilitators and bed and breakfast operators (The Namibian 17.12.2010a). The pattern is similar in South Africa where an estimated 95 percent of the tourism economy was owned by the whites in 2004 (Rogerson 2004b: 274). The dominance of foreigners or the white population in the tourism sector is not restricted to Namibia alone but is common throughout southern Africa. This has made some researchers regard tourism as reinforcing neo-colonialist patterns (Manyara & Jones 2007). However, in Namibia transformation of the tourism industry is linked to a larger transformation process in the entire society and concerning all economic sectors.

The tourism sector was the first one in Namibia to adopt its own Transformation Charter and to discuss openly the draft before its adoption in 2004 (Namibia Economist 26.11. 2004). The charter proposes seven mechanisms to promote transformation in tourism (see table 7). However, the charter is a voluntary guideline that does not bind the actors and despite its existence the process of transformation in tourism has been extremely slow. The reasons for this have been attributed to the nature of the industry and lack of skills rather than lack of commitment from the various players in tourism. (Karamata & Gwari 2007). Moreover, unlike other countries in a similar situation, Namibia does not provide financial incentives to support BEE activities (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2005: 23). For example, South Africa, Botswana and Mauritius offer state financial assistance to advance BEE in the tourism sector (Massyn 2004: 24).

In some instances Namibia's CBNRM programme is linked with transformation (e.g. Karamata & Gwari 2007), but in this study they are kept separate. The reason for this is that communal conservancies have been established first and foremost in order to devolve the rights over natural resources to rural communities and to encourage conservation efforts. Their involvement in the tourism sector is only one of the several means to obtain income. Nevertheless, skills development and employment creation in the conservancies and community-based tourism enterprises are regarded as important steps in the transformation process<sup>28</sup> although they do not address the unequal owner-

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<sup>28</sup> These have been covered in more detail in the previous chapters.

ship structure of the private sector. This chapter demonstrates that transformation of the Namibian tourism sector already takes place, but at the same time it involves various obstacles and challenges. The representatives of the studied tourism enterprises represent both those who are strongly committed to transformation and those who hold prejudices against the black population's more active engagement in the tourism sector. Furthermore, the chapter shows that one of the major constraints for transformation is the lack of skills and training opportunities in tourism. The practical skills are closely associated with experience in tourism and understanding the concept of tourist gaze.

*Table 7. Mechanisms of Transformation Charter for the tourism sector*

| <b>Mechanism</b>                                  | <b>Description of the mechanism</b>  |
|---|--|
| 1. Skills development                             | The tourism industry commits to spending its own resources to train formally, improve and recognise the skills of employees, rural partners and new entrants to the industry     |
| 2. Apprenticeships, mentorships and sponsorships  | The tourism industry commits to providing access to its business for Namibian tourism students to learn the practical aspects of the industry                                    |
| 3. Strategic representation and employment equity | The tourism industry commits to the goal of identifying and promoting qualified and/or competent previously disadvantaged employees to positions of responsibility and authority |
| 4. Ownership and joint venture partnerships       | The tourism industry commits to promote ownership and/or build partnerships to include the previously disadvantaged  |
| 5. Preferential procurement                       | The tourism industry commits to promote and increase use of services and products of previously disadvantaged Namibians  |
| 6. Enterprise development                         | The tourism industry commits to support previously disadvantaged Namibians in the identification and development of viable businesses in the tourism economy                     |
| 7. Social responsibility programmes               | The tourism industry commits to support and/or implement projects that improve social conditions of employees and local communities, and that conserve environment               |

Source: FENATA (2004).



## *Efforts of inclusion*

The tourism policy states that the government will encourage the formation of a National Tourism Advisory Council which would develop, implement and monitor the progress on transformation in the tourism sector (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 17). Furthermore, the tourism policy states that investors are required to commit themselves to the principles of empowerment. However, Brown (2008) highlights that since most tourism enterprises in Namibia are rather small family units, some of them may be willing to promote transformation but they lack the ideas of practical implementation. Therefore, an important step would be more efficient information dissemination to the private sector about concrete mechanisms to enhance transformation.

Asheeke (2008), who has a long experience in the Namibian tourism sector and acts as the Chief Executive Officer of the Federation of Namibian Tourism Associations (FENATA), claims that the members of FENATA can be divided into different groups according to how they regard BEE. About one third consists of largely expatriates and highly educated people who have adopted and fully support BEE in Namibia. Obviously, some of the informants of the studied enterprises could be loosely categorised as representing this group. For example, the lodges belonging to larger chains indicate their commitment to BEE. They embrace it as an entire process where an unskilled person climbs up the ladder from an entry level to the managerial level. The manager of Kwando Lodge describes such processes in his own enterprise: *“Marcus is the trainee activities manager but we are training him to become the activities manager. And he started here as a labourer. Then he went to the garden and now up. We have Susan in the kitchen, she’s our restaurant supervisor, she also started in the kitchen as a cleaner...and the bar supervisor started as a normal waitress”* (Pseudonyms by author).

The reasons for the commitment of large chains’ to BEE could be related to their well established position in the tourism market, which means that they do not need to fear competition to the same extent as smaller enterprises. In addition, the interviewed managers are relatively young and come from South Africa where BEE is more systematically endorsed. Furthermore, part of their enterprises’ competitiveness

and marketing strategy might be related to certain corporate responsibility principles. For example, the hotel chain which owns Victoria Lodge reports on its website how many shares they have sold to BEE companies and how they adhere to their green policy. The lodge manager explains: *“In South Africa, for instance, where the bulk of [the chain] is, they are absolutely very serious about it. Part of their top management is black people. They are really good people. And of course it goes down to the units as well. That’s why we are implementing that as well. We have to”*.

The other lodges and trophy hunting farms regard their contribution to BEE as training unskilled people for various positions within the tourism sector. The term ‘unskilled’ is vague and often reflects a lack of formal education as much as a lack of specific skills. For example, the farm owners explain how they have taught their hunting staff to track and skin the animals but several farm employees explain that they had already learned such skills in their childhood. In fact, the employees are likely to learn as many new skills related to tourism and hospitality as related to the hunting activity.

In the interviews BEE appears not to be the only topic which revolves around transformation. The objectives of employment creation, poverty reduction and economic growth, are similarly connected to the process of transformation, either directly or indirectly. For example, some informants say that more black Namibians with sufficient entrepreneurial skills and starting capital could open up new types of tourism SMEs, which could diversify the sector and offer a variety of job opportunities, especially for the youth. Such enterprises already exist and they offer a variety of products based on cultural tourism (Ihoaës 2011a). Similarly, an increasing number of successful tourism SMEs could play a role in poverty reduction, as one employed person in Namibia tends to support a large number of extended family members (Namhila 2001: 9; Jauch 2009: 17). In addition, tourism SMEs could function in areas which are not yet dominated by larger and more established tourism companies and spread the economic benefits into such areas as a consequence.

In fact, Namibia’s National Planning Commission (NPC) has donated N\$ 106 million to the Ministry of Environment and Tourism for supporting SMEs in the accommodation sector (Iihuhwa 2008). The purpose has been to provide funds for productive and feasible business ideas such as bed and breakfast (B & B) services in the

townships. In South Africa, black-owned B & Bs play an important role in providing jobs and reducing poverty in urban townships (Rogerson 2004c). Furthermore, black tourism enterprises seem to increase Namibia's attractiveness, especially among European tourists (Heikkinen 2008, Travel News Namibia 2009b: 3-4). Similarly, Moseley et al. (2007: 9) remark that an increase in black Namibian enterprises would create public awareness of the tourism sector and consequently increase the willingness of Namibians to travel within their own country as domestic tourists. Hopefully these efforts will be supported through new legislation called the NTB Bill which has been drafted by the Namibia Tourism Board in an aim to enhance transformation (The Namibian 17.12.2010a).

### *The colonial legacy in human resources*

The tourism policy recognises human resource development as one of the major challenges for the tourism sector (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 19). Currently there is a lack of sufficient skills in tourism and hospitality and this is accentuated by a lack of experience in the field. According to Asheeke and Katjiuongua (2007: 60), in 2003 the number of people who had attended formal tourism courses in the past 11 years represented about one percent of the total number of employees in the sector. The situation is similar in other sectors too; out of the total labour force, only 9.8 percent is in possession of post-secondary qualifications and private companies need to employ expatriates in senior management positions in the lack of competent local employees (NEPRU 2010: 4; Heita 2011). In practice, the lack of skills implies both that there are not enough trained personnel for tourism enterprises and that the already employed personnel possess insufficient hospitality skills, which affects the quality of service (Asheeke & Katjiuongua 2007: 60; Reinke 2008). In the Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index (TTCI) 2011 Namibia ranks very low in terms of human resources, the position being 124 out of 139 countries (Blanke et al. 2011: 96). In the

TTCI 'human resources' refers to education and training levels in each economy, both in terms of tourism and society at large.

Apart from degrees in tourism and natural resource management offered at the University of Namibia and the Polytechnic, there is no tourism related training provided or sponsored by the Namibian government. Instead, there are several private institutions which provide different courses. The tour guides are trained by the Tourist Guide Association of Namibia (TAN) and the Namibia Association of Tourism and Hospitality (NATH), which also offers courses on catering and cooking, secretarial skills, house-keeping and waitressing. Similarly, vocational training related to tourism, catering and hospitality is provided by the Namibian Institute for Culinary Education and Wolwedans Desert Academy, among other establishments. Furthermore, the Eagle Rock Hunting Academy trains professional hunters on a private farm, whereas the Namibia Professional Hunting Association (NAPHA) offers training for the entire staff of trophy hunting farms. Most of these institutions are officially recognised and they apply the national standards and curriculum provided by the Namibia Training Authority (NTA). Although Doswell (2000) claims that in the African context the private sector tends to be more efficient and cost-effective in organising tourism training than the public sector, the courses are relatively expensive and without sponsorship from an existing employer or the course provider they are beyond the means of lower income Namibians. For example, a twelve-day training course for professional hunters costs N\$ 8700 at the Eagle Rock Hunting Academy and the average price for one- to three-day courses in specialised fields provided by NATH ranges from N\$ 1000 to 3000.

The tourism policy addresses this problem and states that the government will seek to make training more accessible to previously disadvantaged Namibians through liaison with the relevant stakeholders (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 19). The government recognises that it has the major role in providing second level vocational training even though currently such training is largely outsourced to the private sector. In fact, Namibia's Third National Development Plan has set a target to reduce the skills shortage by 75 percent by 2010, but the target has turned out to be far too optimistic both in quantity and time framework (Republic of Namibia 2008: 125). A good example of government intervention in tourism training is the South African

Tourism Enterprise Programme (TEP), which was facilitated by both the private sector and the Department for Environmental Affairs and Tourism (Rogerson 2006: 47). Since 2008, TEP has been referred to as the Tourism Enterprise Partnership, the objectives of which are to develop skills and create jobs, promote transformation and stimulate small tourism businesses. This is an important step since South Africa has suffered from a similar skills shortage and lack of affordable tourism training as Namibia (Kaplan 2004).

The lack of training has caused an unrealistic understanding of the possibilities in the tourism sector. With high unemployment levels, young Namibians perceive tourism as a highly promising and lucrative field (Asheeke 2008). Unfortunately, they may not be equipped with full knowledge of how to establish their own enterprise and what such establishment entails. Furthermore, people may not fully understand that the tourism sector offers employment opportunities at different levels from entry level to skilled positions and finally at the managerial level. Consequently, even young people who have tourism degrees may aspire to engage in tourism and expect to enter directly the managerial level (Louis 2007). The same applies to those who are not trained, as described by the manager of Livingstone Lodge: *"We get job applications on a daily basis and everybody wants to come here and be a manager. --- The guy's 18, he's out of school, he's got a standard ten, and he wants to manage. He wants to have a cell phone and a briefcase and a car and a bank account. And he feels he deserves it. He doesn't know what it entails"*.

### **In-house training and competition for employees**

Due to inadequate formal training opportunities in Namibia, it is common for private tourism enterprises to train their own employees. For example, Wilderness Safaris, which has 13 lodges in Namibia, has trained thousands of tour guides and other personnel in the past 25 years in their own training programme (Camp 2007). Nearly all the employees of the studied lodges and trophy hunting farms have been trained in the enterprises by the owners, managers or senior staff. However, some employees have been sent for short training courses provided by different institutions. In-house training can be viewed as entailing both opportunities and constraints. For local people in the

Caprivi and Kavango regions there are hardly any other job opportunities available and furthermore, access to government posts is alleged to rely on existing personal and political connections. In fact, unemployment in the Caprivi region is estimated at 80 percent (Castro et al. 2007: 31). Therefore, access to tourism employment through in-house training can be regarded as a significant opportunity.

Even though the enterprises may provide sufficient skills for their employees, these rarely receive certificates of the acquired skills. Due to high costs of training by NATH and other NGOs, private employers may be reluctant to send their employees for recognised training courses. (Asheeke 2008). NAPHA courses for the employees of the trophy hunting farms are an exception as its members receive subsidised prices for the courses. Another problem is that in-house training often provides the employees only with the necessary skills for a certain field such as gardening, tracking animals, waitressing or cooking. Such concentration on specific narrow fields in training derives from the colonial times and may deny the employee the possibility to proceed to a higher level, which is at the core of transformation (Asheeke 2008). For example, an interviewed farm owner claims to have taught several of his employees how to drive but none of them has received an official driver's licence, which would be a prerequisite for applying for a driver's position in tour operators. According to a recent study by the Namibia Employers' Federation (Kadhikwa 2010), most private companies in Namibia perceive in-house training as ineffective. Although the studied enterprises did not complain about the effectiveness, the actual results indicate a need to improve formal training opportunities. In addition, the need for formal tourism training in the Caprivi and Kavango regions was emphasised by the lodge informants.

The constant demand for skilled people who can manage several tasks and possess sufficient language skills has led to private enterprises competing for employees by offering the potential recruit already working in another tourism enterprise a significantly higher salary and better career opportunities. This is referred to as 'poaching' and it similarly affects CBTEs, the employees of which are usually engaged in sponsored training in private training institutions. (Asheeke & Katjiuongua 2007: 59; Katjiuongua 2008; Siyambango 2009). The trained and most talented persons tend to be noticed and poached by the cooperating private enterprises. This implies a constant lack of trained



*Picture 6. Educated and talented tour guides of CBTEs are easily poached by private companies (In the photo: Tour guide of a CBTE called Face to Face Tours in Windhoek).*

people in the CBTEs and could be characterised as ‘skills drain’. In three of the studied CBTEs several trained employees had left to work in private tourism enterprises or conservation organisations. However, it was not clear whether they had been actively poached by new employers or whether they had applied for the new posts. From the point of view of the employees this can be seen as a positive opportunity. If a less wealthy young person living in a rural area is poached, it might be one of the few possibilities to establish him/herself in the tourism industry and proceed further in a career. Such people are also likely to have an extended family that may considerably benefit from their higher salary.

### **Inadequate experience and tourist gaze**

Related to the lack of skills is the lack of experience in tourism. Even if a person is trained with practical skills in one or several fields it does not necessarily mean that the

same person is familiar with the tourists' origin and the idea of hospitality (Asheeke & Katjiuongua 2007: 60). This is where the white Namibians and well established private entrepreneurs are more advantaged, as pointed out by the owner of Livingstone Lodge: *"Your person in the rural area has no idea where Finland is, what Finnish people might eat and so on...I don't know all that either but I have better understanding. I'm not cleverer but I've been more advantaged"*. Several lodge and farm owners emphasise that they face difficulties with their employees' limited understanding of the tourists' culture and expectations. The farm owners explain that they constantly have to remind their employees that the hunting expedition should consist not only of endless tracking of the animals but also of pauses which allow the trophy hunter to smell, listen and experience the surrounding nature.

One aspect related to the lack of experience is the fact that both the lodges and the farms employ a lot of their staff from their vicinity. Partly this is a deliberate effort to offer job opportunities for local people and partly it seems to be a question of economics. Poorly educated local residents are naturally not as expensive for the employer as educated and skilled labour. For example, Kwando Lodge has an agreement with the neighbouring conservancy that all entry level positions must be announced as vacancies for the conservancy residents. However, managerial and supervisory positions are filled by persons who have training and experience in tourism and therefore they tend to come from outside the region. The situation is made clear by the manager of Victoria Lodge: *"For entry level jobs you have enough potential outside. But when you are looking at a bit more upper level positions, the market is not there, not in Caprivi."* In the two regions, low levels of basic education are perceived as a problem and the lodges have employed several adults who are completely illiterate. Even though an entire generation may have lacked proper educational facilities during apartheid, the younger generation is claimed to have similarly low educational levels. This is explained as a result of the persisting inequality in Namibian society; there are significant disparities in the results of national school examinations with expensive private and urban schools scoring the highest results and government schools, especially in rural areas, scoring the lowest results (Jauch et al. 2009: 23). Lack of resources, a high prevalence of unqualified teachers and teacher



absenteeism due to HIV/AIDS are some of the reasons for lower performance in the rural areas, particularly in the Caprivi and Kavango regions (Castro et al. 2007).

From an employer's point of view the low educational level combined with the predominantly rural background of their employees is perceived as a challenge. Customer service duties specifically require responsiveness and initiative which have to be taught. The manager of Victoria Lodge explains: *"Especially in our industry you need to be sometimes quick. People expect that. So to get our people that far is sometimes...and to keep them there is even a bigger problem."* Another lodge owner complains that he cannot employ a local supervisor anymore because his employees include people from different ethnic groups and persisting rivalry among them prevents effective supervision. By the second fieldwork he had employed a white Namibian as a kitchen supervisor. Different values and conceptualisations of time can cause specific challenges for relations between the employers and their staff. The owner of Livingstone Lodge explains: *"You know when you go to the catering part then you do require skills and in the rural area that's really a huge issue because as I said it really is difficult to get them to come regularly at seven o'clock. Can you imagine giving them to stay over and work to nine ten o'clock every night. It becomes a real issue"*. Despite such cultural differences most of the lodge owners are convinced that locally recruited staff can perform their tasks provided that there is sufficient and continuous training.

The importance of experience is equally valid in community-based tourism. Most of the members and employees in CBTEs do not have prior exposure to tourism and it is therefore difficult to understand what the expected standards and required hospitality skills are (Louis 2007). During the second field trip the new manager of Damara rest-camp explained the changes she had initiated after she had attended a study trip to India organised by NACOBTA: *"We were three from the restcamp. We were working in a five star hotel. So it was good training. We got allowance. We really have learned much more. Here we were really behind, but when we came from India, things changed"*. She elaborates that after the trip they started to change the interiors of the restaurant and the bungalows. They had also learned different aspects of house-keeping such as laying tables in the restaurant and preparing rooms for the guests. This indicates how personal exposure to tourism is valuable and can assist members of CBTEs to position themselves in the perspective of a tourist.

In Damara restcamp a number of other issues were observed which illustrate the lack of experience in running a tourism enterprise and the lack of understanding of the tourists' needs and expectations. For example, the reception and office could sometimes be occupied by people who hardly knew English. The office attendance seemed to rotate among the employees and therefore even cleaners could attend the office when it was their turn. Although Namibian and South African visitors speak Afrikaans, which is mastered by everybody in the restcamp, some European visitors require English speaking service. In addition, a representative of NACOBTA explains that when they call to make the bookings, a person answering the phone has not always mastered the booking system and this results in misunderstandings and guests arriving without a confirmed booking.

Similar lack of understanding of crafts as tourist commodities can be seen in the craft centres. The producers may not have a clear idea of how their crafts are used by the tourists who purchase them. For example, in Katima Craft Centre some women prepare little pot stands made of palm leaves. However, in order to make them more colourful, the women mix palm with pieces of black plastic without considering that it may melt on a hot pot. Some of the items are so large and heavy that long-haul tourists cannot carry them in a plane. In Linyati Craft Centre low sales mean that crafts may stay in the centre for a long time and they tend to become dusty and dirty. Furthermore, the centre has no official opening hours and was closed on several occasions when I passed it during the day time. The sales lady explained that on some days during the off peak season they may not even bother to open it because no visitors are expected.

Urry (2002) argues for the visual nature of tourist experiences, which underlies his concept of 'tourist gaze'. The concept refers to visual elements of landscape which distinguish it from what is conventionally encountered in everyday life (Urry 2002: 3). However, he points out that there are different tourist gazes which may vary according to social groups and historical periods. It can be argued that the limited understanding of tourists' expectations through the tourist gaze presents one of the challenges for transformation. This stems largely from long racial segregation during the apartheid years and lack of experience and awareness among black Namibians about tourism.

Similar challenges have been documented in South Africa (Briedenhann & Wickens 2004). The lack of exposure to tourism is not only limited to emerging tourism enterprises but may affect the already functioning tourism SMEs. For example, the owner of River Zone Tours does not see any reason to take tourists to the Caprivi region. His reason is the region's perceived lack of tourist attractions: *"In Caprivi there's nothing to see. Some mahangu field and some parks, that's all they can see there"*. This indicates that it is difficult for him to view traditional rural settings and local cultural diversity from a European tourist's perspective. By contrast, some white lodge owners are convinced that in addition to the parks and wildlife, the specific attraction of Caprivi is its rural villages with traditional houses and a people's way of life related to subsistence agriculture.

### *The challenges of transforming the trophy hunting sector*

The trophy hunting sector is particularly characteristic of colonial legacy and inequality. Due to the unequal ownership of land and assets, nearly all registered trophy hunting farms are owned and managed by whites. Although the commercial land reform involves the redistribution of privately owned 'white' land into black ownership, most of the government acquired private land is divided into small plots which are allocated for resettlement of poor, landless people through the National Resettlement Policy (Von Wietersheim 2008: 32; Jauch et al. 2009: 25). However, the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) introduced in 1992 has assisted communal farmers to move into commercial farming by providing subsidised loans for land purchase (Jauch 2009: 27). The benefits and costs of both policies have been highly debated but the main criticism concerns the slow speed of the commercial land reform; about one percent of the land has been redistributed per year (Sherbourne 2004: 6).

Land is not the only requirement for establishing a trophy hunting farm. At the NAPHA workshop on emerging trophy hunting farmers a calculation was presented that a new farm of 5000 hectares, together with basic trophy animals, accommodation, vehicles and fences would cost at least N\$ 5 million (Lampercht 2008). The cost of

animals is addressed through the “Wildlife Breeding Stock Loan Scheme”, which was approved by the government in 2006 to promote emerging game farmers. Under the scheme, historically disadvantaged persons who have acquired land can apply for breeding stock of zebra, springbok, gemsbok, ostrich and eland. The same number of animals has to be given back to the Ministry once a farmer's game population has grown. (Nandi-Ndaitwah 2008).

Kronsbein (2008), who is the Chief Executive Officer of NAPHA, explains that there are several ways for the previously disadvantaged to enter the trophy hunting sector. One may start by providing a hunting concession on his land and thereafter becoming a hunting guide. Eventually, the initial capital can be invested into a trophy hunting entity. NAPHA actively encourages more black Namibians to join trophy hunting. One of the efforts is a structure for different levels of experience and knowledge required for people in the sector. Those who actually carry out hunting activities include a hunting guide, a master hunting guide, a professional hunter and a big game hunter. While the last three consist of exclusively white Namibians, NAPHA has trained more than 180 black hunting guides (Kronsbein 2008). In addition, Namibia is the first country in Africa to introduce training and oral exams for completely illiterate black Namibians to become hunting guides (Kronsbein 2008). Notwithstanding such important efforts, the existing black hunting guides represent only three percent of all hunting guides in Namibia (Nandi-Ndaitwah 2008).

Similarly, NAPHA has introduced membership categories for farm employees. The Hunting Assistant is responsible for tracking, skinning or driving, whereas the Camp Attendant is responsible for general housekeeping, laundry, cooking or gardening. In order to receive certificates of competence and NAPHA membership in these categories, the employees have to undertake NAPHA courses which are usually paid by the employers. The relatively small number of issued certificates so far indicates that not all the employees are provided the opportunity to participate in the courses. Currently there are some 400 registered hunting assistants and some 80 registered camp attendants out of a total workforce of more than 10 000 (Kronsbein 2008). For example, in the studied farms such categories were not applied, the employees being called cooks, housekeepers, drivers and skinners instead. The deep rooted hierarchy and divi-

sion of labour on the farms is based on racial inequality, as shown by the owner of Kudu Safaris: *“At my property I need black drivers, I can’t hunt without a black driver ‘cause I will sit on top of the truck. So I always employ a driver and a lot of them we taught to drive. Trackers, all of them have got the skills and good-eyesight. Those we need. Skinning those animals, you need these people to be trained and they do the job properly.”*

### ***Power, inequality and government responsibility***

A major challenge for transforming the tourism sector is the unequal division of power and resources, which is manifested in prevailing prejudices and the alleged misuse of power in the government’s efforts to implement BEE. Both can be regarded as an impediment to the transformation of Namibian society and building national unity. The government has the major responsibility in creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and in ensuring that the policies aimed at transformation are transparently and efficiently implemented. This boils down to the need for affordable and quality tourism training, which could be complemented by incentives for the private sector to provide mentorship for emerging black tourism entrepreneurs.

#### **Prevailing prejudices**

As a young nation where official apartheid policy was discarded only two decades ago, Namibia is still in the process of building national identity and coherence among its population groups. In this regard, it is not surprising that different kinds of prejudices prevail in the country. Asheeke (2008) estimates that some two thirds of FENATA members include people who benefited from apartheid and who are therefore worried that transformation may imply a partial loss of their privileges. Furthermore, Asheeke (2008) explains that a minority of them possess the most extreme perceptions and openly oppose any signs of transformation: *“They are still angry that apartheid is over. They are living so far in the past...this bottom group is shrinking; they are old, Boer Afrikaner...they are*

*the kind of people who are not gonna change.*" In fact, a lodge and a farm owner aged about sixty years can be categorised as representing this group and both of them appear to have low education. The question of BEE tends to raise strong emotions among them and both openly resist the idea. For example, one of them comments: *"But why must I now get somebody empowered here? To do what? He can't sit and bring tourists over. He can't communicate with them. We must do that. I must only pay him"*.

The issue of racial prejudice is pointed out by the tour operators too. However, it is difficult to judge to what extent their concerns reflect actual discriminatory practices and to what extent it is a question of competition between them and more established private enterprises. For example, the owner of Starlight Tours explains: *"The whites want to control the industry and they want to keep the blacks out, that's a fact. Now since the lodges are owned by the whites, they make sure that they give us SMEs the highest rate possible so that you can never beat white companies..."* Apparently there are prejudices and misconceptions which do not necessarily have an explicit discriminatory character but reflect the distinct and separate socio-cultural spaces where the informants live. Several white informants appear to have extremely limited knowledge of the historical context, culture and socio-economic diversity of Namibia's other population groups. The cultural divide is perceived to be overwhelming, as illustrated by the owner of Madumu Lodge: *"For a black man to understand white culture, what he wants in the morning, how his eggs should be turned over and all that is alien to a black culture"*. Similarly, the owner of Kudu Safaris who has previously worked in an urban enterprise with a number of well educated black colleagues expresses his opinion concerning black-owned hunting farms: *"One has to always be realistic. A lot of tourists don't want to spend time on a black owned farm. They don't feel comfortable and they don't feel safe"*.

Even though the private entrepreneurs may view BEE as a positive step through training and skills development, the idea of having more black people at a managerial level is viewed with hesitation. This is explained by a lodge owner: *"I can give a black person a job, train him as a cleaner, as a supervisor in the kitchen, whatever, but there's a level. And they won't go above that earning level."* Obviously, skilled labour is the advantage of all the private enterprises in the tourism sector, whereas black professionals running their own enterprises may increase competition with existing white entrepreneurs. Therefore, an

increasing amount of black tourism professionals poses a threat to them and the entire question of BEE becomes an economic question, not to mention a political one. For example, the owner of Starlight Tours suggests that one reason for the unwillingness of the white Namibians to transform the sector could be that they have few alternative employment opportunities. Furthermore, implementation of BEE may involve additional costs. Andreasson (2010: 176) explains that in South Africa, smaller businesses tend to be more negative about BEE policy since they are concerned about the short-time costs related to it. In Namibia, the majority of tourism enterprises are rather small family owned units and therefore the aspect of cost cannot be ignored.

Some representatives of the CBTEs seem to have an equally biased perception that tourism requires the involvement of white people who possess more thorough understanding of how the tourism system operates. The conservancy manager of Kongola campsite explains the importance of cooperating with a trophy hunter in a partnership: *"According to our conservancy we came with the idea of working with Simon because we are having this understanding that where there is a white person then it's like more water will be flowing in... He knows the systems...we feel that it's better to have a white person involved in our conservancy and running of the activities"* (Pseudonym by author). This lack of self confidence or skills in tourism is surprising considering that the informant has been involved in the tourism activities of the conservancy ever since it was established some 20 years ago. The same kind of inferiority complex among Namibian CBTE members has been documented by Ndlovu et al. (2010). The involvement of a white person in CBT is apparently perceived to improve the access to funds and donor organisations while the colonial burden seems to affect people's capacity to take full responsibility for the enterprises, as touched upon in the previous chapters.

## **A critique of BEE**

Alongside the flourishing discussion in Namibia about the exact definition and goals of BEE, there is criticism among the public, media and academics, a suggestion that BEE acts as an indirect mechanism to increase the wealth and ownership of shares among the new economic and political elite (Melber 2005b, 2007; Jauch et al. 2009). Sher-

bourne (2009: 359) argues that the Namibian government's "attempts to promote black Namibian business interests have taken place outside any overall coherent, transparent and accountable policy framework and generally been highly discretionary and shrouded in secrecy". The critique has even created a new definition for BEE: 'black elite enrichment' (Kaure 2011). In South Africa, there is similar dissatisfaction with BEE, which despite its achievements is claimed to be an elite enrichment scheme that leaves the poor neglected and perpetuates existing inequalities and indignities (Southall 2007: 87; Andreasson 2010: 174; Lindisizwe 2010: 519). The manager of Livingstone Lodge explicitly shares the core of such critique: *"The problem I see with black empowerment is that once again the money does not boil down to the individual, the poor guy. It's a few rich guys who are becoming shareholders in all the different companies. And they are just enriching further and further."*

The criticism revolves around skills, management and ownership. The government's BEE efforts in general are claimed to be artificial in terms of appointing black persons as managers of different companies previously managed by the whites. In such situations the new managers have not always had the relevant experience and skills for their position. Such a strategy is perceived as specifically inappropriate for the tourism sector, as illustrated by the owner of Madumu Lodge: *"It's easy to empower a person in a high position, but expect the person to do the job so that it's to the benefit of everybody, it's sometimes a different story"*. Therefore, the lodge representatives emphasise the need for better facilities in basic education and affordable quality training in tourism, which would increase skilled labour for the private sector. The tourism sector's Transformation Charter includes a mentorship and apprenticeship component but the owner of Afriqueen Travel complains that the established companies are unwilling to provide mentoring to emerging tourism enterprises. This may result from the perceived additional workload of supervision, especially in family owned enterprises that have few possible supervisors.

The owners of the tour operators are dissatisfied with the Namibian government's efforts at implementing BEE in the tourism sector. Lack of capital and collateral for bank loans are pointed out as major obstacles for emerging black entrepreneurs. Even though the Namibian Development Bank is supposed to provide loans for such ventures, the owner of River Zone Tours expresses his dissatisfaction with it: *"The bank is supposed to be there for SME people but it doesn't help. People there on the top they eat all the*



*money, after they grab the money they say the bank is bankrupt. That's what they say.*" The lack of access to finance in the SME sector is recognised as a key challenge in the recent Namibian Business and Investment Climate Survey (Schade 2011). However, the tour operators emphasise that capital is not the only requirement for establishing tourism SMEs. Training in entrepreneurial skills and mentoring from existing enterprises are specified as similarly important but currently inadequate. The tour operators' concerns are shared by the Bank of Namibia, which held its annual symposium in September 2010, where it focussed on SME development (Bank of Namibia 2010: 37-39).

The implementation of BEE can equally be criticised for lack of communication about the policy to the majority. Half of the informants in the CBTEs indicate complete unawareness of the BEE concept, even though as "previously disadvantaged Namibians" they represent the target of the BEE policy, just as the tour operators are. There may be various reasons for this, such as the political nature of the concept, the limited accessibility of information and media as well as low educational levels. In fact, regional authorities may exercise power by determining the extent to which they inform, or do not inform, people in their constituencies about BEE. Several informants recognise the concept but do not understand what it means. Similar inadequate awareness of BEE among previously disadvantaged communities in South Africa has been detailed by Lindisizwe (2010). The only representatives of the studied CBTEs who are familiar with the concept represent the managerial level and they express concern about the perceived misuse of BEE for the benefit of the government elite. This is illustrated by the manager of Kongola Campsite: *"That one to me is not existing. I always read it in the newspapers and when I try to follow it, it is the black rich people who are benefiting. So I would say it doesn't exist. It is for rich people, not for us"*.

## *Summary*

This chapter has discussed the policy objective of black economic empowerment. The chapter shows that the colonial legacy affects the Namibian tourism sector in various ways, which reflects unequal division of power and assets. Lack of training and experi-

ence may reduce the possibility for black Namibians to become more actively engaged in the tourism industry. However, in-house training provides an opportunity for unqualified people to acquire the basic skills required in tourism. Although this involves problems such as lack of formal proof of the received training, it demonstrates the need and will of private enterprises to train more people in tourism. This is considered as practical implementation of black economic empowerment by the private entrepreneurs. The government's BEE efforts, on the other hand, are criticised for favouring the political elite and neglecting the real needs of society.

The chapter explains that although providing the black population with skills and jobs in the tourism sector is considered important, the increase in the number of black managers and owners of tourism enterprises is viewed with hesitation. This is partly associated with prevailing prejudices and partly with a concern for the quality of the tourism sector. Furthermore, tourism is a highly competitive sector where it is suspected that emerging enterprises will lead to increasing competition. On the other hand, black-owned tourism SMEs can diversify the sector by offering new types of products and services, which in turn can benefit the entire Namibian tourism sector. However, emerging enterprises often lack the assets of the more established white enterprises. Therefore, specific mechanisms should be put in place to support tourism SMEs. Unfortunately the studied tour operators indicate a high level of dissatisfaction with the efforts of this sort made so far.

Colonial legacy and inequality are similarly indicated in the trophy hunting sector. The chapter demonstrates that although NAPHA has introduced measures to transform the sector, in practice it is still largely dominated by the advantaged minority. The interviewed owners of the trophy hunting farms illustrate deep rooted racial and power hierarchies in the farms, which can be considered as one major barrier to transform the sector. Furthermore, farm employment involves characteristics of inequality which derive from the colonial era and need to be critically assessed in relation to current emphasis on transformation and equity in the Namibian society.

## **Environmental sustainability and management of natural resources**

Nature, natural resources and tourism are highly interwoven in Namibia and their interaction involves sensitive issues related to rights, access and benefits. One of the tourism policy objectives is the promotion of environmental and ecological sustainability (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008). The policy states that in practice, this can be promoted through the Environmental Management Act, which was approved in 2007 together with other relevant legislation. Furthermore, the tourism policy defines the concept of sustainable tourism in the following way: “Tourism activities should be planned in such a way that visitor satisfaction is achieved, the industry is profitable, the fragile environment is protected and natural resources are used sparingly for the benefit of current and future generations” (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 6). However, the definition is tourism centric and it omits the developmental potential of tourism. On the other hand, the policy addresses the social benefits of tourism separately.

After decades of preservationist, top-down nature conservation practices in southern Africa, the 21<sup>st</sup> century has witnessed a profound call for a people-centred approach where increasing attention is paid to indigenous and local knowledge of natural resource management. At the same time, the demand for economic development has increased and natural resources have become a battleground of conflicting interests and needs. Tourism is at the centre of such battles because it involves conceptualisations of nature and natural resources that vary between state authorities, local inhabitants, conservationists, tourism entrepreneurs and foreign tourists. A certain landscape may have multiple meanings for different people and there are conflicts between the commercial, ecological and cultural values attached to natural resources. For example, Murphree (2009: 2558) explains that for Western people values attached to natural resources in Africa tend to be aesthetic and recreational, whereas for rural Africans values tend to be instrumental and immediate in their livelihood impact. The Western values are well represented in conservation NGOs, which are claimed by Brockington and

Scholfield (2010: 552) to incorporate nature and wildlife more deeply into a broader capitalist system by producing images and commodities whose circulation mediates relationships between people and nature. Instead of experiencing the real surrounding societies and landscapes, tourists often experience images and products that are carefully tailored and produced for them (Duffy 2008: 327; Brockington & Scholfield 2010: 556). This implies that wildlife and landscapes are commodified and drawn into the global tourism marketplace as products to be consumed (West & Carrier 2004; Duffy & Moore 2010).

The commodification of natural resources for the purposes of tourism is similarly reflected in the current conservation efforts in Namibia. Nature and wildlife are understood by the representatives of the tourism enterprises as key tourist attractions and therefore they deserve to be protected. On the other hand, in communal areas conservation efforts often conflict with other land use needs, resulting in challenges such as human–wildlife conflicts. In the interviews with private enterprises the conservation aspect far outstrips other environmental considerations in tourism. The same is noticed by Seely (2001: 50), who claims that ‘environment’ in Namibia has often been perceived as synonymous with ‘preserving wildlife’. However, the limited sample of this study may have inadvertently omitted private enterprises which have more a committed approach to overall environmental friendliness in their operations.

This chapter starts with an introduction to the characteristics of the Namibian environment and thereafter proceeds to discuss environmental sustainability in the private tourism enterprises. The chapter indicates that apart from the idea of sustainable wildlife management environmental awareness appears to be inadequate. However, in terms of sustainable tourism the ecological footprint is equally as important as the aspects of conservation and biodiversity. This is addressed by the recently introduced eco-awards initiative. Both freehold conservancies and communal conservancies are committed to sustainable wildlife management, but their ability to benefit from it differs financially and the communal conservancies face costs of conservation such as human–wildlife conflicts. Therefore, the chapter analyses community based natural resource management in the communal conservancies through the interlinked aspects of conservation and benefits.

## *Characteristics of the Namibian environment*

The major single factor characterising Namibia's natural environment is its aridity, since some 23 percent of the country is arid and the rest is mainly semi-arid (Seely 2001: 39). Water is an extremely scarce resource in Namibia and it is threatened by growing population, industrial development and climate change (Republic of Namibia 2008: 127). Paradoxically, climate change is presumed to increase the intensity of rainfall in certain areas, leading to erosion and flood damage (Reid et al. 2008: 462). As a result of geographical differences, there are a broad range of ecosystems in Namibia, which implies a remarkable biodiversity (Thuiller et al. 2006: 761). Namibia's flora and fauna have adapted to the dry climate throughout history. In fact, the ability of some plants to survive in the extremely arid areas such as deserts is of great interest for international tourists. These include, for example, the welwitschia plant (*Welwitschia mirabilis*) in the Namib Desert, quiver trees (*Aloe dichotoma*) in the southern parts of the country and Devil's claw (*Harpagophytum procumbens*) in central and eastern Namibia (Mendelsohn et al. 2002: 105). Similarly, certain animal species are peculiar to Namibia and are of major importance for both nature conservation and tourism. These include the Mountain zebra, black-faced impala, desert elephant and several reptile and bird species (Mattson 2006; Leggett 2008; Hottola 2009: 113).

In pre-colonial times, people in Namibia, as in the rest of southern Africa, relied heavily on natural resources and their systems of governance included rules and procedures designed to regulate the use and management of those resources (Fabricius 2004; Kaakunga 2007; Akama 2008; Mbaiwa 2011: 260). Traditional institutions that prevented the overuse of natural resources were replaced by Western institutions and indigenous land use practices were seen as unsustainable during the colonial era (Fabricius 2004). Beinart and McGregor (2003: 23) remark that the southern African landscape, wildlife and nature were all appropriated in the framing of settler identity, which deeply influenced policies towards natural resources. Furthermore, population growth and increasing livestock densities, especially in the northern areas, led to overgrazing and a scramble for land (Fabricius 2004). These were further exacerbated by the colonial

government's resettlement policies. The results were land degradation, deforestation and desertification. (Republic of Namibia 2008: 95).

Prior to Namibian independence, environmental realities were largely ignored by the colonial administration and therefore natural resources were extensively exhausted (Seely 2001). However, Namibia was the first country in the world to include protection of the environment in its constitution (Scholz 2009: 151). According to the tourism policy, the government will encourage environmental management plans to be in place in advance of tourism developments and carrying capacity studies should be undertaken for different tourism areas (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 6). In addition, the policy states that the Namibian government "wishes to establish Namibia on the international stage as a leader in sustainable tourism, with a reputation for effectively managing the balance between the demands of nature and wildlife conservation, environmental protection and tourism development" (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 7). This can be seen in the commitment to nature conservation through national parks and other conservation areas. Namibia's commitment to nature conservation is reflected in the country's high rank in the World Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index 2011, which has measured environmental sustainability of the tourism sector in 139 countries. Namibia's position is 22<sup>nd</sup> out of all the countries and Namibia far outstrips other countries in southern Africa (Blanke et al. 2011: 94).

### *Ecological sustainability in the private enterprises*

The private entrepreneurs regard the question of ecological and environmental sustainability primarily as an issue of sustainable wildlife management and conservation together with environmental education for the tourists. Apart from Livingstone Lodge, the lodges seem to put little effort into effective waste management and recycling, which may be related to the general lack of recycling possibilities in Namibia. In addition, only a few of them have made specific efforts to save energy and water. The tourism policy appears to similarly ignore the consumptive aspect of tourism as it only aims

to minimise the environmental damage of tourism on natural environments. In fact, the draft tourism policy states that “there is little incentive, or regulation, for tourism operations to take environmental considerations into account, and standards are generally poor” (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2005: 21).

In the trophy hunting farms environmental sustainability is understood mainly as sustainable use of water resources and grazing areas that are regarded as a necessity for the farm owners’ own livelihoods. The owner of Kudu Safaris explains: *“If I’m not environmental, I’ll end up jobless in ten years and a lot of other people as well. So it will be stupid for me to overgraze it and destroy it in ten years’ time. In a country like this with low rainfall it’s going to get you.”* The tour operators explain that they educate their clients in advance in how to avoid littering and how to behave in national parks and other conservation areas. However, they do not question the environmental impact of touring, which in the Namibian context implies driving vast distances. Therefore, despite their individual efforts the studied enterprises lack a more holistic approach to environmentally sustainable tourism.

In order to create greater interest in environmental issues in the tourism sector, the Namibia Nature Foundation and several tourism organisations have introduced the Eco-Awards Namibia Programme, which has come up with a clear mechanism to increase eco-friendliness and to minimise the ecological footprint of the accommodation establishments (Eco Awards Namibia 2005). The programme issues an eco award certification of 1-5 desert flowers to accommodation establishments in freehold and communal conservancies as well as in urban areas. The award is based on specific criteria such as community relations, conservation ethic, waste management, water conservation and use of renewable energy. The programme has also published a Good Practices Handbook that offers practical tools for addressing environmental sustainability (Eco Awards Namibia 2005). According to a study by Asheeke and Katjiuongua (2007), there is substantial interest among tourism enterprises for such certification. In South Africa, it has been concluded that eco-labelling of accommodation not only leads to greater ecological sustainability but it can also be used as an effective marketing tool for overseas tourists (Pieterse 2007).

The lodges operating in rural communal areas face a challenge in that their environmental concerns may not comply with local conceptions of nature and natural resources. The owner of Livingstone Lodge describes such conflict of interests: *“As soon as you as a lodge are regarded as a white person that is interfering with their way of life which they regard as their right, they feel it’s their right to kill and eat everything and harvest absolutely anything in an uncontrolled way.”* Good intentions can therefore turn into a power struggle and effort is required to achieve mutual understanding on shared principles and to minimise existing distortions and prejudices. Furthermore, the lodges in the town of Katima Mulilo are unhappy with the poor infrastructure and insufficient urban facilities. In fact, they regard their municipal environment as equally important to the rural surroundings, as pointed out by the owner of Madumu Lodge: *“We have to improve the concept of the town itself, because how can you look after nature if you can’t even look after your municipality?”*

### **Sustainable wildlife management**

In Namibia there are 148 privately owned game reserves and farms that host 80 percent of the country’s wildlife (Kronsbein 2008). Their significance in nature conservation and revenue creation is widely acknowledged (NACSO 2008; Becker 2009: 107). The earliest records of commercial trophy hunting on private Namibian farms date back to 1962, but the industry grew significantly from 1967 onwards following legislation that enabled farm owners to harvest game and use it for trophy hunting and non-consumptive purposes (Botha 2005; Novelli & Humavindu 2005). This led to a network of hunting and game farming ventures on commercial farms and since the 1960s, the large mammals are estimated to have increased by some 70 percent and species diversity by 44 percent (Seely 2001; Turpie et al. 2004: 7; Scholz 2009: 155). In the past two decades the private farms have established more than 20 freehold conservancies, the aim of which is to support sustainable wildlife utilisation and improve biodiversity. All the studied trophy hunting farms belong to freehold conservancies that have been established in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In practice, the conservancies involve removal of fences between the farms, annual game counts and joint wildlife utilisation plans, including hunting quotas for specific animals. The farm owners regard the conservancies as a



positive phenomenon, which has changed their perceptions of animals. As the owner of Kudu Safaris puts it: *“For a normal cattle farmer a kudu is just meat on the table and for his workforce. But once they’re part of the conservancy they know they shouldn’t shoot the big kudu bulls because they know a hunter will bring hunters and they will get some money from that and he also gets meat, so it’s bonus for him”*.

The aim of the farms is to have a large diversity of animals, which is considered valuable for biodiversity and for the tourists. All the studied farms are home to the most common small game, such as various types of antelopes and gazelles, zebras, warthogs and ostriches. In addition, they have giraffes, cheetahs and leopards. Practical wildlife management includes the provision of water points and ponds for the animals throughout the farms. For example, Sunrise Hunting has built 25 water points in the farm, where the water is brought through underground pipes from a reservoir utilising underground water. In addition, the animals are also provided with salt at the drinking places. According to the farm owners, the annual increase in game is about 25 percent and farm owners participate in the game counts of their conservancies. One of the challenges in the farms is poaching, which the farm owners claim to be an organised activity of armed groups. Some employed game guards have lost their lives in the effort to protect the farms and they therefore allow the poachers to hunt some animals rather than risk their lives.

All professional hunters are members of NAPHA, which has established strict ethical rules for trophy hunting (Kronsbein 2008). In addition, trophy hunting is often the major livelihood and the farm owners remind us that hunting has to take place for the sake of sustainability and carrying capacity. The owner of Sunrise Hunting explains: *“You can’t kill the goose that lays the golden egg. You have to take off the excess, the trophy animals that are old and full-grown males. Even with cattle and sheep you have to take off 30 percent every year. It’s not sustainable to have too many game or cattle.”* In fact, the trophy hunters only account for a small amount of the hunting. Quantitatively most of the hunting is carried out by biltong hunters, especially those coming from South Africa, and the farm owners’ own culling for the meat market (Turpie et al. 2004: 7). There is a wide market in Namibia and South Africa for biltong, which is dried beef or game meat mixed with spices. The biltong hunters are not interested in the trophy animals and pay substantial-

ly less than overseas leisure hunters. There is similarly a wide market for fresh game meat which is both sold locally in supermarkets and exported to various countries.

### *The challenging interface of the strategic pillars of CBNRM*

Community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) is pervasive throughout southern Africa and academics argue about its successes and challenges (Fisher et al. 2008; Mbaiwa 2009; Murphree 2009; Torquebiau & Taylor 2009; Nelson 2010). Murphree (2009: 2553) even claims that “it is the only viable option for an effective human stewardship of most of Africa’s landscape”. The underlying assumption of the entire CBNRM is that if people are provided with sufficient management authority over wildlife and they are enabled to derive long-term benefits from it, then wildlife will be sustainably managed and uncontrolled exploitation will be reduced (NACSO 2008: 38). According to Becker (2009: 95), CBNRM in Namibia has implied the restructuring of territorial as well as social spaces and includes an endeavour to (re)introduce indigenous land-use practices and local income opportunities. In addition, NACSO (2010: 36) provides concrete examples how CBNRM supports the rural development and poverty reduction targets of the Third National Development Plan. Binot et al. (2009a: 39) claim that Namibia’s communal conservancies are one of the best known examples of community-based wildlife management in Africa. Furthermore, Binot et al. (2009b: 79) remark that Namibia appears unique compared to other African countries in that CBNRM earnings are untaxed and communities retain 100 percent of income from wildlife. This is expected to increase local-level incentives for resource stewardship.

The latest figures indicate that there are 59 conservancies that cover 13 million hectares and are home to about 234 400 rural residents (Louis & Denker 2010: 8; NACSO 2010). In addition, some 25 new conservancies are being planned by rural communities and the total number is estimated to reach 90 by 2015 (Sherbourne 2009: 243; Louis & Denker 2010: 8; NACSO 2010: 78). According to the tourism policy, conservancies through CBNRM should be the primary agency for the collection and

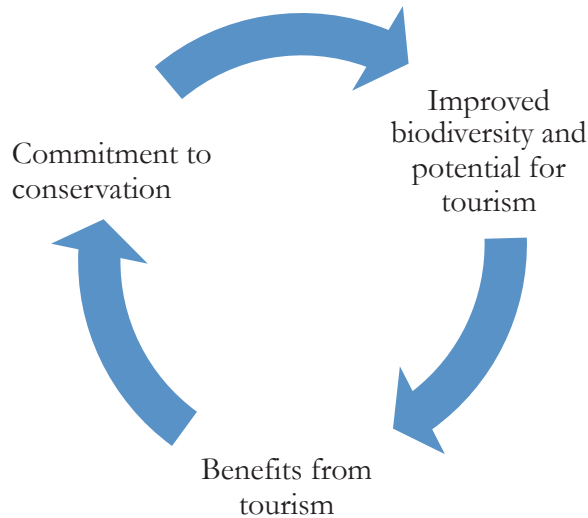
distribution of benefits from tourism in communal areas (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 7). All the studied CBTEs, except Okavango Craft Centre, are located in or near conservancies and the craft centre's members live in conservancies even though it is located in town. The concept of CBNRM is explicitly reflected in the interviews, although most informants do not refer to the concept itself but describe various activities and practices which are inherent parts of CBNRM. Furthermore, three lodges in the Caprivi and Kavango regions are involved either directly or indirectly with rural communities, which are organised as conservancies.

According to Murphree (2009: 2554), the strategic pillars of CBNRM are conservation, benefits and empowerment. The purpose of this section is to critically analyse the first two pillars through the perceptions and experiences of the studied enterprise representatives<sup>29</sup>. The anticipated interface of conservation and benefits is presented in figure 5. Commitment to conservation is assumed to lead to improved biodiversity and potential for tourism. These imply that rural communities receive benefits from tourism, which in turn is expected to enhance their further commitment to conservation efforts. However, the empirical material demonstrates that such an interface becomes complex when it involves different conceptualisations, values and practical experiences of conservation and benefits.

The conservation organisations and private tourism enterprises tend to be more focused on the conservation aspect and they share primarily economic and ecological interests related to CBNRM. They seem to embrace the fact that nature and natural resources are commodified for private consumption and recreational purposes. The residents of communal conservancies, on the other hand, tend to be more focused on the benefits aspect, which is linked to their livelihoods and instrumental values related to natural resources. Therefore, in order for these two approaches to complement each other both sides should understand the whole circle and its assumed causal relations. However, as the empirical material demonstrates, the creation of this understanding is a challenging task.

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<sup>29</sup> Empowerment is not discussed separately here as it is inherently involved in conservation and benefits and it has also been covered in the previous chapters.



*Figure 5. The anticipated interface of conservation and benefits*

## **Conservation**

The concept of conservation is complicated and involves a definitional dilemma. As Vihemäki (2009: 24) explains, there are different discourses of conservation which range from preservationist to participatory models. In the official figures, conservation efforts are presented in terms of the increase in wildlife. According to NACSO (2008: 27–28), wildlife numbers in conservancies of north-western Namibia have increased dramatically during recent years and formerly locally extinct populations have been re-established in north-eastern Namibia. This is claimed to result from the introduction of a wide range of species into the communal conservancies and the expansion of areas under conservation. In addition, many conservancies lie next to other conservation areas, creating more connectivity, more open systems and broader corridors (NACSO 2008: 25). Fourteen different species consisting of a total of 7119 animals have been introduced into 27 conservancies between 1999 and 2009 (NACSO 2010: 55). The animals have been donated by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism as well as by freehold farmers. In fact, Sproule and Denker (2010: 11) claim that Namibia is the only

country in the world that is translocating large numbers of rare, endangered and high-value wildlife out of national parks into open communal areas.

Conservation of wildlife and natural habitat appear to be most valuable for the lodges. This is not surprising since wilderness is an important tourist attraction in the Kavango and Caprivi regions. However, the owner of Livingstone Lodge points out that several conservancies in the Kavango region largely neglect their conservation duties: *"They sit back and they benefit."* According to the owner, the conservancies receive their annual income from trophy hunting concessions without understanding their respective responsibility to restrict livelihood activities to demarcated areas. The expansion of grazing to core conservation areas tends to reduce wildlife and this may have a negative effect on the attractiveness of a conservancy for both game viewing and trophy hunting tourists. Louis (2007) claims that it is often difficult for rural people to take a more active role in CBNRM: *"It will take time and generations because people were used to being told by government what to do so you need to change the mindset."* However, since the private sector is strongly linked with CBNRM, it is important that partnerships between private enterprises and rural communities involve mutual commitment on both sides (Binot et al. 2009a). Some of the efforts to overcome the problem of conflicting land uses and conservancy members' passivity have been the introduction of alternative livelihood options and appreciation of indigenous knowledge in natural resource management (Louis 2007; Moore 2009).

In some conservancies the pressure for other land uses comes from outside. For example, the manager of Damara Restcamp explains that the local conservancy includes large quantities of uranium and indicates that a uranium mine is under construction within the conservancy. Although this is expected to create employment opportunities for local people the manager is concerned about possible environmental impacts for both the conservancy and tourism. According to Louis (2007), mining operations usually override the need for conservation in Namibia and there is a lack of coherence between government bodies responsible for nature conservation and mining. As an attempt to address this, Strategic Environmental Assessment has been introduced in the Erongo region to find a balance between mining and other development activities such as tourism (Nghidila & Kehrer 2010: 23).

Another challenge for conservation of wildlife is poaching, which refers to illegal hunting of animals. The problem associated with poaching is that hunting and supplementing local diets with game meat have always been part of rural African lifestyles but conservation measures have prohibited the practice, apart from culling, in certain areas. On the other hand, game meat is a valuable and appreciated product in Namibia. The manager of Damara restcamp is certain that some of the poached animals from their conservancy ends up in commercial markets: *“Poaching is very high. There are owners of butcheries, which need sixty springboks but we don’t have that much money to set up a pilot station to report about poaching.”* Furthermore, the manager of Kongola campsite explains that poaching is not only carried out by local people but also by high level government officials. Some of them are alleged to hunt wildlife in order to sell it, whereas for others it is a way of spending leisure time. The battle against poaching requires game guards, vehicles and sufficient fuel, which are not necessarily available in communal conservancies that may lack resources and technical capacity. However, the effort to reduce poaching also requires an attitude which explicitly condemns poaching. At the official level, conservancy members and authorities may condemn poaching activities whilst allowing it in practice as they may partially benefit from it.

Apart from wildlife conservation, CBNRM entails also the sustainable use of other natural resources. The craft centres of the Caprivi region cooperate with community resource monitors, who are employed by the conservancies or donor organisations but who come from and live in the conservancy areas. Their major task is to monitor plant resources and to teach the craft producers how to harvest raw materials in a sustainable manner. The informants explain that sustainable harvesting includes less harmful cutting tools and selection of more matured plants and dead wood. The harvesting is carried out in cooperation with the regional forestry office, as illustrated by a community resource monitor of Chobe Craft Centre: *“Normally what we do, we don’t just take from the forest but we also go to the forestry and pay. Then they give us a permit to harvest. Same applies also to palm. Our people have been taught how to harvest palm.”* The commodification of natural resources is claimed to reduce over harvesting. This is expressed by the conservancy manager of Kongola campsite: *“People now have been enlightened about how the resources within their area can bring money. They never knew before. They never valued a tree.”*



*Picture 7. CBNRM has implied sustainable harvesting methods for the raw materials of the crafts which are almost 100 percent ecological.*

## **Benefits**

The question of benefits is similarly multifaceted and it is closely related to conservation. Financial benefits are supposed to accrue from the commodification of common property resources such as wildlife and forest products. According to Spenceley (2008: 180), there is an explicit correlation between increased livelihood benefits and increased appreciation of wildlife. Currently tourism related activities such as joint ventures, trophy hunting and game meat distribution, CBTEs and craft sales constitute nearly 90 percent of all the income in Namibia's communal conservancies (NACSO 2010: 22). This elaborates the economic significance of tourism in the conservancies, but it is also an indication of reliance on an unstable market. In 2009, the total amount the conservancies earned was N\$ 35.02 million (NACSO 2010). However, Barnes et al. (2002: 677) and Vorflauer (2007) point out that although the financial returns for communities from wildlife use initiatives exceed their investments, a significant part of such returns comes from donor support that is invested in the CBNRM programme. In fact, some



90 percent of CBNRM funding in Namibia has come from international donors and NGOs such as USAID and WWF (Bandyopadhyay et al. 2009: 734; Barnes 2010: 115).

The financial benefits of the CBTEs to their members have been discussed in the previous chapters. However, in the case of rural communities, it may be more appropriate to talk about livelihood benefits, which have been studied in southern Africa through quantitative surveys and livelihood analyses (Murphy & Roe 2004; Bandyopadhyay et al. 2009; Mbaiwa & Stronza 2010; Mbaiwa 2011). The problem with most conservancies is that areas that have been previously open for human activities are suddenly protected and resource use has become highly controlled. This implies that there are restrictions on people's livelihoods which are sometimes difficult to explain to the members. For example, the manager of Damara restcamp is concerned that not everybody in the village understands the concept of a conservancy since they do not derive any direct benefits from it: *"At the moment people are thinking that there is no really a meaning in the conservancy issue although it is a very important aspect in job creation and conserving it for sustainable development."* Therefore he emphasises for the need of awareness building among local residents. This lack of knowledge and awareness among conservancy members is common in various Namibian conservancies and has been documented by Bandyopadhyay et al. (2004). The conservancy manager of Kongola campsite elaborates that land and access to livelihood have been the core problems in the conservancy from the beginning. First three families refused to be relocated from the core area, which was closed to human activities, and the current efforts to build a new campsite face the same problem. The families residing in the campsite area had to be persuaded to move by promising them job opportunities at the campsite when it would be completed. The direct link between improving livelihoods and support for conservancies is indicated by Emptaz-Collomb (2011) in his study on five communal conservancies in the Caprivi region, which shows that conservancy members with lower wellbeing are less likely to support activities such as conservation and tourism.

CBNRM involves decentralised ownership of resources but the major challenge is that traditional power structures rarely support the democratic ideal of CBNRM, where equal participation, decision-making and benefit sharing are the underlying principles (Naguran 1999: 45; Timothy 2002: 159). As Allen and Brennan (2004: 260) re-



mark: “Strategies of survival do not fit well with development orthodoxies based on abstract virtues of democracy and participation”. For example, Schiffer (2004) has studied power relations in Namibian conservancies and the results indicate that while some power has shifted through CBNRM to the conservancy committees at local level, it has not necessarily meant empowerment of local communities as whole. Participation of the broader community in the planning and decision making of the conservancies is seen to be inefficient and benefit distribution is still widely contested. Unequal access to the financial benefits of tourism in the studied enterprises has been discussed in the chapter on poverty reduction. Binot et al (2009b: 59) refer to it as ‘elite capture’, which they acknowledge as a major challenge in CBNRM throughout southern Africa. In similar vein, Murombedzi (2010: 48) remarks that contemporary CBNRM discourse in southern Africa generally fails to analyse socio-economic stratification in local communities.

In terms of livelihoods, it is important to highlight the cost of conservation, which can undermine the possible benefits. One of these is human–wildlife conflict which refers to a phenomenon where a situation of conflict between people and wildlife occurs in the form of crop raiding, livestock depredation, predation on managed wild animal species or killing of people (Woodroff et al. 2005: 1-2). Such conflicts usually arise from territorial proximity, reliance on the same resources or threat to human livelihoods and safety (Johansson 2008: 61). In other words, a conflict takes place when wild animals cross a line or border between the domesticated and the wild and enter the human sphere uninvited (Johansson 2008: 65). Increasing population and cattle numbers combined with the increase in protected areas throughout southern Africa can be regarded as the major reason for these human–wildlife conflicts (Johansson 2008; NACSO 2008: 32; Athlapheng & Mulale 2009: 142).

The human–wildlife conflicts were raised by the CBTE representatives in the Caprivi region either in relation to poverty reduction or environmental sustainability. This is not surprising since Caprivi contains Namibia’s highest human–elephant ratio (Moore 2009: 333). Furthermore, human settlements and tourism accommodation are close to the protected areas where wildlife is found. In recent years, the number of elephants in the region has increased rapidly and the animals use old migratory routes

which bring them from neighbouring Botswana and Angola (Moore 2009: 333). Empirical studies demonstrate that increasing human–wildlife conflicts often imply negative perceptions of wild animals among local residents if proper compensation is not provided for losses and damage (Sutton et al. 2004; Johansson 2008; Atlhopheng & Mulale 2009; Binot et al 2009b; Hazzah et al. 2009). This may further hamper conservation efforts as the wildlife is regarded more as a nuisance than an economic opportunity. In 2009, more than 7600 cases of human–wildlife conflict were reported in Namibia’s communal conservancies and the majority of them appeared in the Caprivi and Kavango regions (NACSO 2010: 48). Similar striking figures were present in the study of Emptaz-Collomb (2011).



*Picture 8. Caprivi contains Namibia's highest human–elephant ratio which increases human–wildlife conflicts in the region.*

The Ministry of Environment and Tourism retains primary control over problem animals and provides quotas for the conservancies to hunt such species. Furthermore, the conservancies can only deal with problem animals if they threaten humans or livestock, but not in the case of crop damage (Boudreaux 2007: 44). Apart from killing the problem animals, human–wildlife conflict can be approached through compensation and preventive measures. For example, the Ministry of Environment and Tourism de-

cided to channel N\$ 60 000 to each registered conservancy to compensate for the losses in 2010 (Shigwedha 2011b). The Human Animal Conflict Conservancy Self-Insurance Scheme (HACCSIS) is managed by individual conservancies which pay fifty percent of the claims for losses from their own income, the remaining fifty percent being provided by IRDNC. According to the new Human Wildlife Policy, the full compensation comes from the Namibian government (IRDNC 2009: 4). However, the compensation only applies to cows. If human beings are killed by wildlife the compensation is restricted to funeral support of N\$ 5000. The compensation scheme has involved teaching conservancy residents about appropriate livestock keeping practices. Not everybody encloses their cattle in a fenced kraal for the night and this has caused a lot of cattle losses to the wildlife. Therefore, each case is investigated by the conservancy committee and community game guards. In cases where the cattle has not been taken to a kraal in the night, no compensation is granted since the loss is regarded as resulting from the cattle owner's negligence. However, the damage by elephants on people's fields is more complicated. A community resource monitor of Chobe Craft Centre explains: *"Are we talking of a stock or are we talking of a hectare? An elephant might just pass through and didn't damage anything...maybe just millets fell down, how much are we going to compensate? So it's very difficult to judge."* The compensation scheme is one of the incentives for people to register, because only members of a conservancy are eligible for compensation. Furthermore, it is thought to increase people's commitment to conservation as it results in tangible benefits for the residents.

On the other hand, the informants indicate dissatisfaction with the compensation efforts. One of the complaints concerns the slowness of authorities' reactions to the reported damage, as explained by the conservancy manager of Kongola Campsite: *"Because sometimes there is a group of animals, you can report that elephant is now chasing people but it can take up to three four months before somebody comes, which is not good."* The lack of compensation for crop damage is another source of complaint. Since subsistence farmers rely on their crops, damage to an entire yield may have catastrophic consequences for an individual family. As a preventive measure and part of the partnership with the local conservancy, Kwando lodge has started to plant chillies, which are used to reduce the damage on crops by the elephants. After harvesting the chilli plants are mixed with cow

dung and made into briquettes. The lodge manager elaborates: *"They normally know when the elephants are in the area and they put fire on the briquettes and the smoke keeps the elephants away."* Even though the chilli briquettes have proved useful in similar circumstances throughout southern Africa, the manager of Kongola campsite indicates that if lit in the evening, the briquettes will not burn throughout the night and that allows elephants to cause damage at dawn. Other preventive measures include electric fences and better controlling of livestock. Experimentation with the former indicates that it is too expensive, whereas the latter is cheaper and easier to implement (Sutton et al. 2004: 26). The latest experiment is the use of vuvuzelas, plastic horns invented by South African football fans for the World Cup in 2010, and the initial experiments are promising (Shigwedha 2011a).

## *Summary*

This chapter has discussed the policy objective of environmental and ecological sustainability. The chapter argues that the studied enterprises perceive such topics more from the perspective of sustainable wildlife management than by taking a more holistic environmentally friendly approach to tourism. The latter would imply critical scrutiny of the ecological footprint of tourism and its inherently consumptive character. However, in the Namibian context issues related to wildlife management appear important and are directly associated with most informants' livelihoods. In addition, the Namibian tourism sector has addressed ecological sustainability through the eco-awards programme, which encourages the tourism enterprises to embrace environmental considerations in their operations.

Sustainable wildlife management is practiced by both freehold and communal conservancies but there are differences between the two in terms of benefits derived from conservation efforts. The ownership of their land and game by private farms, together with their expertise and experience in tourism, guarantees them substantial financial benefits of conservation. By contrast, the members of communal conservan-

cies do not have *de jure* rights over natural resources such as wildlife. Furthermore, benefit sharing tends to be affected by local power relations and the amount of benefits may be further reduced by lack of expertise in tourism.

Another difference between freehold and communal conservancies is the relationship between conservation measures and livelihoods. For those private farms which practice trophy hunting, sustainable wildlife management implies sources of livelihood. Even though they may lose some cattle to predators on the farm, such losses do not have catastrophic consequences. The situation is very different in communal conservancies where conservation is often perceived as a hindrance to traditional livelihoods such as grazing cattle. On the other hand, CBNRM has entailed more sustainable use of raw materials for crafts which is perceived as a positive and beneficial step. One of the major challenges in communal conservancies is human–wildlife conflict, which affects especially the Caprivi region and may have devastating consequences for people’s livelihoods. Therefore, the cost of conservation is higher and requires sustainable solutions in order to enhance a positive approach to conservation.

## Conclusions

According to Saul (2005: 261), Africa is characterised by incorporation into the global capitalist system, which seems unlikely to produce a significant measure of material and humane advance for the majority of people. Similarly, Melber and Southall (2009) claim that there is a 'new scramble' for Africa, characterised by fierce competition of western and new eastern powers, such as China and India, over the exploitation of Africa's wealth of natural resources. Such statements and generalisations are debatable but they pose an important challenge for international tourism and specifically for tourism planning on the continent. Natural and cultural resources, especially in southern Africa, create vast opportunities for international tourism but the tourism–development dilemma involves a question of whose interests are taken into consideration when tapping the tourism potential. In other words, how can the need for tourism to benefit foreign investors and international tourists be accommodated whilst simultaneously contributing to the developmental needs of the host country and population? This study has analysed the tourism–development dilemma in the Namibian context by looking at the national tourism policy and challenges related to its implementation from the point of view of local tourism enterprises.

The study introduced the concept of local policy knowledge to refer to the empirical material derived from the studied tourism enterprises. Such knowledge brings more multifaceted perspectives into policy implementation which, according to the Namibian tourism policy, includes the production of a tourism master plan and regional tourism strategies (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 5). The need to ensure the implementation of the policy at regional and local levels has similarly been concluded by Jänis (2008). This implies that abstract development objectives of the tourism policy need to be placed in local contexts where they can be adjusted according to specific needs and socio-economic realities. The study argues that local policy knowledge can considerably assist in such contextualisation by providing deeper insights into the opportunities and challenges in policy implementation from the perspective of local actors. Similarly, Sofield (2003: 104) reminds us that "despite the attention that may be

paid to tourism policy, planning, and development by a national government, the practicality, application and implementation of those policies, plans and developments must often be placed in the context of the local levels of authority and their communities". The statement carries more weight through Yanow's (2003: 236) examples of several policy failures resulting from the outright devaluing of local knowledge in different contexts.

According to Yanow (2003: 237), policy-relevant groups sharing a set of values, professional experiences, class, gender, race or other characteristics can be called communities of meaning. Through a process of interaction members of such communities come to use similar cognitive mechanisms, engage in similar acts and use similar language to talk about thought and action. Furthermore, Yanow (2003: 238) remarks that different interpretative communities focus cognitively and rationally on different elements of a policy. In this study, various communities of meaning could be identified on the basis of the interview material. Obviously the informants form communities of meaning based on the socio-economic status or professional characteristics. These have been, however, rather explicitly discussed throughout the previous chapters. For the purpose of conclusion, the communities of meaning have been formed on the basis of the practical applicability of the policy objectives, which was the focus of this study. Therefore, the communities of meaning that are presented in table 8 reflect the awareness of the policy objectives and constraints behind them, together with the optimistic versus critical perception of the policy objectives and the role of tourism in promoting them. Interestingly, such communities occur across different types of enterprises and different personal attributes of the informants.

I acknowledge that this study has accessed only part of the local policy knowledge existing among the studied tourism enterprises. Similarly, I acknowledge that for people engaged in tourism or rural development in Namibia these findings are not entirely new. However, the results may have instrumental relevance for representatives of the Namibian government and institutions or companies involved in tourism planning, nature conservation and rural development. Furthermore, the study has academic relevance in its interdisciplinary approach to tourism, policy and development through current discourses which are discussed in more detail in the following section.

Table 8. Meanings attached to the policy objectives and communities of meaning

| Policy objective                                      | Lodges and farms   | Tour operators  | CBTEs   |
|---|--|---|---|
| <b>Economic growth</b>                                | Contribution to national economy ♦<br><br><i>Covering the insufficiency in marketing left by the government</i> ♦<br><br>Investments and product diversification ♦ | Contribution to national economy ♦<br><br><i>Investments and product diversification</i> ♦  | Contribution to local development initiatives ♦<br><br><i><u>Responding to the immediate needs of the community members</u></i> ♦   |
| <b>Employment creation</b>                            | Valuable opportunities for women ♦<br><br>Opportunities for entire families (farms) ♦<br><br><i>Challenges of the employer</i> ♦                                   | <i>Opportunities for the disadvantaged Namibians</i> ♦○<br><br>Self-employment ♦  | <i>Craft production as self-employment</i> ♦<br><br><i><u>Equity and quantity as the major criteria</u></i> ♦○  |
| <b>Poverty reduction</b>                              | <i><u>Responsibility of the government</u></i> ○<br><br><i><u>Responsibility of the poor</u></i> ○<br><br><i>Employment for the poor and CSR</i> ♦                 | <b>Hampered by increasing inequality and lack of local linkages in tourism</b> ○<br><br><i>Tours to communal conservancies and CBTEs</i> ♦○ | <i><b>Hampered by inflation, human-wildlife conflicts and cost of HIV/AIDS</b></i> ♦<br><br><i>Income from crafts</i> ♦<br><br><i>Employment in CBTEs and private enterprises</i> ♦ |
| <b>Black economic empowerment</b>                     | <i>Important government intervention</i> ♦<br><br><i><u>Imposed government intervention</u></i> ○<br><br><i><b>Failed government intervention</b></i> ♦○           | <i>Necessary government intervention</i> ♦○<br><br><i><b>Failed government intervention</b></i> ♦○  | No awareness<br><br><b>Failed government intervention</b>   |
| <b>Environmental and ecological sustainability</b>    | <i>Necessity for livelihoods (farms)</i> ♦<br><br><i>Sustainable wildlife management (farms)</i> ♦<br><br><i>Necessity for tourism</i> ♦                           | Important for tourism ♦<br><br>Education of the tourists ♦  | Sustainable management of natural resources through CBNRM ♦<br><br><b>Competing land uses</b> ○<br><br><b>Inadequate compensation for HWC</b> ○                                     |
| <b>Reduction of regional development inequalities</b> | <i><b>Neglect of peripheral regions by the government</b></i> ♦○<br><br>Little awareness   | <i><b>Hampered by spatial concentration and profit oriented nature of tourism</b></i> ○   | <i><b>Lack of basic services in rural areas</b></i> ♦○<br><br><i><b>Ineffective and biased regional governments</b></i> ○   |



The communities of meaning:

- 1a) Black ink: Awareness of the policy objective
  - 1b) Grey ink: Limited or no awareness of the policy objective
  - 2a) Normal text: Optimism about the enterprise's role towards the policy objective
  - 2b) **Bold text**: Criticism about the enterprise's role towards the policy objective\*
  - 3a) *Italic text*: Awareness of the constraints behind the policy objective
  - 3b) Underlined text: Limited or no awareness of the constraints behind the policy objective
  - 4a) ◆: Optimism about the role of tourism towards the policy objective
  - 4b) ○: Criticism about the role of tourism towards the policy objective
- \* (Either the enterprise considers the policy objective as the government's responsibility or there are other perceived constraints)

### *Tourism as a development strategy in Namibia*

As this study illustrated, tourism is recognised as one of the key economic sectors in Namibia and its role is likely to increase in the future (Turpie et al. 2004; Sherbourne 2009). Furthermore, the government is highly committed to nature conservation as one of the measures to increase the number of foreign visitors (Republic of Namibia 2008). The role of tourism in the Namibian economy may increase in the future due to the predicted effects of accelerating climate change on other economic sectors (Reid et al. 2008). Paradoxically, the role of tourism in producing the greenhouse gases and thereby contributing to climate change is increasingly a source of concern (Peeters et al. 2007; Gössling et al. 2008: 874).

The detailed documentary analysis indicated that tourism and development planning are closely interlinked in Namibia and therefore the tourism–development nexus is in principle well identified. In practice, there are a number of constraints deriving from Namibia's historical, political and socio-economic realities. The tourism policy has targeted some of the major constraints, such as HIV/AIDS, lack of skills and the need for transformation. However, the constraints cannot be adequately addressed if tourism is planned as an economic sector in isolation. Instead, it should be planned coherently in concert with rural development, natural resource management and health and education sectors, among others.

It is important to note that the results of this study reflect the informants' opinions, perceptions and subjective experiences. Although the lack of empirically gathered quantitative data on the different types of enterprises and their impact on development in the four regions can be regarded as a weakness, the strength of this study is to focus beyond the numbers. In other words, instead of only paying attention to how many people are employed in the tourism sector or how much economic benefits tourism creates, the study has been able to analyse what kind of employment-relations there are and how are the economic benefits distributed. Had the aim been to study the actual employment or poverty reduction impact of tourism in different regions, the approach and methods would have been chosen differently. In addition, the available statistics from secondary sources utilised in the study together with expert interviews have provided information which has made it possible to contextualise the interview material in wider tourism-related or geographical contexts.

This section returns to the discourses on tourism and sustainable development as well as tourism and poverty reduction. They are explicitly reflected in the Namibian tourism policy, which aims to address the complexities and imbalances of the tourism–development nexus in the country. However, special focus is paid to their applicability and sufficiency in characterising and addressing the challenges related to tourism as a development strategy in Namibia. The discourse on tourism, power and inequality is not discussed separately, but is instead embedded in the other discourses, since it is manifested throughout the results.

### **Sustainable development through tourism?**

Sustainable development through tourism can be approached from different viewpoints. Tourism is first of all an important sector of the Namibian economy and it plays a major role in enhancing economic growth. The role of the studied private enterprises in bringing tourism revenue and other economic benefits on a national scale appears incontestable. They invest in the tourism sector and make use of ancillary services, thus having a considerable multiplier effect. However, the private sector is heavily dominated by the white minority, which reflects the unequal ownership pattern of the Namibian

tourism industry. The government has acknowledged this and initiated practical interventions, which include black economic empowerment (BEE) and community-based approaches to tourism (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008). Such interventions can be seen to represent the core of promoting sustainable development through tourism but the transformation process involves practical constraints. These are related to the colonial legacy in human resources together with prevailing power relations and prejudices. As a solution to the lack of skills the study emphasises the need for affordable training and mentoring opportunities. The government should take the responsibility for providing adequate possibilities for human resource development and tourism SMEs. In fact, this has already been addressed through the cooperation of Ministry of Environment and Tourism and Ministry of Trade and Industry (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008: 16). A more difficult task is to tackle prejudice. In this respect, it is important to remember that Namibian independence is only 21 years old and removing the apartheid legacy from people's mindsets requires time, patience and intervention. Tourism can, nevertheless, play its part in the process by highlighting cultural diversity as a valuable asset worth exploration, not only by overseas visitors but also by domestic tourists.

In addition to the direct benefits, sustainable development through tourism should mean that revenue is directed in such a way as to enhance social and regional development throughout the country. In the view of the informants of both private and community-based tourism enterprises this has not been the case. Their concerns are shared by several academics, who allege that the Namibian government has certainly not fulfilled its promises on social development in the 20 years since independence (Melber 2005, 2007; Levine 2006; Van Rooy et al. 2006; Jauch et al. 2009). Assuming that the projected tourism growth is realised, it will be important to ensure that more concrete and more realistic plans on redistribution of tourism revenue are prepared and their implementation is ensured. Obviously the question of redistribution involves more than the handling of tourism revenues: it relates to the capacity of the Namibian state as a middle-income country to provide basic services for the population in all the regions. According to Jauch et al. (2009: 68), this should not be left only to market forces but requires a deliberate, strategic intervention by a developmental state. The

state envisaged would adhere to human rights, allow free political participation and distribute resources fairly (Jauch et al. 2009: 69).

The relationship between tourism and ecological sustainability is highly controversial. By its very nature tourism involves consumption of natural resources, but at the same time the income from it can be used as an incentive for nature conservation measures. In Namibia, both private landowners and residents in the communal areas are encouraged to practice sustainable wildlife management because it tends to increase biodiversity and generate income through tourism. The commitment to conservation has been enhanced through the commodification of natural resources into products with financial value; nature and wildlife are the most important tourist attractions in Namibia and they attract both consumptive and non-consumptive forms of tourism. However, even if tourism enhances biodiversity it does not imply that the activity is sustainable in ecological terms. The concept of the ecological footprint would give a more realistic picture of the environmental impacts of tourism, despite the potential difficulties in measuring it. In fact, such approach could even bring the concept of sustainable tourism into serious question. This is not to suggest that the term sustainable tourism should be rejected in tourism planning, but its ecological component should be analysed more critically and defined more precisely.

### **Opportunities and constraints on poverty reduction**

The discourse on tourism and poverty reduction is at the core of tourism and development planning in southern Africa (Ashley & Roe 2002; Mashinini 2003; Matenga 2005; Manyara & Jones 2007; Lepper & Goebel 2010; Mitchell & Ashley 2010). The Namibian tourism policy acknowledges the role of tourism in poverty reduction mainly through national revenue and employment creation (Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2008). This reflects the market approach to poverty, which is based on an assumption that income derived from tourism leads to poverty reduction at national and local level. As indicated in the previous section, wealth created through tourism at a national level seems not to have been channelled into poverty reduction measures. Furthermore, the study concludes that the market approach often shifts the focus from

structural aspects of poverty. For example, the private tourism enterprises are important actors in the formal labour markets, but as the study demonstrated the salaries and work contracts are highly variable. Such challenges could be addressed through certification schemes that would ensure appropriate salary levels and working conditions. For example, Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) is planning to expand fair trade certification to the Namibian tourism sector (Mancama 2010). In addition, Angula (2008) proposes fair trade principles for the trophy hunting industry, even though there may not be much demand for it among the clients.

One conclusion of the study is that there is a wider diversity of opportunities available for poverty reduction through tourism than currently acknowledged by the studied enterprises. For example, there is more scope for pro-poor supply chains which would complement black economic empowerment efforts through preferential procurement. Furthermore, community-based tourism can bring valuable income, increase entrepreneurial skills and enhance self esteem of rural communities, including women. These measures alone are not sufficient for poverty reduction, but they can make important contributions in the local context. On the other hand, tourism is not likely to address the prevailing conditions behind current poverty in the rural areas, such as low educational levels, high HIV/AIDS prevalence and harsh environmental conditions. Therefore rural development, poverty reduction and tourism should be planned in concert, the stated aim of community based natural resource management (CBNRM). In addition, future tourism planning and the implementation of the tourism policy should take into consideration how the entire Namibian tourism sector can adopt a more pro-poor focus.

Finally, it is important to contextualise the relationship between tourism and poverty. As discussed in the study, on the one hand tourism is expected to reduce poverty, but on the other hand indigenous cultures associated with material modesty are valuable tourist attractions. This calls for more analytical discussion on the interrelationship of poverty, culture and tourism. In addition, rural communities may perceive the concept of poverty in different ways. In fact, they appear to be most concerned about the practical aspects of poverty, such as unemployment, lack of adequate basic services, human-wildlife conflicts or the burden of HIV/AIDS on women. These as-

pects may cause different degrees of concern in different local contexts. Furthermore, if poverty reduction is a desired goal, it matters how the benefits of tourism are distributed. Local power hierarchies in community-based tourism and partnerships can reduce the income earned by the poorest individuals. Therefore, the entire discourse on tourism and poverty reduction should involve more analytical discussion about how poverty is defined and the aspects of poverty that can or should be addressed through tourism. The latter suggestion is very relevant to community-based tourism, the income of which is often used to fund basic infrastructure and social services in the communal areas. The essential question this poses is; is the building of school classrooms, clinics and wells the duty of the government or community-based tourism enterprises?

### **The specific challenges of community-based tourism**

This study showed that community-based tourism (CBT) can indeed be regarded as a significant effort to reduce the inequality of the tourism sector and to distribute the benefits of tourism more evenly. In addition, CBT is often combined with CBNRM to enhance both rural development and sustainable use of natural resources. The study therefore concludes that CBT complements private tourism enterprises in the endeavour to realise the tourism policy's development objectives. This does not imply that the challenges of CBT are not analysed critically. The challenges revealed in this study support similar findings in other southern African countries (Scheyvens 2002; Mbaiwa 2003, 2004; Collins & Snel 2008; Dixey 2008; Spenceley 2008; Lepper & Goebel 2010; Sebele 2010). These challenges have been discussed before in CBT literature, but as presented here in the Namibian context the discussion represents a valuable addition to the academic studies on the topic (Newsham 2007; Novelli & Gebhardt 2007; Bandyopadhyay et al. 2009; Lapeyre 2009b, 2011; Ndlovu et al. 2010; Saarinen 2010a).

First of all, CBTEs are common in the rural communal areas and therefore most of their members consist of people whose understanding of the tourism system is very limited. This is related to low educational levels and lack of exposure to international tourism. Furthermore, their ability to run and manage a business enterprise may be constrained due to lack of appropriate skills and experience. This is especially visible in

management, marketing and product diversification, which are all vital aspects of any tourism enterprise. Expertise tends to be similarly limited among other interest groups involved in or cooperating with CBTEs, such as regional, local and traditional authorities. This lack of expertise easily leads to unequal power relations between the less knowledgeable and financially weaker local actors and the more knowledgeable and financially stronger private enterprises and donors.

Second, the empirical material indicated that financial and technical support provided by donor NGOs at the outset may eventually reduce the self-sustainability of community-based ventures. On the other hand, if members of CBTEs possess sufficient skills and self confidence they can access donor funding for specific needs. Furthermore, NGOs can be replaced or complemented by co-operating private enterprises through partnerships. There seems to be increasing demand and opportunities for partnerships in Namibia, but such arrangements involve various challenges that have been highlighted both in this study and in the study of Lapeyre (2009b). Another important issue related to CBT is the role of tour operators. They tend to bring the majority of the customers to CBTEs, so the relationship between the two should be based on effective communication and mutual commitment. However, as the study of Lapeyre (2011) demonstrates, this is a great challenge due to two major factors. First, inbound tour operators and accommodation chains increasingly practice vertical integration in order to better control market flows and it is difficult for CBTEs to become part of this value chain. Secondly, travel agents and tour operators must secure bookings as early as 18 months in advance and such organised booking systems are difficult to handle by the CBTEs due to lack of adequate telephone and internet connections, not to mention the punctuality in such bookings.

Third, the study material demonstrated that value systems of rural communities engaged in tourism tend to conflict with the profit-oriented capitalist nature of tourism. The studied CBTEs tend to prefer the distribution of direct community benefits instead of accumulation of profit in order to invest it in the development of the enterprise. This is understandable in areas with high levels of poverty and material scarcity. However, the study concluded that if not carefully executed such community support easily leads to poor financial management of the accounts and eventually may hamper the

activities of an enterprise. This in turn jeopardises the eventual benefits to be distributed to the community. Notwithstanding such challenges, it is important to acknowledge that skills development and other requirements for successful engagement in tourism in the rural communal areas take time. As Diggle (2007) and Davidson (2008) emphasise, expected changes in rural attitudes and the level of skills required for communities' effective participation in tourism tend to take several years, if not decades, and this is important to remember when the success of CBTEs is measured.

Tourism is often perceived as the most lucrative way of earning income in rural communities but it cannot be the solution to development in all places and contexts. In addition, tourism often implies profound commodification of cultures although such process is not solely a result of tourism (Smith & Duffy 2003). Therefore, it is important that conservancies and rural communities are encouraged to engage also in other income generating activities such as forestry, harvesting veld products and bee-keeping. Certain veld products such as Marula oil, Kalahari melon seed, *Ximenia* and Devil's Claw have particular value for their medicinal or cosmetic properties and the demand for these products is expected to increase (NFPF 2009; NACSO 2010: 23). At present CBT can easily be interpreted as less professional and lower quality tourism run by inexperienced people, and therefore CBT products should be developed into more specific tourism products such as cultural tourism, rural tourism, or heritage tourism. Finally, an important notion in relation to CBT is the concept of community. It is often difficult to explicitly define a specific community and not all community members are necessarily registered members of community-based tourism enterprises. This, together with local power hierarchies, poses challenges for participation in tourism and equal benefit distribution. In fact, it can be argued that tourism essentially excludes those members of the community who are least educated and least experienced. On the other hand, such members can benefit from collective income that is used for the entire community.



### *Suggestions for future research*

This study has covered various topics related to tourism and development in Namibia but there is a need to deepen such understanding in future research. One of the most studied topics in this field is the country's CBNRM programme and its relevance in nature conservation and rural development through community-based tourism. In future research the topic could be approached with comparative studies across southern Africa that would pay more attention to the benefit sharing mechanisms and how local power relations affect them. Similarly, an interesting topic of research would be the perceptions and experiences overseas tourists have of the services and products in community-based tourism. It would be worth finding out what the tourists learn in such places and how they perceive the different lifestyles and cultures of their hosts. In addition, the increasing number of partnerships between community-based and private tourism enterprises calls for detailed analysis of how they manage to spread the benefits of tourism to rural communal areas and whether they also lead to true empowerment and skills transfer or just economic benefits. Such studies could use interviews to determine both parties' experiences of how the partnerships have been negotiated and carried out and whether the outcome is perceived as satisfactory. In studying these topics there is room for alternative methodologies such as action research and participatory methods.

As the study demonstrated, foreign tourists arriving in Namibia comprise different types of visitors who have various motives for visiting the country. Mapping these groups and their contribution to the Namibian economy through value chain analysis or other methods would bring to the fore useful information which could be taken into account in tourism planning. With the exception of Lapeyre (2009b) there is a dearth of such efforts. Furthermore, different visitor groups tend to have an interest in different tourism products and their regional distribution differs (Asheeke 2008). Therefore, regional tourism planning could utilise such information and tourism establishments in different regions could offer those services for which there would be the largest demand. Similarly, an important topic which has not been thoroughly studied in Namibia is the issue of leakage. Although it may be difficult to study as it is a politically sensitive

issue, the repatriation of tourism revenue to their home countries by foreign owners is of major concern. Correct information on leakage would assist the government in revisiting its policies on foreign investments and appropriate legislation. Although currently most of the foreign owners of tourism enterprises appear to be South African or German, the rise of Eastern powers and the close relationship between Namibia and China may signal the emergence of Chinese investors in the service sector, as has happened in some other southern African countries (Cheru & Obi 2010).

The transformation of the Namibian tourism sector is a highly topical theme which has not been studied systematically. Therefore, it deserves more attention and should be similarly studied in types of tourism enterprises other than those covered in this study. One of the ways to approach transformation and BEE in tourism could be comparative studies between Namibia and South Africa. The latter has more experience in implementing BEE in the tourism sector and it has also been studied by academics (Rogerson 2004a, 2004c; Cornelissen 2005b; Lindisizwe 2010). As this study demonstrated, there is a large diversity of perceptions on the need, practical implementation measures and benefits of BEE among private tourism entrepreneurs. This is an important topic for further research since a government policy may not be successfully implemented if the implementing stakeholders do not agree with the contents and intended outcomes of the policy.

As this study indicated, the relationship between tourism and poverty reduction involves both opportunities and constraints, but there is scant research in Namibia on this topic. Future research could have both instrumental and analytical focus, thus having both direct policy relevance and academic value. For example, the possibilities and constraints for pro poor supply chains are worth studying across the tourism sector, since they constitute an important channel by which poverty can be addressed through tourism. However, it is similarly important to study the topic more critically and examine poverty as a tourist attraction and the reasons for its persistence. Comparative studies on this topic between different regions and between urban and rural areas would make valuable information available about the tourism–poverty nexus.

Finally, there is more scope for applying the concept of local policy knowledge in future research. In addition to utilising the concept in the Namibian tourism policy

context, it could be applied in other research where policy implementation occurs largely among the local level stakeholders. Examples of these could include teachers implementing educational policy, health officials implementing health policy and environmental officials implementing environmental policies. As in the case of the Namibian tourism policy, in these cases local policy knowledge could bring valuable and complementary insights to the actual policy implementation and the planning processes. Such insights could be harnessed both by academic policy research and by stakeholders who are involved in practical policy processes.

## Appendix 1. Government documents on tourism and development planning

| Government documents on tourism                    | Year | Specific remarks in relation to national development objectives   |
|--|------|---|
| Namibia Tourism Development Plan                   | 1995 | Tourism is expected to enhance economic growth, increase employment and income creation, alleviate poverty and promote protection of wildlife.  |
| White Paper on Tourism                             | 1994 | Tourism expected to revive and sustain economic growth, create employment opportunities, alleviate poverty and reduce inequalities in income.<br><br>Tourism is expected to promote regional development and nature conservation. |
| Policy on the Promotion of Community Based Tourism | 1995 | Community-based tourism is expected to provide social and economic development in communal areas and to rectify past unequal ownership structure of tourism.  |
| Tourism Act, Consolidated draft                    | 1996 | Tourism should benefit all sectors of the Namibian population.<br><br>Recognition of conservancies with concessionary rights over tourism activities  |
| Nature Conservation Amendment Act                  | 1996 | Devolution of wildlife and tourism rights to rural communities through conservancies with the aim of promoting sustainable use of natural resources and poverty reduction   |
| A National Tourism Policy for Namibia. First Draft | 2005 | Detailed description of how tourism can address national development objectives.  |
| National Policy on Tourism for Namibia             | 2008 | The aim is to provide a framework for the mobilisation of tourism resources to realise long term national goals of NDP3   |

| <b>Government development plans</b>                     | <b>Year</b> | <b>Specific remarks in relation to tourism</b>  |
|---|-------------|---|
| First National Development Plan (NDP1) 1995/6-1999/2000 | 1996        | Tourism is expected to enhance economic growth, increase employment and income creation and promote rural development.  |
| Second National Development Plan (NDP2) 2001/2-2005/6   | 2002        | <p>Tourism is expected to enhance economic growth, increase employment and income creation and promote rural development.</p> <p>Target to establish 25 communal conservancies by 2005, target for tourism growth of 6 percent between 1999 and 2006.</p> |
| Namibia Vision 2030                                     | 2004        | Tourism is expected to accelerate economic growth, alleviate poverty in rural areas through employment and provision of income opportunities to women.  |
| Third National Development Plan (NDP3) 2007/8-2011/12   | 2008        | <p>Tourism is expected to accelerate economic growth, create employment, reduce poverty and empower vulnerable groups.</p> <p>Target for Tourism Master Plan and regional tourism development plans by 2009, target for 1 million tourists by 2010.</p>   |

Sources: Ministry of Environment and Tourism 2005, 2008), National Planning Commission (2002), Republic of Namibia (1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1996a, 1996b, 2004, 2008).

## Appendix 2. Interview guide for private enterprises

The interview guide/Farms, lodges and tour operators

1. Do you think your farm/lodge/tour operator contributes to the Namibian economy? If yes, in which ways, if not then why not?
  - Tax revenue
  - Services required and bought
  - Multiplier impact / economic impact at local level
2. Do you think your farm/lodge/tour operator contributes to employment creation in Namibia? If yes, in which ways, if not then why not?
  - Experiences
  - Problems
  - Tourism employment vs. other employment
  - Future possibilities
3. Does your farm/lodge/tour operator consider environmental issues? If yes, in which ways, if not then why not?
  - Wildlife & sustainable hunting
  - Water, energy and waste
  - Problems or threats
4. Do you think your farm/lodge/tour operator contributes to poverty reduction in Namibia? If yes, in which ways, if not then why not?
  - Poverty within the area
  - Jobs
  - Services and products needed/bought locally

5. What are your views about black economic empowerment and its applicability in your farm/lodge/tour operator?
  - Familiarity with the concept and idea
  - Practical experiences of BEE
  - Skills development
  - Funding issue
6. Do you think tourism can help to reduce regional inequities in Namibia and does your enterprise contribute to it?
  - Status of this region as compared to others
  - Significance of tourism for regional development
  - Regional distribution of tourism
  - Own contribution to regional development
7. Any other comments or ideas (or questions) that one might want to add.

## Appendix 3. Interview guide for community-based tourism enterprises

(\* = to be replaced with the name of the concerned CBTE)

1. Do you think CBTE\* has contributed to employment creation in this area (village, conservancy or preferred local context)? If yes, in which ways, if not then why not?

- Experiences
- Problems
- Tourism employment vs. other employment
- Future possibilities

2. Do you think CBTE has contributed to poverty reduction in this area? If yes, in which ways, if not then why not?

- Nature of poverty within the area
- Direct income
- Jobs
- Services and products bought locally

3. Do you think CBTE has improved the economic situation in this area? If yes, in which ways, if not then why not?

- Jobs and other economic benefits
- Marketing of CBTE
- What has been achieved with income from CBTE
- Ways in which this CBTE could be made more attractive for tourists



4. Are you familiar with black economic empowerment which is promoted by the Namibian government and do you have opinions or experiences about it in your CBTE (if no prior information on BEE then it is explained)?
  - Familiarity with the concept and idea
  - Practical experiences of BEE
  - Employment opportunities in tourism business, developing SMEs
  - The role of CBT in BEE
  
5. Does CBTE promote environmental issues and conservation? If yes, in which ways, if not then why not?
  - Resources needed, how utilised
  - Water, energy and waste
  - Problems or threats
  - Achievements
  
6. Do you think that CBTE and tourism in general helps to develop this region? If yes, in which ways, if not then why not?
  - Characteristics and development needs of the region
  - Significance of tourism in the region
  - CBTE's contribution to regional development
  - Government development efforts in the region
  
7. Any other comments or ideas (or questions) that one might want to add.

## Appendix 4. List of study enterprises and their characteristics

| <b>Tourism enterprises (Pseudonyms)</b> | <b>Major tourism products</b>  | <b>Structure of ownership</b>                      | <b>Number of staff*</b>               | <b>Year of establishment</b>       |
|---|--|--|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Sunrise Hunting                         | Trophy hunting<br>Accommodation (2 en-suite luxury bedrooms)<br>Tailor-made tours  | Private, owned by a family                         | Owner couple and 11 employees         | 2001                               |
| Kudu Safaris                            | Trophy hunting<br>Accommodation (2 en-suite luxury bedrooms)<br>Game drives<br>Tailor-made tours   | Private, owned by two families                     | Two owner couples and 5-8 employees   | 1992                               |
| Jagdfarm Erongo                         | Trophy hunting<br>Accommodation (2 bedrooms and 2 luxury bungalows)<br>Game drives<br>Tailor-made tours  | Private, owned by a family                         | Owner couple and 5-8 employees        | 1963                               |
| Kwando Lodge                            | Accommodation (27 luxury en-suite bungalows)<br>Restaurant and bar<br>Game viewing   | Private, owned by a Namibian lodge and hotel chain | Approx. 40 employees                  | 1996                               |
| Madumu Lodge                            | Accommodation (8 en-suite luxury chalets and 3 budget traveller cabins)<br>Restaurant and bar<br>Guided tours<br>Game viewing<br>Guided boat trips and bird watching | Private, owned by a family                         | Owner couple and 19 employees         | 2001 (renovated by current owners) |
| Kasika Lodge                            | Accommodation (6 en-suite budget bungalows and 8 budget rooms)<br>Restaurant and bar<br>Fishing and game viewing<br>Guided boat trips and bird watching              | Private, owned by a family                         | Three owners and approx. 25 employees | 1993                               |

\*The number of staff refers mainly to permanent employees but some employers also take into account the seasonal employees. All enterprises employ seasonal labour.

| <b>Tourism enterprises (Pseudonyms)</b> | <b>Major tourism products</b>  | <b>Structure of ownership</b>  | <b>Number of staff*</b>               | <b>Year of establishment</b>                    |
|---|--|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| Victoria Lodge                          | Accommodation (27 en-suite luxury rooms)<br>Restaurant and bar<br>Conference hall<br>Fishing and game viewing<br>Guided boat trips                         | Private, owned by South African based hotel chain                            | Approx. 40 employees                  | n/a, since 2006 South African based hotel chain |
| Livingstone Lodge                       | Accommodation (1 cottage and 4 en-suite furnished tents)<br>Meals and bar<br>Fishing and game viewing<br>Guided boat trips and bird watching               | Private, owned by a family   | Owner couple and approx. 10 employees | 2001  |
| Starlight Tours                         | Self-drive safaris<br>Tailor-made tours<br>Day tours and airport transfers   | Private, owned by an entrepreneur  | Owner and 4 part time employees       | 2006  |
| Afriqueen Travel                        | Self-drive safaris<br>Tailor-made tours<br>Day tours and airport transfers   | Private, owned by an entrepreneur  | Owner and 5 part time employees       | 2008  |
| River Zone Tours                        | Self-drive safaris<br>Tailor-made tours<br>Day tours and airport transfers   | Private, owned by an entrepreneur  | Owner and 2-3 part time employees     | 1996 /2005                                      |
| Damara Restcamp                         | Accommodation (3 budget bungalows and 10 campsites)<br>Restaurant and craft centre<br>Mountain climbing<br>Bird watching<br>Guided walks to rock art sites | Community-based, owned by a community development association of 300 members | 23 employees                          | 1992  |
| Chobe Craft Market                      | Arts and crafts (palm baskets and bags, papyrus reed mats, jewellery, pottery and woodcarvings)  | Community-based, owned by craft producers' association of 300 members        | 2 employees                           | 1996  |
| Okavango Crafts Centre                  | Arts and crafts (palm baskets and bags, dustbins, jewellery, pottery, woodcarvings and small furniture)  | Community-based, owned by craft producers' association of 1500 members       | 3 employees                           | 1986  |
| Kongola Campsite                        | Accommodation (4 secluded camping sites with barbeque facilities, open kitchen and a toilet)   | Community-based, owned by conservancy of 4000 members                        | 3 employees                           | 1998  |
| Linyati Craft Centre                    | Arts and crafts (palm baskets and bags, jewellery, pottery and woodcarvings)   | Community-based, owned by 70 craft producers                                 | 1 employee                            | 2000  |

## Appendix 5. List of study methods

| Studied Enterprises (Pseudonyms) | Methods used               | Number of people interviewed with interview guide and their positions* | Number of people interviewed for follow-up | Number of people interviewed informally |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|--|--|---|
| Sunrise hunting                  | Interviews and observation | 2 (Owner couple)   | 1  | 8                                       |
| Kudu Safaris                     | Interviews and observation | 4 (Two owner couples)  | 2  | 3                                       |
| Jagdfarm Omaruru                 | Interviews and observation | 2 (Owner Couple)   | -  | 3                                       |
| Kwando Lodge                     | Interviews and observation | 1 (Manager)  | -  | 3                                       |
| Madumu Lodge                     | Interviews and observation | 2 (Owner couple)   | 1  | 1                                       |
| Kasika Lodge                     | Interviews and observation | 2 (Manager and kitchen supervisor)                                     | 1  | 4                                       |
| Victoria Lodge                   | Interviews and observation | 1 (Manager)  |  | 1                                       |
| Livingstone Lodge                | Interviews and observation | 2 (Owner couple)   | -  | 2                                       |
| Damara Restcamp                  | Interviews and observation | 3 (Manager, vice manager, tour guide)                                  | 1  | 3                                       |
| Chobe Craft Market               | Interviews and observation | 4 (Manager, community resource monitors)                               | 1  | 3                                       |
| Okavango Crafts Centre           | Interviews and observation | 2 (Two managers)   | 1  | 3                                       |
| Kongola Campsite                 | Interviews and observation | 3 (Campsite manager, two conservancy managers)                         | 1  | 1                                       |
| Linyanti Craft Centre            | Interviews and observation | 2 (Community resource monitor, conservancy manager)                    | 1  | 2                                       |
| Starlight Tours                  | Interview                  | 1 (Owner)  | -  | -                                       |
| Afriqueen Travel                 | Interview                  | 1 (Owner)  | 1  | -                                       |
| River Zone Tours                 | Interviews and observation | 2 (Owner, apprentice)  | -  | -                                       |
| <b>TOTAL: 16</b>                 |                            | <b>34</b>  | <b>11</b>                                  | <b>37</b>                               |

\*in some enterprises two people with the same position were interviewed because the position holders were different during the first and second fieldwork

## Appendix 6. Currency convert

Currencies referred to in the study include:

Namibian dollar N\$ (tied to the value of South African rand ZAR)

US dollar US\$

Currency converter:

| <b>N\$ 1</b> | <b>US\$ 1</b> |
|--------------|---------------|
| = US\$ 0.13  | = N\$ 7.27    |
| = 0.10 €     | = 0,73 €      |

Source: <http://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/>

Rates of 14.02.2011

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