



Table 31: Summary of collective and individual financial and non-financial benefits and costs of CBT documented by WILD

COLLECTIVE LEVEL	INDIVIDUAL LEVEL
<p>FINANCIAL BENEFITS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Income available for distribution Income available for investment (possible long-term use as community equity in tourism) Income available for social projects 	<p>FINANCIAL BENEFITS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cash wage from employment to help met basics need or for investment Income from craft sales to diversify livelihoods Tips at traditional village/campsites Income from building enterprise, selling reeds, thatch grass
<p>NON-FINANCIAL BENEFITS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sense of pride in ownership Participation in tourism planning Empowerment to deal with outsiders Focuses attention to remote areas Credibility to conservancy or other collective organisation Increased knowledge of tourism and business Increase in decision-making ability Greater unity and cooperation (amongst craft producers in Caprivi) Traditional skills being valued and transferred and have a commercial use Understanding value of natural resources in supporting tourism Awareness of need for conservation of natural resources and change in practice Gender awareness shown through balance in campsite employees 	<p>NON-FINANCIAL BENEFITS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Training opportunities Career path development Skill acquisition (e.g. craft making) Greater knowledge and confidence (e.g. people attending exchange trips) Compensation for not using campsite area to meet livelihood needs Increased confidence due to collective action (with craft cooperative women)
<p>COSTS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Site-specific land-use change, reducing access to resources (grazing, cropping, fishing, water, veld food) Change in cultural practices Significant time cost to people responsible for development and management of enterprise who give their time on a voluntary basis Disillusionment if a small number of tourists causes a slow return of benefits against expectations Credibility of leadership/employees questioned when benefits are not as fast or as much as hoped Conflict over ownership/benefits where initial arrangements are not clear Running at a loss Perceived increase in wildlife damage to agriculture 	<p>COSTS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land-use change felt at individual level Change in cultural practice experienced at an individual level Time cost felt at individual level Disillusionment expressed at an individual level Conflict felt at an individual level

Source: Adapted from Murphy and Halstead 2003

The WILD Project has investigated these various livelihood impacts of tourism at two levels. Firstly, at a macro level, research was conducted that explored the financial value of tourism in communal areas (Roe *et al.* 2003). Secondly, micro-level research with individual enterprises and households was conducted through interviews, surveys and participatory workshops (see Chapter 2 and Annex 3 for more details).

The analysis presented here distinguishes between collective and individual livelihood benefits and costs. The importance of this distinction is that while common property resources are used through tourism to generate benefits that accrue to the collective (i.e. community income) there are also individual benefits (through employment and individually-owned enterprises) that people may enjoy. CBNRM theory suggests that the provision of these benefits is central to addressing behavioural change in support of improved NRM. The distinction between collective and individual costs is also important.

The rest of this section provides some detail on the nature and extent of these benefits and costs.

Financial impacts of tourism in communal areas

Roe *et al.* (2003) estimated that in 2001 the total income generated from tourism in Kunene, Erongo and Caprivi Regions was approximately N\$113 million (see Table 32). Of this total income, an estimated 36% (N\$41 million) is value added, comprising wages earned by Namibian residents, revenues accruing to the Government in the form of taxes and licence fees, net profits accruing to the private sector and communal income earned at the local level. N\$10 million of this value added is income captured at the local level in the form of wages, communal income (concession fees, bed-night levies etc.) and profits on community-owned enterprises (approximately 8% of total revenue).

The following sections explore further the impact that this N\$10 million makes at the individual, household and community level.



Table 32: Income generated by tourism in Caprivi, Kunene and Erongo Regions, 2001

Segment	Total income (N\$)	US\$ equivalent (1:12)	% of total income
Non-consumptive tourism	58,000,000	4,833,333	51
Trophy hunting	6,500,000	541,666	6
Tour and safari operators	18,500,000	1,541,666	16
Car hire companies	30,350,000	2,529,166	27
TOTAL INCOME	113,350,000	9,445,831	100

Source: Adapted from Roe *et al.* 2003

Employment

Roe *et al.* (2003) estimated that in 2001 tourism in Caprivi, Kunene and Erongo generated up to 830 local jobs (the majority of which are full-time), nearly 400 other Namibian jobs, 40 expatriate jobs as well as an unspecified number of temporary informal jobs. While this is not a large number of jobs compared to the total populations of these regions, with very limited other formal employment opportunities tourism can be a significant source of employment. Other research indicates that only 9% of people in Kunene and 5% in Caprivi listed formal employment as their main occupations (Suich 2003). The number of people who can secure employment in this sector locally is small. WILD research indicates that only 3.6% of the workforce (i.e. those between 16 and 65 years of age) in the Kunene study areas, and less than 1% of survey respondents in Caprivi, listed CBNRM and tourism-related employment as their main occupation. While the opportunity costs of working in tourism compared to other sectors have not been researched here, there is evidence to suggest that tourism employment is seen as particularly beneficial because of its proximity to home and its ‘fit’ with other household-based activities (see Box 1).

In Caprivi, private lodges generate the majority of tourism jobs while community-owned enterprises are currently limited – three community campsites each generate three full-time jobs¹³, whereas the private lodges each generated between four and 33 full-time jobs for local people. Jobs in linked enterprises are also limited in Caprivi: six jobs from two craft businesses. There are more community-owned enterprises in Kunene than in Caprivi and so these are a more significant source of employment in the north-west (55 jobs from nine enterprises). They also appear to be larger operations than the Caprivi campsites with an average of six employees per campsite (although only 60% of these are full-time). The biggest campsite (Aba Huab, in Uibasen Conservancy) employs 17 part-time staff; the smallest (Okarohombo) employs up to two full-time staff. There is therefore less of a difference in employment rates from

private lodges than in Caprivi – although it is noticeable that all the lodge-based jobs are described as full-time compared to the many part-time campsite jobs. There are also more jobs in linked enterprises in Kunene than in Caprivi: five enterprises generated 47 jobs in 2001, a major contributor being the rock art site at Twyfelfontein.

Hunting (consumptive tourism) is not a significant generator of local jobs: two or three part-time jobs per concessions (across the regions) during the hunting season only.

Box 1: Damaraland Camp staff member, interviewed on 18 January 2001

“My life has really changed you know, because nowadays I have my own salary and so on and I can also look after my house where I stay. Working here, for me, in this environment is one of the best things because I was born not far from here, in this conservancy area. And even my grandparents are not far from here, staying in Fonteine. Our livestock are also there. My relatives are also here. If there is a problem, I can help them.”
(Cited in Long 2002: 13)

What stands out in Kunene is the impact one lodge can make. Twyfelfontein Country Lodge – a joint venture between Twyfelfontein-Uibasen Conservancy and Namibia Country Lodges – is the biggest, single tourism employer in the communal areas, generating 70 jobs (for purposes of comparison, the next largest is Chobe Savanna Lodge in Caprivi with 46 jobs, and then three or four other lodges with 20 to 25 jobs each). What is also interesting, however, is the relatively low number of local employees: out of Twyfelfontein Country Lodge’s 70 employees only 40 are local people (by comparison 44 of Chobe Savanna Lodge’s 46 are local). Twyfelfontein Country Lodge is unique in its type in northern Namibia – large number of beds, mid-market and located on a prime tourist route. The majority of lodges cater for a much smaller market segment and are in the more remote areas.

With the exception of Twyfelfontein Country Lodge, there does not appear to be any difference in terms of the number of jobs generated between privately-owned enterprises and joint ventures in either Caprivi or Kunene (and as noted above, the number of jobs at Twyfelfontein Country Lodge is more a result of the size and type of enterprise than the fact it is a joint venture). There is also no direct correlation between the size of the enterprise and the number of jobs. In Caprivi the number of local jobs generated per bed ranges from 0.3 to 1.5, while in Kunene the ratios are slightly lower – i.e. slightly fewer local jobs per bed.

Tourism is often acknowledged as an industry that is particularly beneficial for local economic development and

¹³ With two more community (conservancy)-owned campsites opening up in 2003.



poverty reduction because a significant number of jobs are taken up by women (e.g. Deloitte and Touche, IIED and Overseas Development Institute 1999). However, data from Roe *et al.* (2003) shows that the ratio of male to female employees is almost 2:1 in Caprivi.¹⁴

Currently, 11 conservancies are receiving cash revenues from consumptive and non-consumptive tourism. The revenues ranged from N\$25,682 in Purros Conservancy to N\$920,500 in Nyae Nyae Conservancy, with an average income of N\$292,871. Four conservancies (i.e. Torra, Uibasen, Nyae Nyae and Salambala) are able to cover their operating costs (LIFE Semi-annual Report, September 2002). The current level of earning by CBT is by no means the limit. CBT planning and research (e.g. Diggle 2003) into the possible growth of conservancy income from CBT in Caprivi indicates that there is real potential for communities to increase their overall income.

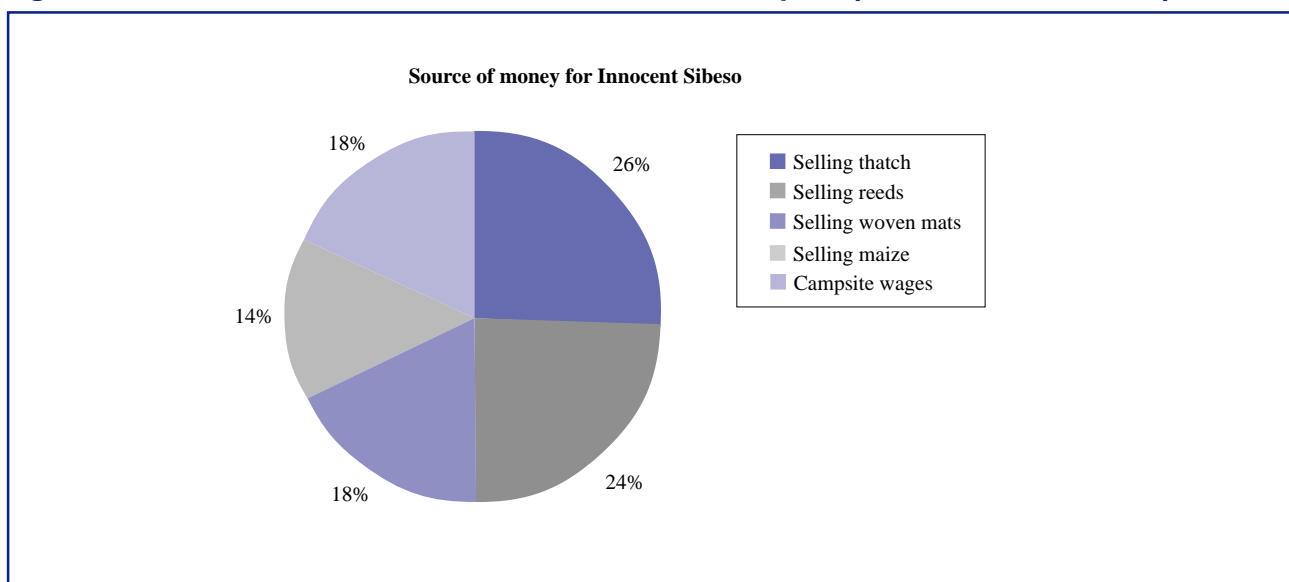
Individual cash incomes

The majority of the income from tourism that is captured at the local level is made up of individual wages. Data from Roe *et al.* (2003) reveals that in Caprivi, wages account for 78% of the total local value added from tourism and in

Kunene it is 57%. The majority of these wages are from jobs in accommodation establishments with a small amount of the overall total from craft and other enterprises. Data is not available on wages earned by those involved in hunting but this is likely to be low bearing in mind the part-time nature of work and small number of individuals involved (for example, in Kunene, wages account for less than 0.5% of total community income from hunting).

Tourism wages (particularly from community-owned enterprises) can be limited (about N\$350/month or about N\$4,000 per year for community campsite staff in Caprivi, which is slightly more than a state pension of N\$250/month) but this is not insignificant for people living in remote, rural areas with few other means of accessing regular cash to diversify their livelihoods. Community campsite staff in Caprivi used their wages to diversify their existing sources of cash income rather than to replace them. One campsite worker estimated that his campsite wages accounted for about one fifth of his cash income with other sources made up of sales of maize, thatch, reeds and woven mats made by his wife (Innocent Sibeso, Kubanyana Campsite manager, Mayuni Conservancy, 15/05/02). The following figures illustrate the estimated distribution of incomes and expenditures for this individual.

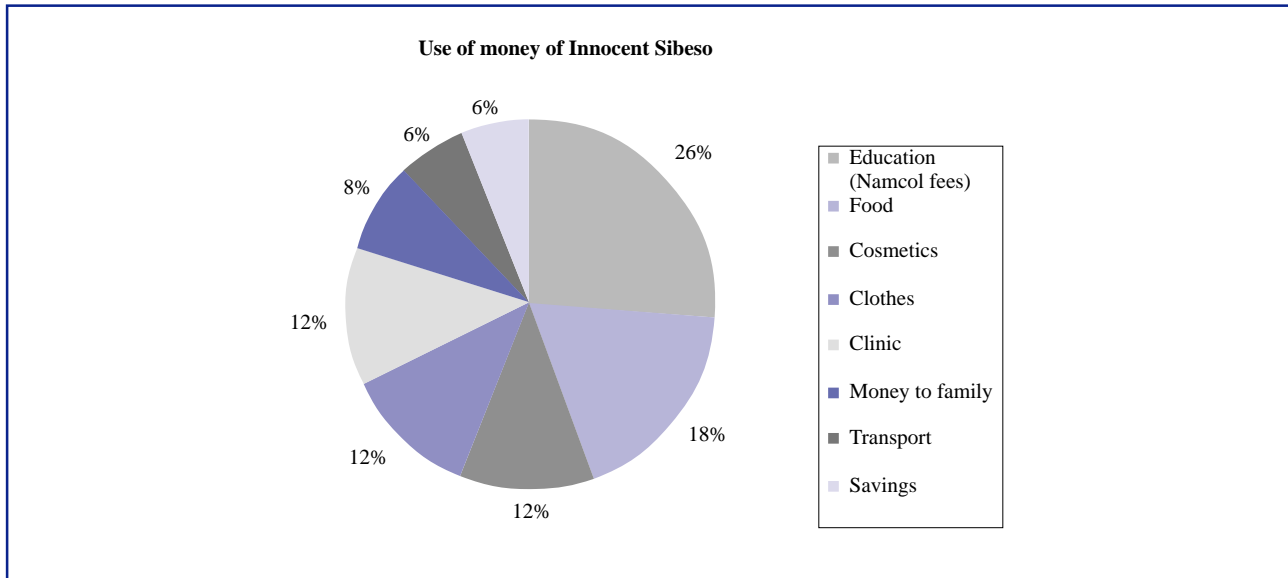
Figure 35: Estimated distribution of income for a conservancy campsite staff member in Caprivi



¹⁴ In the context of lodge development, it is worth noting the example of Damaraland Camp and Torra Conservancy, where a well-negotiated joint venture contract has led to enhanced local employment and training, to the extent that the camp is managed by a local woman (refer to Box 2).



Figure 36: Estimated distribution of expenditure for a conservancy campsite staff member in Caprivi



A second campsite worker got two thirds of his income from his campsite wages, the other third came from selling fish he had caught in the Chobe River (Charles Mashabati, Salambala Campsite staff meeting, Salambala Campsite 04/07/02). Both these people could save a small amount of their income.

Overall, average household incomes for those involved in tourism are about N\$6,000 per annum in Caprivi and just over N\$9,000 per annum in Kunene. In both Caprivi and Kunene these figures are close to the calculated average household incomes (See Chapter 5). Average incomes are higher in private lodges than in community campsites – as might be expected (see Box 2).

Box 2: Margreth Vries Manager of Damaraland Camp, Torra Conservancy
 “I started as a waitress and have become more skilled so that I am now a manager! I think I could run my own lodge if I just had the money to start on my own.” Margreth is a single mother with two young children who started working at a luxury camp in July 1996 and has risen through the ranks to a manager position in 2003. She earns over N\$20,000 per annum. She gets most of her income from her salary but also sells livestock. She can save a significant amount of her income (nearly half) for her children’s education. (Interview at Damaraland Camp, date unknown)

In Caprivi, salaries range from around N\$3,500 per annum in campsites (on a par with average individual incomes from all sources) to N\$9,500 in upmarket lodges. Salaries appear to be significantly higher in Kunene ranging from N\$3,000-10,000 for campsite employees and N\$9,500-14,500 in

lodges. Some lodges also provide additional benefits in the form of food, family accommodation and occasional health care. However, the better paid jobs are likely to demand more skilled employees and are therefore potentially less accessible to many rural people. Salaries are not noticeably higher in joint venture lodges compared to privately-owned lodges. In Caprivi, average salaries are N\$5,000 at a joint venture lodge, which is higher than some privately-owned lodges and lower than others. Similarly in Kunene average salaries vary between the two joint venture lodges, but in both cases are higher than one private lodge on a government concession and lower than another.¹⁵

The cash from craft sales and from working at tourism enterprises increases livelihood security (Box 3) for those involved.

Box 3: Enhanced livelihood security through cash benefit
 One Mashi Craft Market member explained her experience of benefiting from the commercial value of traditional craft-making. Before Mashi Craft Market started, “we did not know that we could benefit from selling baskets – we made them for our own use... We made only one type of basket, to sift grains, and would maybe make only one a year, and next year do another”.

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

¹⁵ Strong extended family networks in rural Namibia means that a number of people are supported by these wages, increasing the development impact.