



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

*(Kubunyana Campsite workshop, 17 September 2002)*

*At the N//goabaca Campsite workshop, one participant reflected that "when we started this was just bush. We discovered that we can use it to bring development to the community. Whenever the tourists come we can get benefit".*

*(N//goabaca Campsite workshop, 13 September 2002)*

### Small enterprise development

Roe *et al.* (2003) recorded a number of small enterprises that have developed in response to increasing tourism. While linked businesses in Caprivi are craft-based, in Kunene they are more diverse and include laundry outsourcing (Etendeka and Damaraland Camp), and in other cases traditional villages and guided tours around national monuments. In terms of other local economic linkages, a couple of lodges in Caprivi mentioned they purchased thatching grass from local people, while one lodge in Kunene bought cattle and goats from the neighbouring community.

Personal observations by WILD researchers also highlight that there are clearly additional local spin-off businesses associated with tourism development other than those captured by Roe *et al.*'s study. For example the road leading to Spitzkoppe is lined with entrepreneurs selling semi-precious stones – approximately 10 stalls in total. Long (2002), citing from a survey conducted by Jones (1999b), also notes the development of a number of roadside craft stalls that have developed in association with tourism in Torra Conservancy. Here from a survey of 38 households, over 13% reported some income due to craft sales.

The expansion and commercialisation of natural resource-based craft production in communal areas in Namibia is a success story of the Namibian CBNRM programme that has brought significant benefits to producers.<sup>16</sup> Craft production and sales are an example of the successes brought about by an enabling environment for local entrepreneurship developed by the CBNRM programme. This enabling environment has taken the form of product development and marketing, but it is dependent on the continued support of limited number of support organisations. RF has taken the lead in this field and works with other NGOs (including IRDNC) to implement the programme. The total sales figure for the RF and IRDNC supported craft programme in Caprivi between 1999 and 2001 amounted to over N\$330,000.

Incomes from craft sales vary considerably depending on the skills of the producer, but for most producers, the figure earned is modest. Within the period analysed (1999 to 2001), most producers (80%) earned less than N\$500 per year. However, most crafters are from lower and middle income groups. An indication of the wealth status of craft producers was shown by a wealth-ranking exercise carried out by six weavers in Muyako village, Salambala Conservancy. These women documented the wealth status of 77 households according to locally generated indices (predominantly based on whether the households owned cattle, and how many they owned). The households were split into three groups – rich, middle and poor. Out of the 77 households, 28 households had members making and selling baskets. These women fell into all three wealth groups. However, only two of these households (8%) were in the richest group, with a nearly even split between the middle group (50%) and the poor group (43%). When asked about basket income contributing to movement between wealth groups, the women feared that they would drop down a group if RF did not continue to buy craft. Confirmation that crafters in Caprivi come from less secure households is provided by the limited livestock holdings of the 24 women interviewed. Over a third of the women interviewed came from households that did not own any cattle. Of those that came from cattle-owning households, most owned only two or three cattle (Suich and Murphy 2002).

#### Box 4: Craft sales in Caprivi: Nsala Lyonga from Muyako Village, Salambala Conservancy

Nsala Lyonga is a 26-year-old mother of three children. Despite her youth and the limited amount of time she has had to develop her weaving skills, she is a gifted weaver who has had her baskets exhibited in Windhoek. Over two and a half years (between June 1998 and December 2000), she earned N\$1,784 selling palm baskets to RF's Mud Hut Trading operation (making her one of the top earners in her village). She sold her baskets from her village to RF staff who visited on a quarterly basis. This money is the most regular income in her household and is used to buy mealie meal and other foodstuffs (relish, fish and vegetables). Nsala weaves her baskets when she is not busy in her fields and after she has done her household chores. For the time it takes her to sit and weave a basket, it is always difficult to sell the basket for enough money. Due to this marginal nature of her craft production, she reported that she would prefer to cut grass and needs to earn money but they are hard to sell as everyone else is selling them too. Her husband and herself do not own any cattle or goats, indicating they are amongst the least well-resourced households in Caprivi.

<sup>16</sup> Refer to Suich and Murphy 2002 and Murphy and Suich 2003 for more details on livelihood impacts of craft sales in Caprivi. Also Berger 2003 for income on craft sales in Nyae Nyae Conservancy where, between 1998 and 2000, 225 women made and sold craft, making this "the most direct and widespread source of household income in the conservancy" (Berger 2003: 30).



Small amounts of cash to poor people are of great significance in alleviating poverty, increasing the individual livelihood impact of craft sales (see Box 4). Money from crafts was cited as one of the benefits of the traditional village in Purros Conservancy (Trench *et al.* 2003). One participant at a workshop held by WILD staff explained what that money meant:

“The money from crafts helps people in different ways. The craft makers can buy clothes (holds his T-shirt), blankets, many things or can save money to buy goats, sheep and cattle. It helps people when they are sick to pay for clinic fees. Some people who do not have cattle, they use the craft money to support their children to go to school.” (Jackson Kasupi, CGG, Himba Traditional Village, Purros Conservancy, 25 February, 2003)

### Collective revenue generation

In addition to individual benefits in the form of wages, tourism in the communal areas of Namibia has also generated collective income. Roe *et al.* (2003) found that in both Caprivi and Kunene just over a quarter of income captured at the local level from tourism enterprises was in the form of collective revenue.

Collective income is used to cover the operating and management costs of conservancies and to invest for future use. Currently there are four conservancies out of a total of 31 registered who are either contributing to their management costs from collective incomes earned or covering their financial costs in full. A recent study by Diggle (2003) indicates that the potential for conservancies in Caprivi to earn enough to cover both their management costs and to provide for distribution is a complex issue and requires as much in the way of policy support and the development of strong institutions as it does actual incomes earned from tourism.

### Distribution of collective income

Although considerably smaller than wage income, collective income when distributed is important in that it spreads the benefits of tourism far more widely than limiting the income to those individuals who are able to secure jobs (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin 2001). It also has the potential to enhance the link between tourism benefits and improved NRM<sup>17</sup>.

Distribution of some of this collective income has been recorded as taking place in six Namibian communal area conservancies since 1998<sup>18</sup>. Four modes of distribution have

evolved according to the characteristics of the conservancies and amount of collective revenue distributed. These are:

- Individual, equal cash payouts to registered members (Nyae Nyae Conservancy in 1998 and 2000<sup>19</sup> and Torra Conservancy in early 2003<sup>20</sup>) where the number of members is relatively small and the revenue considerable.
- A conservancy ‘social fund’ where members can request finances on a needs basis (Marienfluss Conservancy and money generated from the Himba Traditional Village in Purros), again where the number of conservancy members as potential beneficiaries is small<sup>21</sup>.
- Payouts on a village basis (Salambala Conservancy<sup>22</sup> and West Caprivi in 2001/2 and 2003 respectively) where numbers of members are large and revenues modest.
- Expenditure on social services such as support to schools and old age pensioners (Torra Conservancy<sup>23</sup>).

Obviously the option of individual cash payouts is more appropriate where there is a considerable amount of collective revenue and a small number of beneficiaries (as in Torra Conservancy, Kunene). Most of Torra Conservancy members were in agreement with the individual cash payout to all registered members (approximately 300) of N\$630 each in 2003. The most common expenditure item for this cash was on school fees as the payout occurred in January, prior to the start of the new school year. All respondents receiving the cash payout reported that it had made them feel more positive to wildlife and tourism (Vaughan *et al.* 2003d).

Where there is a high number of potential beneficiaries and revenues modest, the only real option is for a payout at a collective level as individual cash payouts would be relatively insignificant (Salambala Conservancy and West Caprivi – both with between 3,000 and 4,000 estimated beneficiaries). In Salambala Conservancy in 2001 and 2002 village-level payouts of N\$2,000 and N\$2,500 were made to each of the 18 villages in the conservancy. For the 2001 payout, most Salambala Conservancy residents (members and non-members) knew about the village-level payouts and agreed on the use of funds. In three quarters of the villages (14 out of 18) it was clear that the decision to use the N\$2,000 was agreed at community level through a democratic process. Most villages saved their funds for development-related infrastructure projects or used it on such projects, although one village had a celebration and two small village

<sup>17</sup> Quick return of benefits are preferable to enhance this link.

<sup>18</sup> Refer to Murphy and Mulonga 2003.

<sup>19</sup> Refer to Berger 2003.

<sup>20</sup> Refer to Mulonga and Murphy 2003 for further details.

<sup>21</sup> All 121 permanent adult residents of the Marienfluss Conservancy are registered members and the large majority of adults residents of Purros Conservancy are registered members.

<sup>22</sup> Refer to Murphy and Mulonga 2002.

<sup>23</sup> Torra Conservancy has distributed: N\$20,000 for a school fence, N\$10,000 for a community kindergarten, N\$10,000 to the farmers’ union to purchase veterinary drugs and N\$5,000 for a photocopy machine purchase and repairs. In addition, members over 60 years were given a blanket and other items (men: socks, wallets and hats; and women: handbags and scarves) as a Christmas gift.



gave individual cash payouts of N\$100 to each family (Murphy and Mulonga 2002)<sup>24</sup>. In Salambala Conservancy, income has been generated from trophy hunting. Salambala Campsite has run at a significant loss in recent years<sup>25</sup>, meaning that the conservancy has had to subsidise this enterprise from income generated from trophy hunting and grants. This has meant there is less money for distribution.

In West Caprivi in 2003, N\$14,000 was allocated to seven villages and all seven villages elected to use their funds for a celebration (five villages got N\$2,500 per village and the other two got N\$1,000 and N\$500). Use of collective funds to stage collective celebrations in this way has also taken place in the context of CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe and has been noted for its social and commemorative value (Diggle, pers. comm.).

Using a form of cash distribution based on needs, only functions where the number of potential beneficiaries is limited and there is an accountable mechanism for verifying needy cases, as is provided by the Marienfluss Conservancy Committee for funds generated by the Okarohombo Campsite. When asked whether this campsite was a success or a failure, one elderly woman at a WILD Project workshop reported that “it is a success as last year when I was sick, I got N\$300 to pay for the trip to go to the hospital in Opuwo”. Other workshop participants reported that the campsite is a success “because all the people from the community can get money and this helps the community in many different cases” and “this is the first time that the community have generated funds on their own; before we got money from the IRDNC” (see Trench 2003). In January 2002, the Okarohombo Campsite in the Marienfluss Conservancy had generated about N\$23,000<sup>26</sup>. This was their only income – equating to less than N\$200 per registered member. If funds are considerable, the preferred mode of distribution with small beneficiaries numbers is very likely to be individual cash payouts.

## Non-financial Benefits from Tourism in Communal Areas

A range of potential, non-financial benefits of community participation in tourism have been identified in the past (e.g. Ashley 1998) and these have been confirmed by the WILD Project research. Our research shows that some of these benefits are intangible and are more difficult than financial benefits to measure and monitor. Yet they are crucial for the development of a strong civil society in communal areas – something that conservancies and the CBNRM programme

are striving to achieve. Among the non-financial benefits described below are the receipt of training and capacity building initiatives; opportunities for career mobility; cultural pride and increased environmental awareness leading to improved NRM.

### Training and capacity building

Training for local people is a specific benefit that is often built into joint venture agreements – although on-the-job training no doubt occurs to some extent in private lodges as well. Outside of lodge-based tourism, local entrepreneurs and conservancy members have benefited from training in business skills and tourism awareness provided by NACOBTA and other support NGOs (see Box 5). The whole process of conservancy formation has provided wider benefits in the form of skills acquisition, greater knowledge and confidence.

#### Box 5: The value of training

“IRDNC helped, taking people for training and workshops and coming and facilitating – giving light to communities about how they can benefit from such activities.” (Kubunyana Campsite workshop, 17 September 2002)

“When we came from this tour in Botswana, we promised ourselves to make better quality baskets.” (Mashi Craft Market workshop, 24 September 2002)

“The exchange visits helped, without them we wouldn’t have seen how we could have a campsite.” (Salambala workshop, 20 September, 2002)

Ongoing training was identified as a benefit of nearly all 10 community-owned tourism enterprise case studies of the WILD Project. Building community capacity in terms of tourism and businesses skills is important in the early stages of enterprise development. Methods that are commonly used and particularly successful as they facilitate experiential learning are exchange trips and study tours to similar businesses in Namibia and neighbouring countries (see Box 5). Work experience increases an individual’s human capital and there are numerous examples where individuals have moved along a career path and secured better-paid work (see Box 6).

### Local people’s pride in cultural resources

Local people’s pride in their cultural resources was identified as a benefit by the people themselves. Participatory workshops carried out by WILD and IRDNC, focusing on the establishment and operation of community-owned traditional villages in Caprivi and Kunene, provided good evidence of this. Role plays were used at the workshop to

<sup>24</sup> With regard to the 2002 payout, most of the villages (13 out of 18) banked the money and some have identified development-related projects for use of the money.

<sup>25</sup> Reasons for this include the virtual absence of tourists due to the lack of security and poor marketing and management. In the 2002/3 financial year, the campsite was subsidised to a tune of over N\$4,000.

<sup>26</sup> As reported in the Marienfluss Conservancy Management Profile Summary, unpublished IRDNC report.



portray the benefits of the enterprises. At the Anmire Traditional Village, Khowarib, Kunene this role play took the form of “one of the traditional Damara dances that are done at ceremonies – weddings, any event with the community. We are proud of it. We established a traditional village that teaches new generations about our culture, so that our culture does not get lost” (Ephraim Thaniseb, Anmire Traditional Village, Khowarib, Kunene 5/03/03).

### **Box 6: Career mobility through employment at a community campsite**

Innocent Sibeso was the Kubunyana Campsite Manager in Mayuni Conservancy between 1999 and mid-2002. He resigned to take up a better-paid position as a tour guide at the neighbouring Susuwe Island Lodge, also located within the conservancy. He said, “I could not have got my new job without the knowledge I gained from my campsite experience and the reference letter”. Innocent completed a NACOBTA sponsored three-week guiding course in Katima in 1999; regular on-the-job training with IRDNC in campsite management (including finances) and participated in two IRDNC-facilitated study tours (to Kunene in 2001 and Zimbabwe in 2002). The value of his training was verified by a community member reporting that “people employed at the campsite attended training which helped to build their knowledge and skills. Without the campsite, the staff would not have had this opportunity – they would have just had the skills they had before”. (Kubunyana Campsite workshop, 17 September, 2002)

At the Himba Traditional Village in Purros, the same role play method revealed the following:

“Our traditional dance: we use it on different occasions – when someone is married we do the same dancing, for circumcision and in celebration when we remember our ancestors/heroes. This is the dancing they do in the Himba Village to show tourists and tourists can take photographs. It reminds us about our culture, so we do not forget our culture.” (Jackson Kasupi, Himba Traditional Village, 25/02/03)

An employee of Lizauli Traditional Village in Caprivi said,

“We are performing the lives of our forefathers. Students were brought here to see our tradition. Scholars now know what the tradition was.” (Chrispin, Lizauli Traditional Village, 16/09/03)

Local people’s pride in their cultural resources was also shown through the production of traditional craft items for sale. The production and sales of traditional artefacts as craft works acts to maintain a strong traditional and cultural practice and as is supported by the traditional authorities in Caprivi and no doubt elsewhere in Namibia. Many crafters were taught their craft by their elders (parents, grandparents or other older relatives). Wood carving is the domain of men, while women weave most of the baskets made from palm, coloured with traditional plant dyes that are used to make designs. The almost extinct art of making the traditional Khwe-bag-shaped collecting baskets was revived through

the work of IRDNC and the development of Mashi Craft Market. One elderly Khwe women was persuaded to teach other women this basketry (RF 1998). Today there are a limited number of producers – about 25 women – and good quality Khwe baskets are highly marketable.

### **Increased environmental awareness leading to improved NRM**

The WILD Project’s participatory research with community-owned tourism enterprises has produced evidence to show that some community-owned tourism enterprises have fostered the recognition and understanding by local people of the value of natural resources in supporting tourism and the need to conserve these natural resources. These enterprises have raised conservation awareness and encouraged a change in practice towards conservation. In this context, CBT is an integral tool for the success of the CBNRM programme as well as a source of collective revenue generation. CBT brings positive livelihood benefits through safeguarding and enhancing the natural resources needed for sustainable rural livelihoods. Although not part of the research, it is likely that there is an awareness of the link between wildlife and tourism from employees working in privately-owned lodges as well. The following comments illustrate the conceptual and practical links being made between improving resource management and tourism:

“Without nice animals and natural resources, Dusty Rogers would have not built a lodge, and the community would have had no campsite.” (Reported Boniface when naming things that helped the development of Kubunyana Campsite, Kubunyana Campsite workshop, 17 September, 2002)

“This campsite helped in the process of conservation... People [are] no longer hunting with dogs and are not making fires. They are doing this because tourists want to see green trees, not a burnt area.” (Patrick, Mayuni Conservancy Treasurer, Kubunyana Campsite workshop, 17 September, 2002)

The following reply was given to the question whether the campsite had helped the natural resources:

“If you drive back to the road, there are beautiful straight poles (trees that can be used for beautiful straight poles). Before the campsite, they would have been used by some members of the community – now they are trying to conserve the trees.” (Boniface, Kubunyana Campsite workshop, 17/09/03)

Again:

“It is because of the natural beauty: trees, grass, birds that tourist are happy to visit this area.” (Mazinza Ngulwa, Salambala Conservancy Management Committee member 20/09/03)

Another: Elena when explaining things that helped the enterprise establishment said,