HEALING THE CRIPPLED HAND: TOURISM AND COMMUNITY- BASED TOURISM AS SUSTAINABLE FORMS OF LAND USE AND DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN TSUMKWE, NAMIBIA.

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The Crippled Hand Metaphor

'Our hand, that is to say our humanity, has a large wound. The wound is a real problem for us. For when we try to shake hands with a stranger we experience so much pain. The stranger looks us in the eye but we turn our heads away -- we don't want him to see the tears in our eyes. He can't understand us. when we try to join hands and work together we can't because all of our hands hurt so much. When a stranger comes into our place we put up our hand so he will stop, but he doesn't, because he sees the wound and knows he will win the fight. We try and scare the strangers' animals away, but they smell the blood on our hands and laugh at us. When we go out into our N!ore and dig for food, the wound on our hand stops us digging so we go hungry.'

(Ju/'hoansi, cited in Powell, 1995)

'In the new order, there is nothing that can do so much for so long in less time and for longer, than the development of environmentally balanced tourism which benefits all.'

Borchert (995, cited in Muliya, 1996)

'I personally wish the !Kung would have remained as they were, remote, self-sustaining, independent, and dignified; but that is wishful thinking. Our modern society does not allow people to remain remote. Furthermore, many of the !Kung themselves want change; they want to have land and cattle like the Bantu.'

Lorna Marshal (1976, cited in Hitchcock, 1992; vii)

'We want to keep our strong tradition and culture. We also know and want the Western ways. It can all help us.'

Kxao Moses = Oma, NNFC (pers comm, 1993, cited in Botelle & Rohde, 1995:176)

We are constantly aware of the future bearing down on Ju/'hoansi therefor want to move faster. Ju/'hoansi are not dominated by the future (and) therefore do not accommodate it, but live day to day. To us it seems they take too much time when time is running out for them. Paradoxically they need even more time. Too far too fast but no time to waste -- (a) constant dilhemha.

Claire Ritchie (1992, cited in Hitchcock, 1992; vii)

Abstract

This dissertation followed a study undertaken by the 1996/7 Masters (Mphil) students from the Environmental and Geographical Sciences Department at the University of Cape Town, on behalf of the Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification (NAPCOD), involving the environmental impacts of emergency borehole relief in Namibia (UCT, 1997). The study area for the dissertation was visited during the course of the UCT research. Formerly eastern Bushmanland, now officially designated eastern Tsumkwe District, the area is known to the local people, the Ju/'hoansi-speaking Bushmen, as 'Nyae Nyae'. Inappropriate land uses including a reliance on pastoralism, on marginal, semi-arid lands susceptible to degradation, that exist in Namibia and the study area, were found to result in degradation of natural resources and to consequent susceptibility to drought and loss of livelihoods. During the course of the original UCT research, it was seen that the people who inhabit the Tsumkwe District area, predominantly the Ju/'hoansi but also the Herero, are no longer able to be sustained by the land as a result of inappropriate development decisions and land use strategies made, leading to *'The Crippled Hand'* of the Ju/'hoansi. Economic development and diversification is perceived as necessary, with tourism proposed as a development and land use option. However, as any development needs to be particularly sensitive and well planned in the area, an environmental, including social, impact study of the effects of development plans or project, including tourism, is necessary. The aim of the dissertation was to investigate the situation regarding tourism, and particularly Community-Based Tourism, as a sustainable land use and development option in the eastern Tsumkwe district, as part of a mixed economic strategy for the area, and as an economic development strategy in Namibia as reflected in government policies and legislation. It was examined as a form of supply-led, sustainable form of ecotourism, mitigating against many of its negative impacts and enhancing many of its positives, as well as a necessary component of Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM), linking conservation of natural resources and wildlife with benefits. It was found that although tourism and CBT have the potential to provide many benefits both direct and indirect, to both the local people and to Namibia, they do not provide the panacea for all development problems. Furthermore, a number of significant threats and constraints on a local, regional and national level were found to be impeding tourism and CBT development. As many of these are shared by various Community-Based (CB) programmes in other parts of Namibia, the significance of the study goes beyond that of tourism, and the study area.

Threats to tourism development in the Nyae Nyae area include the Ministry of Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) Herero Repatriation Programme in the adjacent Gam area, where pastoralist Hereros from Botswana are being resettled. The decimation by the Herero of wildlife as the animals enter from Nyae Nyae into the Gam area as part of their migratory patterns is posing a threat to tourism, as is the movement of the Hereros, with their conflicting land use patterns, into the Nyae Nyae area in search of water and grazing, resulting in the degradation of natural resources on which the Ju/'hoansi, wildlife, and tourism depend. Tourism in the area has been *ad hoc* and uncontrolled, with the negative impacts on the people and the natural environment generally outweighing the positive. Furthermore, the sustainability criteria have not been met, in particular that of equity where the affected people have received few of the benefits while bearing most of negative impacts. Management strategies at a local level are necessary to regulate the scale and nature, and thus the negative impacts of tourism. Constraints to community management and control, including the prevention of access by outsiders, and to tourism development in the area in general, were found to include problems with community representative decision making and leadership structures, inadequate institutional capacity at the community and government level, a lack of sectoral co-ordination, lack of commitment by those involved, in both government and the community, and the lack of clearly defined rights and authority over natural resources, including land, by the affected community. Further constraints to tourism include the remoteness, relative inaccessibility, and lack of facilities, keeping the costs of tourism high and limiting numbers of visitors to the area, inadequate marketing, and a lack of tourism enterprise skills by the community. It appears that tourism should remain small scale and form part, albeit a significant one, of a mixed economy in the area, while taking care that other economic activities do not foreclose the tourism option. Sustainable social and environmental measures need to be incorporated in the planning, implementation and monitoring stages. Furthermore, tourism in the area needs to be viewed not in isolation, but holistically, and as part of a co-ordinated and integrated land use and development plan for the region. Relevant enabling policy and legal framework is necessary, as well as the sectoral cohesion, political will, commitment and capacity for implementation and enforcement.

Acknowledgements

As a consequence of my investigation into the impacts of tourists (and in particular of 'research tourists') on communities, I have become painfully aware of the sacrifices that are made and the opportunity costs suffered by those people who give of their time and energies to those of us who demand their services, with generally very little benefit to themselves.

Especially in view of this, my very sincere thanks are extended to the individuals and groups who contributed a great deal of time, technical assistance, advice and inspiration so that I could complete this study. To:

- The Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) and NAPCOD in Namibia for funding the original study and the field trip
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- My children, for doing without me during my studies and to their father for caring for them

Table of Contents

Chapter 3

Tourism as a Land Use and Development Option

Chapter 4

Policy, Legal and Institutional Framework

Chapter 5

Community Based Tourism

Chapter 6

Case Study: Tourism in Eastern Tsumkwe

Chapter 7

Conclusions and Recommendations

References

1. List of Interviews

1.1 Personal Interviews

1.2 Additional Interviews

2. Literature

2.1 Literature Cited

2.2 Background Literature

List of Plates

List of Figures

List of Appendixes

List of Definitions

arid - an area where mean annual rainfall is less than 250 mm; rainfall is seasonal, highly varable from year to year, and evaporation is high

communal land - land available for common use; in Namibia this land is currently owned by the State

community-based natural resources management- local people have clearly defined rights over a resource and retain control of the use and management of this

community-based tourism - tourism that involves the residents of communal areas in benefit sharing, decisionmaking and management, and thus where control of tourism activities remains in the hands of the local people

conservancy - an area of land shared by multiple owners or users who jointly pool their land and/or financial resources to make available a larger unit for management

degradation - to diminish the productivity of land through mismanagement

desertification - land degradation in arid, semi-arid and dry sub-humid lands resulting mainly from adverse human impact

nomadism - the way of life which involves constant movement in search of water, food and livestock forage

sedentarism - the permanent settlement of humans and livestock in an area (contrast with *transhumance*)

transhumance - seasonal movement of livestock between specific areas driven by fodder and water needs.

Acronyms Used

CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CB	Community Based
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CBT	Community Based Tourism
CBTD	Community Based Tourism Development
CE	Community Enterprise
CTO	Community Tourism Officer
EPC	Environmental Planning Committee
IRDNC	Integrated Rural development and Nature Conservation
LIFE	Living in a Finite Environment
LIT	Low Impact Tourism
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism
MLRR	Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NNFC	Nyae Nyae Farmers' Co-operative
NNDFN	Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia
NPC	National Planning Commission
PO	Private Operator
PS	Private Sector
PTO	Permission to occupy (government lease agreement for small business premises)
SADF	South African Defence Force
UN	United Nations
VCF	Veterinary Cordon Fence

FIG. 1 EASTERN TSUMKWE AREA IN RELATION TO NAMIBIA

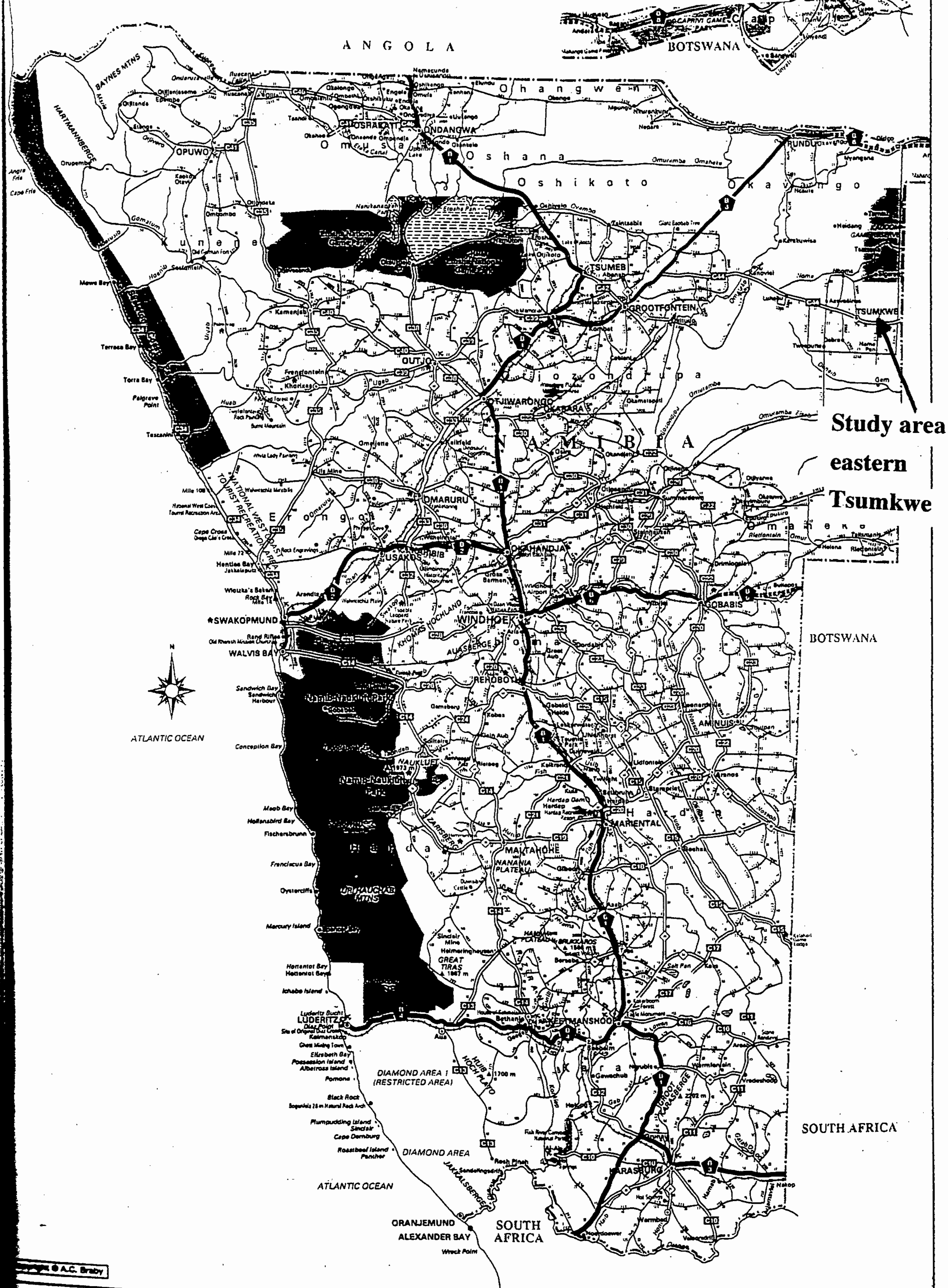
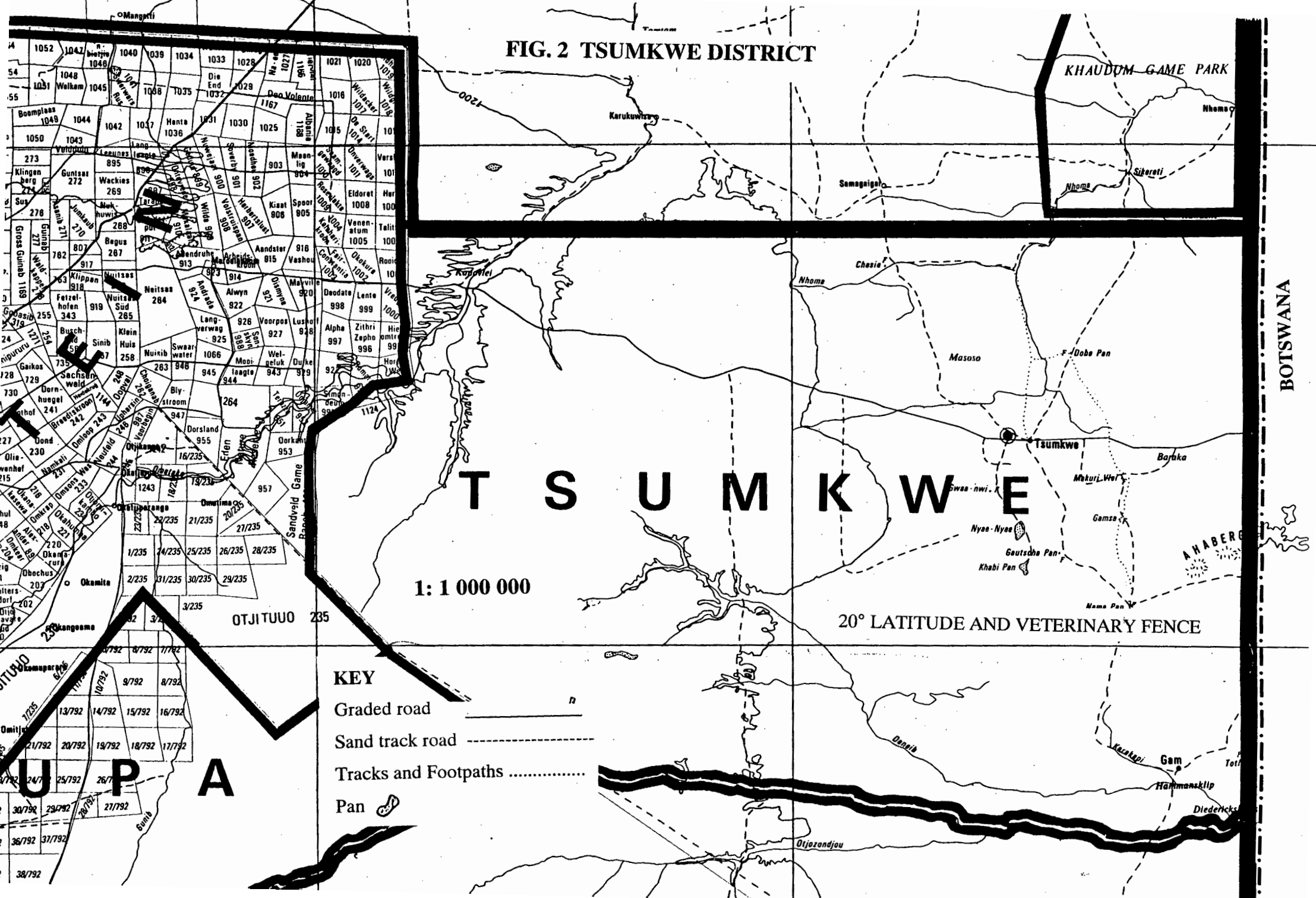


FIG. 2 TSUMKWE DISTRICT



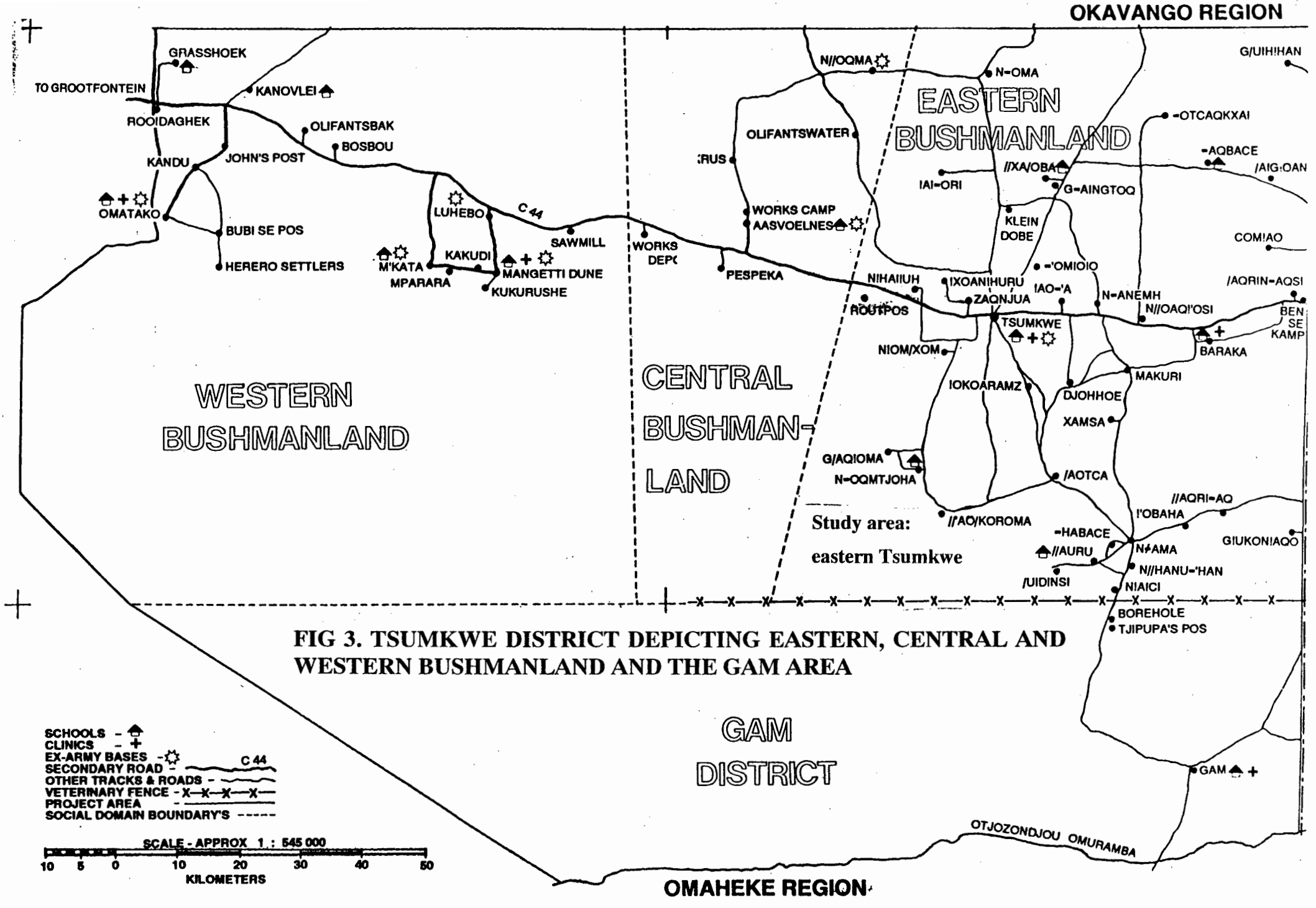
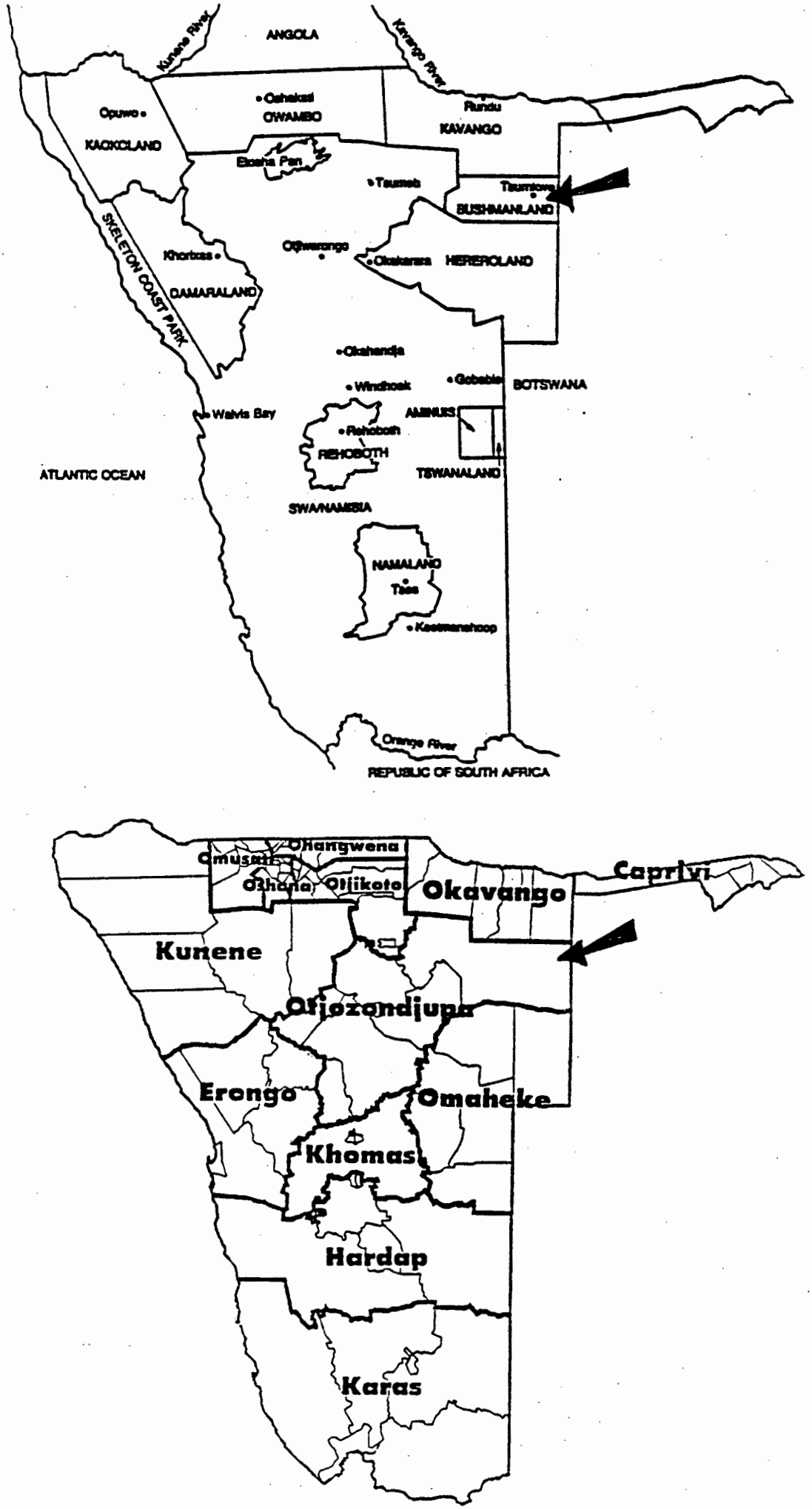


FIG 3. TSUMKWE DISTRICT DEPICTING EASTERN, CENTRAL AND WESTERN BUSHMANLAND AND THE GAM AREA

FIG. 4 FORMER AND PRESENT REGIONS, DEPICTING THE CASE STUDY AREA IN FORMER BUSHMANLAND AND PRESENT OTJOZONDJUPA REGION



Chapter 1

Introduction

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Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

In January and February 1997 the 1996/7 group of Masters (Mphil.) students from the Environment and Geographical Science Department at the University of Cape Town visited Namibia as part of a research project. This project involved a retrospective study of the environmental impacts of emergency borehole relief in Namibia, and was commissioned by the Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification (NAPCOD) through the Ministry of Environment and Tourism in Namibia (MET). Two areas were visited, one near Khorixas in former Damaraland and the other in the Gam resettlement area in the Tsumkwe District, in what was formerly eastern Bushmanland. Members of the group were, to some extent, assigned different areas to investigate, although these overlapped. The author focused predominantly on the socio-economic issues.

1.2 The Purpose of this Study

While in Namibia, in the course of undertaking the above study, it became clear that development is generally necessary in communal lands, but that it needs to be sustainable and appropriate for the arid climate and fragile environment on which Namibia, in particular those living in these communal areas, depend. The study as well as literature and other studies of arid lands (e.g. Jacobson *et al*, 1995), indicate that certain land uses and development programmes, often based on European concepts have led to increased susceptibility to drought, and to increased, rather than decreased poverty, as livelihoods are compromised by resulting land degradation.

It also became clear that issues such as land tenure policies, conflicting land uses, community involvement, rights to and control over resources and issues of access, as well as institutional and community capacity, need to be considered in any development plans. This applies equally well to the study area of eastern Tsumkwe, where various development options have been attempted in the past, often with negative consequences for the inhabitants (thus *'The Crippled Hand"* metaphor (Powell, 1995: see Appendix 1). Development and land use options for the area are currently under consideration, leading to the undertaking of Botelle and Rohde's land use study (1995) by the Ministry for Land, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR), the ministry responsible for land use planning, as part of the initial phase of this process.

Tourism, particularly ecotourism, both in Namibia in general and in the study area, is being presented by a diverse number of individuals and organisations as an important development option providing benefits to the communities in communal lands, to conservation and to Namibian tourism and thus the country's economy (see chapter 4). It has been found, however, that despite its potential benefits, tourism has in the past had generally negative impacts on and benefited few of the local people in the communal areas, who have nevertheless borne the costs involved. Furthermore, local community involvement in, and control over, tourism activities has been absent, and thus tourism has been generally carried out in an *ad hoc*, uncontrolled manner in rural communal areas, including the study area. Community-Based Tourism (CBT) has been proposed as a form of ecotourism that can incorporate community control, and thereby mitigate against the negative, while accentuating the positive potential of ecotourism (see chapter 5). However, a number of constraints have been found that are limiting the potential development of tourism and CBT in the area. These appear to mirror those found in the literature and case studies in other areas.

It is postulated, however, that if planned and managed properly, ecotourism, despite its limitations, can be an appropriate and sustainable form of development and landuse in the area, as a form of economic diversification, mitigating against the negative effects that have taken place which have resulted in the ability of the people to support themselves, and providing the motivation for the preservation of physical and human diversity through the direct benefits these can bring. Ecotourism, particularly its subset, Community-Based Tourism (CBT) can be

incorporated into a regional land use plan, and form a core part of community-based natural resources management (CBNRM). Certain preconditions and mitigating actions, including management, are necessary, however. This is the challenge facing eastern Tsumkwe and Namibia.

1.3 Objectives of the Dissertation

In order to investigate the proposal that eco-tourism, particularly Community-Based Tourism (CBT) can be a suitable and sustainable form of land use and development for the eastern Tsumkwe area in Namibia, and to identify any opportunities, constraints and threats that may exist, the following objectives are proposed:

- To provide a background to the environment of the Tsumkwe District, involving its biophysical and socio-economic aspects;
- To investigate current as well as proposed development and land use options in the area, and to analyse these in the context of arid lands;
- To introduce the proposal that eco-tourism can be a suitable and sustainable land use and development option for the area;
- To provide a theoretical review of ecotourism and Community-Based Tourism (CBT), particularly as part of community natural resources management (CBNRM), both in general and in Namibia, including their potential benefits and negative aspects;
- To provide a review and analysis of the current situation regarding tourism in eastern Tsumkwe District, to determine whether the necessary features are present as well as to investigate any constraints and threats that may exist, and thus
- To determine whether tourism and Community-Based tourism can be a form of sustainable development and land use in the study area, and to highlight problem areas that require mitigating action in order to facilitate the attainment of identified key features and help to overcome the identified constraints and threats.

1.4 The Study Area

The study area takes place in what was formerly eastern Bushmanland, now officially designated eastern Tsumkwe District, and known to the local people, the Ju/'hoansi-speaking Bushmen, as 'Nyae Nyae'. It is situated in north east Namibia. (See Figs. 1 - 4).

Although the eastern Tsumkwe District is the focus of the study, the Tsumkwe District as a whole will be examined to some extent as impacts are occurring in the study area as a result of developments south in the adjoining Gam area, recently settled by Hereros from Botswana as part of the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) repatriation scheme.

1.5 Approach and Methods

1.5.1 Theoretical approach

Concepts and principles from several theoretical frameworks underpinned the approach taken to the study.

Systems/ Ecological Approach

A **'systems'** or **'ecological'** approach[1] was taken, whereby the complex, integrative systems of life are recognised (e.g. Capra, 1996). This is a multiple level perspective focusing on the context of ***interaction*** between individuals and their environment. From the basis of this approach, all facets of the environment, from bio-physical to socio-economic are interlinked. Any separation of these into discrete categories is artificial and often disguises the interactions between them.

Relationships are stressed. Any change in any one component or facet of the system will result in changes in the others. Thus one needs to be highly sensitive and aware that any policies,

1.Other names include 'dynamical systems theory', 'the theory of complexity', 'non linear dynamics', 'network dynamics' (Capra, 1996) [1]

plans or programmes will have a ripple effect that will involve other aspects of the people-environment system. Policies cannot involve merely one facet alone, such as land-use planning, conservation, population, health, or tourism, without having an impact on the others. Thus policies, plans and programmes need to be holistic rather than sectoral.

Similarly, any decision that affects the environment, such as the decision to install a borehole, is not a simple one, with only linear impacts. Studies such as the UCT study (UCT, 1997) have described the changes that occur as a result of these decisions as involving all aspects of the environment. For example, a borehole may have led to influxes of people and their livestock, and to sedentarisation[2], in a marginal area which may be unsuitable to support such land use practices. Land degradation and conflict over resources can result, leading to a loss of livelihood and a spiral of poverty (*Ibid*; Quan, 1994) as well as various other social and environmental disruptions.

The historical coping strategies of the inhabitants of climatically unpredictable and arid landscapes such as Namibia illustrates their awareness of the close interaction of humans and nature. It has been proposed (e.g. Jacobson *et al*, 1995) that it is this very decoupling that has occurred as a result of western-style economic strategies, unsuitable for arid and semi-arid systems, that has resulted in increased susceptibility to the results of drought in both the social and bio-physical domains. Although drought can be a catalyst, it is not necessarily the cause of food shortages itself (Devereux & Tapscott, 1995). The complexity of the interactions of society and the environment has often gone unrecognised and ignored by post-colonial development policies.

The concept of ***dynamism*** forms part of the systems or ecological approach, whereby elements of a system are not static, but constantly evolving. Thus the idea of a 'pristine' culture or environment, to be preserved in a particular stable state, is unrealistic. This relates to stereotypes of Bushmen and other indigenous cultures.

[2] the permanent settlement of humans and livestock in an area, contrasting with transhumance, the seasonal movement of livestock between specific areas driven by fodder and water needs.

This relates to ***non-equilibrium ecology*** theory. Commonly held notions that ecosystems are isolated and closed biotic systems, that 'any deflection from normal behaviour or equilibrium is seen as random fluctuation or noise rather than as an integral part of the system' (Sullivan, 1996: 3), are replaced by perceptions of environmental variability and dynamic behaviour as being integral to understanding ecological behaviour, particularly in arid and semi-arid systems. 'Thus, ecosystem properties arise as a process driven by dynamic and non-linear interactions both within the biotic system and between this system and its environment' (*Ibid*: 4).

Within this systemic approach is the notion that the actions of any actors involved, including researchers, will affect the components of the system, and thus one cannot stand outside a situation and merely 'observe'. Furthermore, objectivity, although strived for in the scientific endeavour, is not possible. The best that one can do is to attempt to be aware of and to state one's subjective biases and assumptions as far as possible.

Sustainable Development

Concepts derived from **sustainable development** theories underpinned the approach to the study. The concepts of 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development' originated from the 1987 United Nations Commission report (the Brundtland Report), 'Our Common Future', as a concept on which to base an integrative approach to policy making for future decades. Although these concepts mean different things to different people, and have at times been abused in order to promote vested interests, the fundamental principle underpinning sustainability is that systems will only survive if there is an understanding of their interdependence (Anderson, 1994, cited in Kilele, 1996). Concepts include that of 'intergenerational equity', the challenge to live within the carrying capacity of the supporting ecosystems in meeting present needs without compromising those of future generations (Yeld, 1997). Economic development is seen as dependent on environmental improvement and equity, rather than on growth alone (Anderson, 1994, cited in Kilele, 1996). This is relevant to tourism development.

Although the definition of ***'social' sustainability*** is even more elusive than that of 'environmental' sustainability, it is becoming increasingly apparent that '*at a minimum, care*

must be taken that development programmes are not socially or culturally destructive...(and)...More than this, every effort must be made to protect the vulnerable, respect social diversity, ensure all stakeholder's fullest participation in decisionmaking, and building rather than destroying, social capital[3]' (Davis, cited in World Bank, 1966: 46).

Furthermore, sustainability involves the capacity of users, including social institutions and structures, to govern and manage natural resources sustainably.

Related to social sustainability, guidelines and principles for **social impact assessment** from the literature, (e.g. Burge *et al*, 1995), were used as a framework, to guide in particular the sections on the background to the human population and the impacts of tourism in the area.

Tourism, Ecotourism and Community-Based Tourism

The theoretical framework for tourism and its subsets, ecotourism and Community-Based Tourism (CBT), the latter also forming an integral part of Community Natural Resources Management, is explored in **Chapters 3 and 5**.

1.5.2 Research Methodology

Descriptive information as well as quantitative data relating to the various components[4] of the study was obtained from both primary and secondary sources, using literature reviews and a field trip which included personal observations, interviews and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) exercises.

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[3] Social capital - culture and values, relationships and institutions - is just as important as physical capital in calculating a nation's wealth' (Gloria Davis, Chief Social Policy Division, World Bank Environmental Department).

[4]The components of the study includes: the people in the study area, predominantly the Ju/'hoansi but also the Herero people, their bio-physical and socio-political environment, livelihoods and problems, as well as aspects relating to tourism and Community-Based tourism, in the study area, Namibia and other countries.

i. Literature review

A literature review was undertaken related to the various aspects directly relevant to the study, as well as to gain a broader perspective of related issues such as sustainable development. The literature indicated in the reference list provided background information on tourism, ecotourism, and community-based tourism in Namibia and in other countries. It also covered the relevant background to the study area. Extensive use was made of previous studies in the Nyae Nyae area.

ii. A field trip, including personal observation, personal interviews and Participatory Rural Appraisal exercises

- Although the field trip to Namibia took place over a month, only a week of this was spent in the study area itself. Furthermore, much of this time was taken up in the Gam Herero resettlement area, adjoining the Nyae Nyae area.
- Personal observation of the area, including certain Ju/'hoansi villages, in particular the //Auru village next to which the study group camped, was informal, while formal quantitative observation was, due to the scope of the original UCT 1997 study, undertaken only in the Herero settlements.
- Informal, qualitative and generally spontaneous discussions rather than formal interviews were conducted with various Ju/'hoansi who were encountered during the field trip to the area. This included individuals from the //Auru village in the course of interactions such as those involved with assisting them with transport to and from Gam in order to shop and visit relatives there, camping near their village, and assisting with medical treatment (one of the study group was a medical doctor). Thus limited ***participant observation*** would best describe the nature of the 'research methods' used with the Ju/'hoansi. The study group were not objective outsiders, but rather 'research tourists' (refer to section 6.2.1) whose interactions would have had some impact on the individuals encountered.
- Interviews with Hereros, by contrast, were more structured and focused, and were based on the nature of the original study on the impact of boreholes, as well as on their livelihoods and land-uses.

- Participatory Rural Appraisal exercises were undertaken in three Herero communities around Gam. Qualitative as well as quantitative information was obtained concerning their livelihoods and lifestyles, among other things not relevant to this study.

Participatory Rural appraisal (PRA)

PRA draws on several traditions including participatory research, development approaches and the work of activist NGOs in many parts of the world, all with the common value of encouraging rural people to undertake their own analysis and action (PRA Training Workshop, 1993). The principles underlying PRA differ from those of more traditional research methods such as formal questionnaire surveys which are 'extractive' and where outsiders set the agenda and keep control of the results. In PRA, outsiders go in as learners, catalysts and facilitators in the process.

iii. Interviews with persons from relevant organisations

A wide range of stakeholders and informants from relevant organisations were interviewed, generally by appointment (see References: List of Interviews). These interviews were generally one-on-one, although at times by telephone. They were semi-structured, based on a set of key questions for the particular individual or organisation, but open-ended and exploratory. Where possible, follow-up interviews were held.

1.6 Limitations to the study

- Much of the research design for this study has been of an *ad hoc* and retrospective nature as has been described in section 1.5.2 above.

- The objective of the field trip to Namibia undertaken by the study team was to investigate the impact of boreholes, and the Herero resettlement area around Gam, south of and adjoining the Nyae Nyae area was the focus of the research in the area. Thus observations and interviews concerning Ju/'hoansi and tourism were undertaken only where possible by

the author in the course of the study. As a result, no formal, planned or quantitative field research, including sampling methods, was undertaken with the Ju/'hoansi in the eastern Tsumkwe area, and significant reliance has been placed on previous studies and literature as well as information provided by informants interviewed from various relevant organisations. However, based on information from interviews with these informants, it appears that there has been little change in the situation as far as ecotourism development is concerned, since the studies that have been used were made (see References).

- As pointed out above, in section 1.5.2, time in the area was confined to a week, and took place mainly around Gam. Observations and direct information regarding the Ju/'hoansi were therefore superficial.

- Furthermore, formal quantitative data on the biophysical impact of the Herero Resettlement Programme on the Nyae Nyae area was unavailable at the time of the study. Information in this regard was based on interviews and on studies of adjacent areas, as well as on literature of the area (e.g. Botelle & Rohde, 1995; Hitchcock, 1992), and literature on land use and degradation in arid areas generally (e.g. Seely *et al*, 1994).

- Because of the remoteness of the area, access to people and information both during, but particularly subsequent to the field trip, proved difficult, and thus there may be gaps in data.

- Lastly, it needs to be borne in mind that all researchers have biases of which they are often unaware, true objectivity being an unachievable, albeit strived for, human cognitive condition.

1.7 Assumptions

- It is assumed that the literature used and information gathered is accurate and that other significant studies and literature have not been omitted or overlooked.

- The assumption is made, based on literature and interviews, that tourism, in particular ecotourism, is a growing sector both world wide and in Namibia, and that it will continue to be so. The tourism market is fickle, however (see section 3.5.3), and thus this assumption may not hold for the future.

1.8 Planning and Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is presented in seven chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction

This gives a background to the study and the study area, and introduces the motivation and objectives. Approaches and methodology used as well as the limitations of the study and assumptions made, are discussed.

Chapter 2: The Broad Context of Tourism as a form of Development in the Study Area of eastern Tsumkwe district

The general overall context is described in which tourism as a form of development is presented. Development, particularly in arid and semi-arid landscapes such as Namibia, is discussed, and the importance of social analysis for sustainability assessment is proposed. The national context as well as the geographical, bio-physical and socio-political components of the study area are described, including factors related to development and land use therein. Tourism is proposed as a development option for the area.

Chapter 3: Tourism as a Land Use and Development Option

The theoretical aspects of tourism and ecotourism are presented, including the potential for positive as well as negative impacts. Tourism in the context of Namibia, and in particular the communal lands, is introduced.

Chapter 4: Policy, Legal and Institutional Framework

The policies and the legal and institutional framework are outlined within which tourism and Community-based Tourism function in Namibia, and which are relevant to the case study area.

Chapter 5: Community Based Tourism

Community-based tourism as a component of eco-tourism and of Community Based Natural Resource Management, is presented. Theoretical discussion as well as case studies are given.

Chapter 6: The Case Study: Tourism in Eastern Tsumkwe

Tourism and CBT in the case study area, its current state, potential for development, limitations and major constraints are discussed.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Recommendations

Significant factors are highlighted and key tasks in response to constraints and challenges are presented.

Chapter 2

The Broad Context of Tourism as a form of Development in the Study Area of eastern Tsumkwe District

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The Broad Context of Tourism as a form of Development in the Study Area of eastern Tsumkwe district

This chapter provides a context to the consideration of tourism as a development option in the study area. Thus, before proceeding with a theoretical discussion of tourism as a form of development, development in arid environments generally, but particularly in the context of Namibia, will be considered.

Development in the study area is considered. A background to the Tsumkwe District will be given, including the biophysical and social aspects. The people, their land uses, their historical and current situation, and the impacts of developments in the region which have led to the inability of the people to sustain themselves, are described. The unsuitability of certain land use practices, such as pastoralism, and the effects on the social and biophysical environment in the area is discussed. Currently prevailing views of development in the area, with tourism being suggested as an option, are presented.

2.1 Development in semi-arid environments

Land with arid or semi-arid vegetation that provides habitat for wildlife and domestic ruminants is generally termed arid and semi-arid land, rangeland, shrubland, wasteland, savannah and grassland. These areas are characterised by low population densities, mobility over extensive areas, and complex cultures specially adapted to the harsh conditions of dry and unpredictable conditions. The communities who use these areas usually have particular social organisations that control access to and sharing of resources, adapted to the conditions (Burge *et al*, 1995).

Survival strategies of people living in an unpredictable climate in marginal areas are complex, and include flexibility, resilience, mobility, adaptation and mutual accommodation (Rohde, 1994).

Transhumance, the practice of movement of people (often with livestock) in response to the seasonal supply of resources such as water, plants and wildlife, is the traditional coping strategy of people living in arid lands. Thus human populations are mobile within a territory which often includes marginal lands with meagre resources which may not be used in most years, that are nonetheless critically important in drought years, such areas containing 'famine foods'. As these marginal lands are often viewed as being little utilised, social impacts may not be readily perceived.

Development projects that affect these arid or semi-arid areas commonly involve dryland farming, plantation forestry, irrigation, sedentarisation and settlement, livestock development, dairy production, tourism and conservation wildlife parks (Burge *et al*, 1995).

Social changes commonly associated with development investments in arid or semi-arid areas include worsening land/population ratios, exacerbation of income inequalities, loss of territory and consequent population displacement and health risks associated with the conversion of subsistence products to commodities for urban consumption (such as the consequences of placing industries in natural inhabited areas, with resulting loss of habitat and pollution, or the substitution of wild foods with less nutritious processed foods). Sedentarisation of migratory or nomadic herders almost invariably leads to significant environmental deterioration and impoverishment of affected people (UCT, 1997).

Current development paradigms, based on European traditions may be unsuitable for these conditions, resulting in the imposition of often inappropriate Western development as well as land tenure policies and practices that can interrupt the traditional strategies (e.g. Jacobson *et al*, 1995; UCT, 1997).

Any environmental assessment of development proposals, including tourism, needs to assess the changes in pressures on natural resources in ecologically sensitive areas likely to be introduced by the development.

2.2 The importance of Social Analysis in Development Assessment

2.2.1 Social Impact Assessment

As all aspects of the environment need to be considered in the assessment of the impacts of any proposed development project, programme and plan in order to ensure sustainability, an assessment of the social as well as the biophysical aspects is essential.

'By social impacts we mean the consequences to human populations of any public or private actions that alter the ways in which people live, work , play, relate to one another, organise to meet their needs, and generally cope as members of society. The term also includes cultural impacts involving changes to the norms, values, and beliefs that guide and rationalise their cognition of themselves and their society' (Burge, et al, 1995:1).

Social aspects that need to be considered include the possibility of the following:

- changes in resource access and use patterns
- disruptions to social networks and culture
- enhanced inequities
- conflicts between local residents and newcomers

land ownership patterns

Thus, the foreseeable direct and indirect consequences for the natural environment, the indigenous people and any newcomers should be analysed. Furthermore, impacts often result from allied changes and secondary growth, including increased infrastructure such as the construction of roads and the attraction of immigrants with their possibly different lifestyles and values.

Development initiatives including tourism development, as well as its alternatives, need to be sustainable. Ecotourism models need to be reviewed critically to assess their long term viability and real economic benefit for rural people.

As sustainability involves the capacity of users to govern and manage natural resources sustainably, management structures also need to be in place, This includes the recognised capacity to control access and membership. Within this however, individuals and groups needs and interests will differ according to their own economic and social circumstances, for example, wealthy vs poor farmers, men vs women water users, marginalised groups, newcomers vs established groups[5].

2.2.2 Social Analysis

An analysis of the human population found in and around the area is an important step in development impact analysis in order to enhance the positive and reduce the adverse effects.

There are generally three broad categories of resource users: the indigenous people of the area, people who have recently moved into the area, and non-resident populations who enter the area

[5] It should be noted that while the term 'community' is used throughout for the sake of simplicity, a simplistic analysis of 'the community' as a cohesive homogeneous group, should be avoided. Rather, an acknowledgement of the complexities involved should be made, where within a specific area there may be legitimate diverse interests between individuals and groups 'whether clustered around variables such as age, gender, wealth and status, or around common interests such as livestock farming' (IIED, 1994, cited in Jones, 1996: 5). The terms 'local people' and 'indigenous people' are also used.

periodically to extract or utilise selected resources. (Each category could be further divided into subcategories) (Burge *et al*, 1995).

Social information is useful at several levels:

- Accurate information is essential to verify, modify or challenge any existing assumptions about the local population that could affect the decision concerning the development proposal. For example, actual patterns of access to and use of natural resources by local communities, may differ considerably from what people from outside the area, i.e. those who may make the policies and decisions, may think.

- Strategies should ideally fit the social organisation and structures of local communities. It is essential to have an understanding of the existing social and institutional organisations, as well as social and decisionmaking processes and representation, in order that these can be built on, rather than the imposition of outside structures and processes based on a differing idea of decisionmaking, organisation and management that may be inappropriate. For example, Western democratic elective models may not be appropriate to certain situations (Jones, 1996).

- In addition, an understanding of the political dynamics within a community assists an assessment of whether the existing structures are perceived as legitimate within a community.

Social analysis aids in the assessment of the likely response of local groups to a project (Burge *et al* 1995b). Furthermore, as any community cannot be seen in isolation from external factors that may have an influence, an understanding of the role played by outside agencies and policies is necessary.

As Botelle and Rohde (1995) propose, the importance of social organisation and culture as instruments of adaptation and transformation should not be ignored, as this will determine the success or failure of development policies or programmes.

It needs to be recognised that communities and cultures are not static entities but are, rather, *'...dynamic, changing with, and adapting to new circumstances'* (Jones, 1996: 41).

Special attention needs to be paid to projects that affect indigenous, tribal, low caste or ethnic minority groups (Burge *et al*, 1995), as well as groups such as the disabled, the aged, women and children. Being generally politically, socially and economically less powerful than the dominant culture, their capacity to assert or defend their interests in the land and other resources upon which they depend for their livelihood, is unequal.

'Because of their powerlessness, such groups are vulnerable to dislocation and impoverishment in times of rapid socio-economic change. This can lead in turn to the adoption of inappropriate production systems with negative environmental impacts. To lower the risk of impoverishment and environmental degradation, special development plans tailored to the social, cultural and ecological conditions of these groups are required' (Ibid).

An analysis of the biophysical environment also needs to be included as it has relevance for an assessment of the sustainability of land uses as a result of development decisions made. For these reasons given, a detailed examination of the environment, biophysical and social, of the eastern Tsumkwe area will be presented, following a brief consideration of aspects of Namibia as an arid land that need to be considered in regard to any development proposals, tourism included.

2.3 Namibia: Core Development Concerns

Core considerations relating to any development in Namibia include the fact that Namibia is an arid land, dependent on her natural resources, and that most of the population live in the communal areas.

2.3.1 Namibia - an Arid Country

Namibia is the driest country in southern Africa, with rainfall ranging from less than 20mm per annum on the west coast to just over 600mm in the Caprivi in the north-east (Department of Water Affairs, 1991). Rainfall is not only low but also extremely variable. This, combined with high evaporation rates and frequent droughts, often results in significant water deficits in the country (*ibid.*).

Most areas in Namibia may be termed arid or semi-arid environments. Thus, Namibia needs to be cognisant of the dynamics, unique properties, fragility, risk of desertification and limitations of such environments in planning, managing and implementing development and economic activities. This is particularly important in Namibia as a significant proportion of both formal and informal economic activity, especially among the rural population, is dependent on the ecological production and integrity of the environment (NPC, 1995; UCT, 1997).

Ill-advised development and economic activity may cause or contribute to environmental degradation, or initiate and promote desertification and lead to an overall loss of quality of life of Namibians. Thus, appropriate, environmentally sustainable development strategies are needed, otherwise vulnerability to drought and poverty will be enhanced rather than alleviated, and further marginalisation will take place. (Although drought can be a catalyst, it is not necessarily the cause of food shortages; vulnerability to food scarcity as a result of drought often results from inappropriate land use systems, often as a result of inappropriate development interventions) (e.g. Devereux & Tapscott, 1995; Quan *et al*, 1994). The

complexity of the interactions of society and the environment has often gone unrecognised and ignored by post-colonial development policies.

Thus Namibia as a developing country, largely dependent on its own environment and ecological production, has a special imperative to achieve environmentally sound and sustainable land use and economic activities (MET, 1995a). This is of particular importance in rural and communal areas where communities are particularly vulnerable to the effects of environmental degradation. As will be seen in Chapter 4, these principles are being recognised by government in Namibia as evidenced in recent policies and working papers.

2.3.2 Land Use Planning in Namibia

Land use demands, such as those for arable land, grazing, forestry, wildlife, tourism and urban development, are generally greater than the land resources available in Namibia as a result of increasing population (Kabajani, Minister of Ministry of Land, Resettlement and Rehabilitation[6] (MLRR) (cited in Botelle and Rohde, 1995: Preface). Even where land is still plentiful, many people do not have adequate and equitable access to it or to the benefits derived from its use. *'Short-sighted land uses might damage resources and are therefore not sustainable, and such degradation of land can be attributed, among other things, to ignorance, constraints of land tenure or lack of alternatives for land use'* (*Ibid*: Preface).

Land use planning aims to make the best use of limited resources in order to 'meet the needs of the present generation and simultaneously safeguard resources for the future' (i.e. the principles of sustainability) (*Ibid*). The MLRR acknowledges that even in rural areas, farming alone cannot support the total population and that a variety of land uses needs to be investigated (*Ibid*).

[6] The Ministry responsible for co-ordinating rural land use planning in Namibia

Bearing in mind the aspects discussed so far, we now turn to the study area itself.

2.4 Development in the Study Area: Eastern Tsumkwe

This section gives a social and bio-physical background to the research area. It includes a decription of the physical features of the area, a historical outline, and a description of the people who live there, the Ju/'hoansi, and more recently, the Herero. An introduction to their land use practices is given. The ecological and social impacts caused by recent developments is discussed, followed by a description of prevailing views of development, including tourism, in the area. The social and cultural aspects are covered in some detail as this is relevant to the study for the reasons given in section 2.2. above.

2.4.1 Background to the study area

1) The Geographical Location

The eastern Tsumkwe District is the official administrative designation for the study area (Jones, 1996). Formerly eastern Bushmanland, it is known to the local people, the Ju/'hoansi, as 'Nyae Nyae'. It covers an area of 6 300 square km and is situated in the north eastern corner of Namibia, (see Fig. 1). It is bounded on the east by Botswana, on the north by Kavango and the Kaudom Game Reserve, on the west by Western Bushmanland, and on the south by Hereroland (see Figs. 2 & 3).

Tsumkwe District incorporates eastern Tsumkwe District in former Bushmanland and Gam in former Hereroland (see Fig. 4). Although the eastern Tsumkwe District is the focus of the study, the district as a whole will be examined to some extent in this section as impacts are occurring as a result of activities and developments south in the adjoining Gam area.

2) Biophysical Features

There are several important features which affect human and animal populations.

The area is part of the Kalahari Geological system which extends throughout a large part of Western Africa. The Kalahari soils are fragile: The finer components within the course sand textured soils are prone to erosion both by wind and water (UCT, 1997).

The area is very flat, the Aha hills providing the only topographical relief, with dolerite bedrock rising 100 m above the surrounding plain.

Summers are hot and winters moderate to cool. During June - August, the coldest seasons, night temperatures regularly fall to below freezing, while during November - December, the hottest season, daytime temperatures can exceed 45 degrees Celsius (Powell, 1995).

Water supply and pans

The area is reasonably well watered, receiving an average annual rainfall of 500mm with a range of between 51 and 997 mm, most of which falls between November and April. Of particular note is the variability of rainfall both in time and place (Hitchcock, 1992). Surface water is only seasonally available, and underground water is difficult to locate when drilling for boreholes (Environmental Information Services and EEAN, 1994; UCT, 1997).

Numerous pans exist which support a large variety of wildlife and birds, including migrant birds from all over the world, and thus these wetlands are of regional, national and international note. They are significant in terms of providing water during the rainy season and serving as focal points for wildlife populations at various times during the year. There are four natural permanent water sources and a number of seasonal pans scattered throughout the area (Hitchcock, 1992).

There are relatively few places with water as plentiful as in the Nyae Nyae region, according to assessments of data on water points in the area (Hitchcock, 1992; UCT, 1997). This has important implications: growing pressure on water and resources, exacerbated by situations of drought and resettlement further south in the Gam area by pastoralist Hereros, are likely to result in increased efforts of people to move into the Nyae Nyae area (UCT, 1997; Botelle & Rohde, 1995).

Vegetation

The area is also characterised by longitudinal dunes, which strongly influence the ecology of the area's semi-arid tree savannah. The dunes support open woodland while additional tree species are supported in the upper flats between the dunes. In the more compact lower flats, shrubby trees predominate.

Dry river valleys or depressions occur between the sand dunes known as *molapos* (*omaramba* in Herero). Here, water accumulates and unique associated vegetation is found.

Acacia species dominate on the more calcareous soils north-west of Gam whilst forest savannah and open woodland dominate the rest of the area with plenty of *Terminalia sericia* (Sand Yellow Wood) and occasional occurrences of Red Serigia, *Pterocarpus angolensis* (Dolf wood) and Manghetti trees, important to the Ju'/hoansi, are found (MLRR, 1994).

Dichapetalum cymosum (a poisonous plant commonly known as gifblaar) are endemic to the area and occur throughout (MLRR, 1994), being of major concern to livestock farmers in north-eastern Namibia. (Environmental Information Services and EEAN, 1994).

Another key feature is the variability in the distribution and abundance of key plant resources, especially *morama* (*dshin, Tylosema esculentum*) *and mongongo* (*g//kaa, Ricinodendron rautanenii*) (Hitchcock 1995).

The Aha Hills in the eastern part of the Nyae Nyae region are important in that economically important minerals as well as timber and bush foods are found here (*Ibid*)

In the eastern Tsumkwe district generally, wild foods continue to be found. 'Particularly abundant in this semi-desert are plants possessing nutritious storage organs beneath the sand. These provide both food and water to those who know how to find them and dig them out' (Biesele, 1993: xxi).

Wildlife

Although the scarcity of permanent water does not support the existence of large numbers of wildlife, these do exist. Large game species such as gnu (blue wildebeest), oryx, giraffe, kudu and eland, are found. Small game present in the area include steenbok, duiker and warthog, as well as predators such as jackal, cheetah, leopard, lion and both brown and spotted hyena.

However, wildlife numbers are seen to be decreasing as a result of being exterminated by the Herero in adjoining Gam area, in the course of the game's nomadic patterns of movement between the areas (Stander, pers. comm.) (see section 2.4.7).

As mentioned above, the seasonal pans attract migrant birds from around the world.

Fig. 5. The table below provides a sketch of wildlife in Bushmanland (including Gam) according to a wildlife survey in August 1995 (Stander, 1995).

Species	Count
Hartebeest	32
Wildebeest	165
Giraffe	6
Roan	20
Elephant	302
Gemsbok	110
Steenbok	14
Ostrich	190
Duiker	33
Kudu	249
Honey Badger	5

3) Demographics

The region is occupied predominantly by its original inhabitants, the Ju/'hoan speakers of the Bushman, or San people[7] (e.g. Botelle & Rohde, 1995) of whom there are approximately 3 000 (Jones, 1996). Within Gam there are two Ju/'hoan-speaking families living among the Herero community.

The Ju/'hoansi live in small groups in about 35 settlements, or *n!ores*[8] scattered around the eastern Tsumkwe district.

[7] There is a debate about the appellations concerning the general group of 'San' or 'Bushmen' or '!Kung Bushmen' of which the Ju/'hoan are a linguistic subdivision (e.g. Bieslele, 1993). As San has a negative connotation in Nama, the language from which it comes, the term 'Bushmen' will be used

[8] A *n!ore* was historically and area of land which provided sufficient natural resources to support a band of about 30-40 people, and will be covered in further detail in section 2.4.4.)

Other inhabitants include Hereros who have moved into the district from the adjoining Gam area (UCT, 1997) as well as government and non-government organisation personnel living in the municipal areas of Tsumkwe or Asvoelnes, or in Baraka where there is a small training and craft centre (Powell, 1995).

With 4 persons per square kilometre, population density is relatively low, especially when compared to the communal areas to the north (*Ibid*).

2.4.2 History of the Nyae Nyae area

As with the Bushmen in general in southern Africa (see Appendix 2), the Ju/'hoansi of the Nyae Nyae area have had their land drastically reduced since their contact with Bantu and European settlers.

The Nyae Nyae area used to include parts of Botswana, the Kaudom Game Reserve to the North and parts of former Hereroland to the south. Until the 1950s, about 1250 Ju/'hoansi hunted and gathered over an area 45 000 km ^{2}.

This situation changed when in 1966 a fence was constructed along the Botswanan border. Following this, and subsequent to the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission of the then ruling South African administration, the area was divided into ethnic homelands, with parts of the Ju/'hoan territories being ceded to the new Hereroland and Kavango regions in 1970, and a 'Bushman Homeland' proclaimed. In 1982 the northern part of Nyae Nyae was proclaimed a game reserve (the Kaudom reserve) and a large portion of the southern part became Hereroland East (Powell, 1995). Thus the Ju/'hoansi found themselves confined to about 30% of their original territories, with only one of their original nine permanent water sources available (Jones, 1996).

This was insufficient land area to support themselves by means of their traditional hunter-gatherer lifestyle, which requires moving in response to seasonal supplies of water, game and edible plants (*transhumance*). Domestic animals were introduced and between 1959 and 1970 many Ju/'hoansi moved from their *n!ores* to the newly formed administrative centre of Tsumkwe, encouraged by the commissioner for the area who aimed to provide them with wage labour, training in agriculture, animal husbandry and medical care (Jones, 1966). By the late 1970s about 1000 Ju/'hoansi were living in Tsumkwe, reliant on government subsidies and a few wage earners, as food resources became depleted, the area being unable to sustain the numbers of people in hunting and gathering. The social changes which took place were beyond the coping capacity of the Ju/'hoansi and resulted in social disintegration, alcoholism and crime (*Ibid).*

The situation was worsened in 1978 by the recruitment by the South African defence Force of young Ju/'hoansi men to form a 'Bushman Battalion' (Jones, 1996; Botelle & Rohde, 1995). Ju/'hoansi death rates exceeded their birth rates (Jeursen, 1996) and thus Tsumkwe came to be known as the 'place of death' (Botelle & Rohde, 1995).

John Marshall, an American film maker who had lived in the area with his family in the 1950s, together with Claire Ritchie, began the Bushman Foundation, later renamed the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDFN) in 1980 in order to assist the Ju/'hoansi with the transition (Jeursen, 1996; Jones, 1996) and to move back to their *noresi.* Boreholes were subsequently sunk in each village enabling the people to re-establish themselves in the outlying areas.

2.4.3 Infrastructure and Institutions in the area

Infrastructure in the area is poor and the area remains remote and underfunded (UCT, 1997). The bad state of the roads means that they are often impassable even to 4x4s during the rainy

season. Petrol is generally unavailable for private or for government vehicles, making it extremely difficult for government officials to perform their functions (e.g. personal observation; Berriman, pers. comm.). There are no public transport systems, no postal services, and telecommunication is limited to short-wave radio transmitters found in most government and NGO offices (Botelle & Rohde, 1995).

Government presence is mainly confined to the Ministry of Land, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) through their resettlement schemes, and the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) game management strategies (*Ibid*). Regional councils 'remain under-funded with poorly qualified staff' (*Ibid*: viii) and have had little impact on regional developments.

The predominant NGO that operates in the area is the Nyae Nyae Farmers Co-operative (NNFC) in conjunction with the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation (NNDFN). The NNFC/NNDFN are Ju/'hoan-based development organisations. The Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDFN) was instituted as an independent NGO. Its main current objective is to provide financial and technical support to the NNFC. The Nyae Nyae Farmers Co-operative (NNFC) was instituted in 1986 and was aimed at establishing self-sufficient farming communities in rural areas. Approximately 86% of all households in eastern Bushmanland are members of the NNFC (Botelle & Rohde, 1995). These organisations will be referred to again in Chapter 6, as they play a significant role in the area, including their involvement as community representatives regarding development and tourism initiatives.

2.4.4 The Culture and Land Use of the Ju/'hoansi

- **Traditional Culture and Land Use**

Traditionally the Bushmen lived as hunter-gatherers in the Kalahari without agriculture or domesticated animals, including hunting dogs (Biesele, 1993). Hunting was done by men using

poison arrows and bird snares made from grass. At least half their subsistence was provided by the vegetable foods gathered by the women.

The culture of the Bushmen is traditionally, and still although to a lesser extent, integrated with their subsistence and survival activities, reflecting traditional hunter gatherers[9] generally around the world, as described by Biesele (1993) and others.

For instance movements and cultural life was traditionally organised around water supply and its location, game and their movements. The size of groups, co-operation within and between groups, and the strategies of subsistence, labour and rest were intimately connected with these environmental constraints. 'Among these are many variations upon the theme of co-operation and harmonious social relations, enormously detailed knowledge of the environment and of techniques to exploit it, and strongly institutionalised patterns of sharing.' (*Ibid*, 1993:9).

Flexibility, co-operation and opportunism are strategies with which they survived in the fragile, variable and arid environment, exploiting the best resources available, including wildlife and water, at a given time. Their habitation and system of governance reflected these strategies. Transhumance, the movement of people in respond to water and food availability, was traditionally practised, and continues to some extent, given the present land constraints.

This need for mobility means that they have few possessions, no more than they can carry. *'A woman has a few ostrich eggshell water carriers, her digging stick, a wooden pestle and*

[9] The single unifying element of hunter gatherers the world over, is that they hardly alter their environment, adapting to rather than modifying it. Other forms of economic activity whether agricultural, pastoral or industrial, 'may expend energy converting one form of commodity into others, including money, but hunter gatherers generally consume the naturally occurring produce of their region virtually unchanged' (Biesele, 1993: 40)

Hunter-gatherers live in small groups well below the carrying capacity of the land. Relations are related by kinship, custom and consensus, and share resources according to clear lines of reciprocity . Individuals and groups are flexible in their movements and relations, coming together and dispersing as circumstances arise, such as the necessity of pooling resources and work, or dispersing in response to tensions that may arise within groups.

mortar perhaps, and some ornaments and skin bags. A man has his bow and quiver, his spear sometimes a hunting bag made from the whole skin of a small buck, and a carrying net made of twisted sansevieria fibres and not much else. Most of Bushmen technology is carried in the mind as information and technique, in fact, rather than in the hands or on the back' (*Ibid,* 1993: 10).

- **Flexibility and Adaptation in Relation to the Current Situation**

It would appear that the adaptive strategies of flexibility, co-operation and opportunism can be seen to apply to present circumstances, within the constraints presented. For instance, according to Biesele, in recent years, 'Bushmen have been observed to move back and forth relatively rapidly between 'different subsistence options and between sedentary ways and mobile ones' (1993: 12).

Furthermore, although the pattern of transhumance has changed to some extent since the provision of boreholes at each village which now allows for an increase in sedentarisation, as well as the decreased area of land available, movements still continue to take place, such as for seasonal food resources or visiting. According to Wendy Viall of NNDFN (pers. comm.), whole villages can disappear for a period, visiting kin in another area. This can have implications for tourism enterprises, as seen in Chapter 6.

- **Territory and Resource Use**

As described, the Ju/'hoansi live in small groups in settlements scattered around the eastern Tsumkwe district, based on the *n!ore* system. Historically areas of land which provided sufficient natural resources to support a band of about 30-40 people each (Jones, 1996), *N!oresi* (pl.) vary in size between 2000 and 3000 hectares, comparable to a commercial farm (Botelle & Rohde, 1995). They do not have firm boundaries but regulate social rights and obligations associated with the use of natural resources. Rights of residence are inherited through kinship and marriage (Jones, 1996).

In the past, two types of n!ore could be identified: those with reliable water which could accommodate people throughout the year and those with intermittent water supplies. The introduction of boreholes has allowed people to settle permanently in *n!oresi* which previously were settled intermittently (Botelle & Rohde, 1995).

Jones (1996) points out that the *n!ore* system has been adapted to modern circumstances and remains the basis for land allocation and resource use by the Ju/'hoansi.

- **Social Networks**

Social networks are based on extended family groups or bands living around an elder (*kxaosi*), linked through kinship and name relationships. Sharing patterns (*xaro*) link members of different groups in reciprocal relationships (Biesele, 1993). The band size is flexible and structured according to kinship ties and networks of exchange that extend far beyond the immediate band territory (Botelle and Rohde 1995). Their society is governed by strict rules of sharing which sustain both basic food security for households and co-operation within and between the bands. The sharing of meat and other consumables is a matter of course. A formal system of exchange, known as *hxaro*, involves the establishment of gift giving partners over a wide geographic area. Implicit in these gift giving relationships are rights to water and plant resources. Kinship links are an important key to understanding the relative wealth or poverty of settlements as strong kinship links support successful survival strategies. Communities can be differentiated in terms of material success or social advancement by these links (*Ibid*).

- **Social and Organisational Structures: Leadership and Decisionmaking**

A leadership hierarchy of headman and chiefs found in most other African societies is absent among the Ju/'hoansi. The traditional group structure is egalitarian with no formal leader - *'...the oldest man or woman generally acts as a focus for collective decision-making more than as any kind of authority'* (Biesele, 1993). Decisionmaking is non-hierarchical (Jones, 1996) and decentralised (Powell, 1995), and is characterised as 'consensual' (Botelle & Rohde, 1995). It is vested at the *n!ore* level, with these *n!ore kxaosi,* the oldest men or women core-group

siblings, maintaining co-ordinating relationships with other *n!ore kxaosi* involving access to key environmental resources (Biesele, 1994, cited in Jones, 1996).

Traditionally, women take an active part in decisionmaking; their knowledge of plant foods and resources and their important contribution to subsistence being recognised and respected. This appears to be changing, however, as men are generally learning to speak Afrikaans and to be at the forefront of interactions with officials and outsiders as the representatives of the people (Viall, pers comm).

The division of labour and social domains is traditionally by age and gender alone (Biesele, 1993). Marriage and kinship is the means for established reciprocal access to resources in various areas. Through their strong social networks, individuals have access to resources over a wide geographical area, 'tying them into a broad system of social support which in turn serves as the main arena for political and social negotiation.' (Botelle & Rohde : viii).

The lack of a strong decisionmaking and leadership structure that can represent the Ju/'hoansi in lobbying and negotiating with outsiders such as government and neighbouring Hereros, has proved one of their major weaknesses, also affecting tourism development. This has often been taken advantage of in the past and has resulted in their exploitation (e.g. Jones, 1996).

However, the NNDFN and the NNFC have been developed in an attempt to address this situation. Thus, overlaid upon the traditional system of organisation is now the NNFC which consists partly of representatives from each community, to make up a Representative Committee, or *radas,* and a Management Board. In addition, the Environmental Planning Committee (EPC) consists partly of NNFC representatives.

These issues are highly significant in tourism and other any community management strategies, as well as with resource control and prevention of intrusion by outsiders, and will be referred to in chapter 6.

- **Psychological patterns**

The psychological patterns and attitudes of the Ju/'hoansi as hunter gatherers are not adapted to the Western economic system. Botelle and Rohde describe their subsistence activity as 'non-storing and immediate return (work input which does not require a return on investment at a later date)' (1995: 34). Attitudes to leadership and decisionmaking, time, land and ownership differ radically (e.g. Powell, 1995). These may cause problems with tourism as well as any other development enterprises.

- **Social Problems**

Where Bushmen have lost land, a loss of subsistence economy has resulted. This leads to menial, low paid jobs, 'mielie meal welfare' or begging and prostitution (Botelle & Rohde, 1995). Furthermore, the introduction of alcohol has led to its abuse and thus accompanying social problems among the Ju/'hoansi (e.g. Viall, pers. comm.; UCT, 1997).

2.4.5 Present Ju/'hoansi Livelihoods

- **Mixed economy**

A mixed economy presently exists in the area, with hunting and foraging, pastoralism, agriculture, sale of crafts and wage labour contributing to subsistence and incomes (Botelle & Rohde, 1995).

- **Hunting and Gathering**

Changes have been found to have occurred in the distribution and abundance of resources in the Nyae Nyae region. Wild plant foods were depleted in the vicinity of Tsumkwe in the 1960-

1980 period (this being one of the reasons that people moved back to their traditional territories). In the areas of the settlements, however, berries, nuts, roots and other veld foods are still found (e.g. Ju/'hoansi resident from //Auru village, pers. comm.). Thus the area still has food resources suitable for gathering including over one hundred and twenty species of edible plants, with certain species comprising an important part of the diet at various times of the year (e.g. *kage, marula, Schlerocarya caffra* and *morama*), although numbers are declining (Hitchcock, 1992).

Although game is not as abundant as it was in the past and are furthermore now shy and more difficult to hunt (*Ibid*), both small and large game continue to exist for hunting.

Thus, although no longer sufficient to provide them with subsistence, hunter-gathering still occurs to a limited extent. As mentioned, the area is no longer large enough to support a hunter gatherer economy alone.

Furthermore, although the Ju/'hoansi are allowed by law to utilise natural resources including game for their subsistence, it is by traditional means alone, that is, bows and poisoned arrows, bird traps, spears and clubs. The use of firearms or animals such as horses is illegal (Berriman pers. comm.). Hunting using modern means has however, been allowed for trophy hunters who buy hunting concessions from the Namibian government. However, it appears that the use of firearms and horses as a means of transport to pursue the game, are currently being used by some Ju/'hoansi individuals, despite its illegality (*Ibid*).

In addition, although attempts are recently being made by CBO's and NGO's to mitigate against this, through plans to integrate indigenous knowledge into school education, as well as tourism activities, the knowledge of natural resources and hunting and gathering methods of exploiting them is dying out (e.g. Oostehuizen, pers. comm.; Marie, pers. comm.) (see section 6.2.2).

- **Pastoralism and Agriculture**

Despite contact with agro-pastoralists of some duration, and the encouragement of these activities by government and other development organisations, agriculture and pastoralism play a small, though increasing, part in their economy.

Although cattle are kept by a number of villages, this is not highly significant to their subsistence (Botelle & Rohde, 1995). Biesele (1993) suggests that even in the case of semi-acculturated Bushmen, the content of their oral expression continues to focus on the concerns of a foraging economy and the social attitudes and organisation that maintain it. Even modern tales do not include pastoralist or agricultural concerns.

Cattle are usually provided by the NNDFN, although stock losses are high (Viall, pers. comm.; Berriman pers. comm.). The Ju/'hoansi form of cattle keeping where cattle are allowed to wander and graze freely, means that they are often prey to predators such as lion or leopard. It has also been suggested that some of the stock losses reported to result from predators may in fact have been consumed by the Ju/'hoansi themselves, but not admitted to because of the *Mafisa* (long term loan) scheme, whereby cattle are lent to them (*Ibid*).

Although agriculture has been promoted in the region as a development strategy, and has become more important as a source of subsistence than it was in the past, attempts at crop production has met with variable degrees of success (Hitchcock, 1992). Constraints range from periodic dry periods during the rainy season, due to the variability of rainfall in the region, to poor soil conditions and pests such as mice (e.g. Hitchcock, 1995; Botelle & Rohde, 1995; Kakujaha, pers. comm.). This was verified by the PRA findings of the UCT study team in the adjoining Gam area (UCT, 1997).

- **Crafts and Tourism**

Crafts are sold to the NNDFN as well as informally to tourists. This is an important source of income; furthermore skills are commonplace and little capital is required (Botelle & Rohde, 1995). However the demand fluctuates, and income from crafts is viewed as 'a bonus' rather than as a reliable source of cash (*Ibid*: 65). Tourists also provide some irregular cash and handouts to supplement the people's income (see chapter 6).

- **Formal Economy**

Engagement in the formal economy is negligible. Few opportunities exist in the area, providing jobs for perhaps 50 people (Powell, 1995), generally in the NNFC and the NNDFN. In general, the Ju/'hoansi people do not have access to the job market, having received little formal education on the past.

- **Pensions**

Pensions from the Namibian government are a source of income for the elderly.

- **Aid**

A third of Ju/'hoansi house holds receive government and donor aid (Botelle & Rohde, 1995).

2.4.6 Competing land uses

As a result of the ongoing resettlement programmes and the growing demands of the different population groups in the area, conflicting land uses are occurring.

'There are multiple forms of land use being Conducted by a number of different stakeholders in Eastern Bushmanland. This can put a stress on the land and its resources, and thereby

ultimately constraining the viability of these land uses' (Kabajani, cited in Botelle & Rohde, 1995; Preface).

Furthermore, 'The need for detailed ongoing baseline information about the land, its resources and the constraints from the perspective of the different stakeholders is essential in order to initiate co-operative planning in eastern Bushmanland' (Powell,1995: 35). In order to acheive this objective, the MLRR is currently developing a land use plan for the region of Eastern Otjozondjupa, and have begun to collect baseline information, Botelle and Rohde's socio economic report being the start of this.

2.4.7 Impacts of the Herero on the Ju/'hoansi

Like many other traditionally hunter-gatherer societies, the Bushmen are threatened by the activities of neighbouring ethnic groups. Borehole technology has meant that other groups, less adapted to the arid environments, can now move into traditionally Bushman areas. This is generally the Bantu speaking, cattle owning groups, particularly the Herero, who encroach on their hunting and gathering grounds (UCT, 1997).

Neighbours to the Ju/'hoansi, the agro-pastoralist Hereros have a contrasting worldview on technology and economy (Botelle & Rohde, 1995), and their land uses challenge rather than complement those of the Ju/'hoansi. Furthermore, despite the veterinary fence between the two areas, the Herero have been moving with their cattle into the Ju/'hoansi territory in search of water and grazing. Denied legal rights and control over resources and land in their area, these being vested in the state (as discussed in chapter 6), the Ju/'hoansi have experienced problems in controlling access to these by outsiders. The possible influx of Hereros thus proves a threat to the surrounding areas.

In view of this, a brief look will now be taken at the adjoining Gam area and the Herero residents.

- **Gam: The Herero Repatriation Programme**

The so-called Gam resettlement area lies south of the Nyae Nyae area and the veterinary fence, (see fig 3). The resettlement of approximately 1 700 Herero from Botswana to Gam in 1993, and around 500 more in 1994, despite Ju/'hoansi resistance (Botelle & Rohde, 1995), and with assistance from MLRR, is the first part of the MLRR's Herero repatriation programme, intended to resettle some 5000 households and 50 000 cattle from Botswana by the year 2000 into the area.

This is a highly ambitious project in a marginal area (Dewdney, 1996). Water is difficult to locate and borehole drilling has had a low success rate of 1 in 3 (MLRR, 1994). Water availability is the predominate limiting factor to development in the region.

Factors such as the lack of permanent surface water as well as shortages of grazing in this area are likely to result in increased pressure on the fragile ecosystem, and thus a movement northwards into former Bushmanland, negatively impacting on the Ju/'hoansi inhabitants way of life and livelihoods (Dewdney, 1996).

The success of the repatriation programme is in doubt. The 1993 MLRR report proposed that 'the overall success and future of the settlers in the Gam area will largely depend on their ability to become agriculturally independent and self-sufficient' (pp13). Methods suggested to accomplish this centre mainly around agro-pastoralist activities and the creation of related markets, although it has been suggested that alternative sources of income and diversification be encouraged (MLRR, 1993).

However general farming practices are constrained by low and erratic rainfall and the predominance of sandy soils with low agricultural potential (MLRR Report, 1994). Although the area is more suitable for stock farming than crops, the widespread distribution of the toxic plant *Dichapetalum cymosum* (poison leaf) causes high stock losses and has made areas around certain boreholes uninhabitable (UCT, 1977). Furthermore, the environmental conditions indicate low potential land carrying (Environmental Information Services and EEAN, 1994).

From the 1997 UCT study, it was found that the land is not capable of supporting the population: livestock resources are inadequate to meet subsistence or cash needs, crops have not yet proved successful, and although poaching is practised, natural resources are inadequate for survival needs. Alternatives are limited as employment opportunities are almost non-existent in the area, and alternative skills are few. Thus the area would not appear to have the resources to sustain the people from the repatriation programme.

- **The Herero as Pastoralists**

The Herero have a predominately pastoralist economy (UCT, 1997). However, cattle represent more than a just means of livelihood for the Herero; they are a symbol of wealth and status, and are used on occasions such as funerals, marriages, and as a means of strengthening social ties (Malan, 1995). Thus it is unlikely that farmers will adopt a flexible and adaptable management approach and reduce stock when conditions demand this. Although the Herero suffered dramatic stock losses while in Botswana as a result of the extermination of cattle by the government during the recent Lung Disease epidemic, their intention is to rebuild their herds as soon as possible (UCT, 1997).

- **Ecology and sustainable land use**

Prior to the resettlement programmes, the Gam area was sparsely populated by people and domestic stock and was considered to be largely pristine (Environmental Information Services and EEAN, 1994). Ju/'hoansi hunted and collected food there on a seasonal basis and wildlife was common (*Ibid*).

By 1995, although only 7000 livestock had arrived, there was already resulting environmental degradation compared to 1994 (Muvangua *et al*, 1995). Stander (pers. comm.) proposes that because of the habitat changes that have occured in the Gam area, this area should be viewed as a separate ecological unit to the Nyae Nyae area above.

It is apparent that current land tenure systems and associated livestock management practices are not compatible with the semi-arid environment of the region and are consequently not sustainable (Marsh & Seely , 1992).

- **Impacts of cattle**

Besides water, grazing is the longer term limiting factor in the area. In Ju/'hoansi areas cattle compete not only with the game on which the Ju/'hoansi depend for plants and water, but with plant foods necessary by the people themselves, such as *Morama, or Tsin bean vines (Tylosema esculenta*) (Hitchcock, 1992). Cattle also have been found to cause the process of range and soil degradation in the fragile Kalahari environment (e.g. UCT, 1997). Bush encroachment, weed growth, replacement of palatable with unpalatable grasses, and soil erosion can result, even at recommended stocking rates (Environmental Information Services and EEAN, 1994). Plants around waterholes are trampled.

- **Impact on Ecosystems, Wildlife and Tourism:**

Besides the poaching of wildlife using modern weapons, the Herero pastoralists generally attempt to eliminate predators who pose a threat to livestock (UCT, 1997). This includes wildlife from the Nyae Nyae area as the animals move south into the Gam area as part of their migration patterns. Events south of the veterinary fence can thus be seen to have an impact on other areas.

This is likely to result in decreased species population size, and the inability of species to migrate, thus leading to the possible breakdown of ecosystem processes. Issues such as

minimal numbers of breeding pairs and insufficient territory size become critical, threatening the viability of the ecosystem processes (Meffe & Carroll, 1994).

Herero activities both within and adjoining the Nyae Nyae area can thus have a negative impact on Ju/'hoansi tourist initiatives as wildlife and unspoilt natural beauty are attractions for tourists, including consumptive trophy hunting.

- **Conflicting Social and Economic Organisation**

Conflicts tend to arise between Herero and Bushmen in the region as a result of their different leadership structures and opposing economic and land use activities. In addition, Herero pastoralists tend not to recognise Bushman rights to land (Botelle & Rohde, 1995).

Herero leadership is hierarchical with strong patrilineal kinship structures, more pronounced gender role differentiation, and more highly developed skills specialisation than the Ju/'hoansi (Botelle & Rohde, 1995: UCT, 1997). The Herero appear to be politically united and motivated in their goal of successful resettlement in the area. Community leadership structures exist. They are aware of their needs and make representation to central government to voice their aims and concerns (UCT, 1997). Thus they have the advantage when negotiating with the Ju/'hoansi and have been more powerful politically.

The Hereros are more successful than the Ju/'hoansi in adapting to economic change, their economic activities being involved with the storage of surplus and investment in the future (Botelle & Rohde, 1995), unlike those of the Ju/'hoansi. For these reasons the Herero have been the more dominant group and pose a threat to the Ju/'hoansi.

- **Cultural impacts**

In virtually every community where the Bushmen and Herero coexist, the Bushmen comprise the lowest social order (Botelle & Rohde 1995). Subservient client-patron relationships generally develop as the Bushmen tend to find cattle herding work with the Bantu pastoralists.

Those who do not find such work often end up living as squatters around the pastoralist settlements. *"Bushmen tend to lose their land and economic autonomy to cattle interests, and their cultural independence to the more aggressive incoming society."* (Biesele, 1993:10).

Furthermore, the Herero sell alcohol to the Ju/'hoansi, exacerbating what has become a serious social problem among the Ju/'hoansi (e.g. Viall, pers. comm; Berriman, pers. comm.).

- **Impacts of resettlement on land use planning**

Botelle & Rohde (1995) point out that serious threats to the continuity of land use planning relate to the uncertainty surrounding further repatriation of Herero groups from Botswana, and the potential repatriation of up to 4 000 !Kung Bushman ex-servicemen and their families into the area.

All the points discussed above are significant factors for any potential development of tourism in the area, the implications of which will be referred to in chapter 6.

2.5 Recommended Development in the Area

2.5.1 Need for Economic Diversification

Because of the events and developments of the past as illustrated in this chapter, natural resources are no longer adequate to support the people in the Tsumkwe district, both Herero and Ju/'hoansi. It has been acknowledged that diversification of economic activities besides hunter-gathering and/or pastoralism, is necessary (e.g. MLRR, 1993, 1994; Botelle & Rohde, 1995). Opportunities have been seen to be limited however, as discussed above.

2.5.2 Prevailing Current Perceptions of Development in the Area

Botelle and Rohde (1995) point out that there are two prevailing views on future development in eastern Bushmanland based on stereotypical views of Bushmen held by the outsiders who are also the decision makers. Both of these views are seen as unjustified.

The first is based on the colonial view of 'preserving the Bushman', a perceived pristine and fragile environment and 'fragile and weak' culture. This is allied to the Western fantasy of the 'Bushman myth'.

The second is based on the premise that the Bushmen are 'poor, underdeveloped and in need of guidance from 'more advanced' outsiders' (Botelle & Rohde in MLRR report, 1994: 167), favouring their development through an integration into an agro-pastoral society.

2.5.3 The Role of Tourism

In their land use report, Botelle & Rohde suggest that planners should recognise the validity, environmentally sustainable and socially acceptable nature of 'multiple land use options based upon hunting and gathering economic strategies' for the area. They go on to conclude their report with the following recommendations for the Ju/'hoansi area:

"The former Bushmanland region has a diverse number of ecological habitats and landscapes. As a result, there is a wide variety of animal and plant species with a growing potential for employment and income generation related to game, forestry and veld plant utilisation, as well as to sensitive tourism development. The skills and knowledge of residents have not been tapped (with the exception of a handful of researchers and professional hunters who utilise local skills). ***There is considerable scope for increasing revenues from tourism, trophy***

hunting and the sale of live game, particularly with the world-wide boom in eco-tourism. *Similarly, there is a wealth of knowledge concerning the use of plants as a source of food, medicine, fuel and shelter. Animal and plant products are currently used to make a wide variety of crafts, and play a vital role in the social economy of Bushman groups."*

In addition, the 1993 MLRR report recommends a diversification of economic activities in the Gam area to complement agropastoralism. This includes the 'sustainable use of game for consumption, export, trophy hunting and tourism' (pp15). However, it would appear that there is little to appeal to tourists in the Gam area (UCT, 1997).

2.5.4 Tourism as a landuse as part of a land use plan

Furthermore, tourism in the area has the potential to help facilitate certain of the objectives defined by the land use planning exercise:

These are:

- To enable the growth of the presently low-level subsistence economy
- To realise the overall potential of the region's natural resource base through sustainable land use
- To conserve the regions' biodiversity through long-term sustainable natural resource utilisation
- To identify and strengthen community leadership and decisionmaking structures
- To provide communities with rights to land and natural resources.

(Taken from Botelle & Rohde, 1995: 3)

2.5.6 Community Participation

It is pointed out however that, rather than outsiders, the local residents themselves should determine the direction of any development in the area, although the consultation and involvement of outsiders such as the Government and NGOs is still seen to be necessary (*Ibid*: 167). This has significant relevance for tourism development, and will be discussed in following chapters.

2.6 Conclusion

For development to be sustainable in arid and semi arid landscapes such as Namibia and including the study area of Tsumkwe district, where the natural environment is of the utmost importance to the people for their subsistence and to the economy of the country, particular caution is necessary. This includes all stages - planning, implementation and follow-up. Inappropriate development strategies and land uses have been found to have led to the disruption of traditional adaptive strategies and cultures, to environmental degradation, and thereby threatened the livelihoods of people. This leads to increased vulnerability to drought and to a spiral of poverty.

Not only biophysical, but social analysis, particularly of indigenous peoples who generally have a weaker capacity to assert their interests, is vital in development assessment and planning in order for development to be sustainable. Attitudes, existing social and leadership structures, the political dynamics within the community, as well as those of the outside which affect the situation, are among the aspects that need to be considered, for all stages of a proposal.

Inappropriate development decisions and the dramatic loss of their land area are among the reasons for '*The Crippled Hand*' (Powell, 1995) for the Ju/'hoansi of eastern Tsumkwe, where

the loss of their subsistence economy and erosion of their culture is occurring. Biesele describes the Ju/'hoansi as 'a people highly adapted to the physical conditions in which they live and dependent on the resources of the land', now finding themselves in a position where 'every familiar resource (is) closed to them and an entirely foreign set of rules governing land use and tenure (exists)' (Biesele, 1993: 11).

However, as Botelle & Rohde point out in their report, point out: '*Even though there has been a history of resettlement, the region is rich in natural resources and has not suffered from decades of overgrazing, deforestation and inappropriate development projects. As a result, decisionmakers find themselves in a unique position: they have the opportunity to create a sustainable development plan based on the mixed economy and a strong natural resource base*' (1995: viii).

As neither hunting-gathering nor agropastoralism are able to support the people, the diversification of economic activities is perceived as necessary. Low Impact ecotourism appears to be compatible with the principles for future development that were suggested by Botelle & Rohde in the 1994 MLRR report, and has been specifically recommended as part of a development strategy for the area.

It needs to be borne in mind that land use demands, as in Namibia, are generally greater than the land available, and that land uses such as pastoralism and hunting-gathering and tourism may be conflicting rather than complementary in the area.

Activities in one area affect the livelihoods of the other. For instance, poaching and eradication of migrating predators by Herero around Gam, affect neighbouring Ju/'hoansi subsistence hunting as well as tourism enterprises, while the existence of these predators threaten the livestock and thus subsistence of the Herero. Thus land use options such as tourism and the management of game require planning at the regional level because of the impact certain activities have on others within an area, or in one area on another.

Furthermore, negative impacts have resulted from the influx of these pastoralist Hereros south in the Gam area, not only on the previous Ju/'hoansi inhabitants of the Gam area, but on those of the eastern Tsumkwe, Nyae Nyae area, as pressure on the marginal land around Gam is resulting in the northward movement of Herero and their livestock into Ju/'hoansi territory where water and grazing remains available, despite the presence of the veterinary fence. Denial of access is posing a problem, as the Ju/'hoansi do not have rights or authority over the land they inhabit (see chapter 6). The apparent incompatible land use patterns of the Herero pastoralists and the Ju/'hoan subsistence livelihoods mainly based on sustainable natural resource use, is an issue that needs to be addressed.

The Herero resettlement programme in Gam is thus threatening the future of land use planning in eastern Tsumkwe as this group is having a significant impact, both direct and indirect as well as current and potential, on the Ju/'hoansi and on any future tourism development (Botelle & Rohde, 1995).

Other problems that further complicate issues such as the influx of Hereros, and potential tourism development, include those resulting from cultural factors such as leadership and decisionmaking structures that are inadequate for current requirements. However, the NNFC is attempting to address this situation, as will be seen in chapter 6.

With these developmental guidelines and locally specific aspects in mind, the theoretical aspects of tourism as a development and land use option will be considered.

Chapter 3

Tourism as a Land Use and Development Option

The Two Faces of Ecotourism: Ecotourism can have both Positive and Negative Effects on Local Cultures.

Source: **Plate 2** (above) Bona Safaris Brochure. **Plate 3** (below) *On Track* magazine, May/June 1995: 16-17. Photo: Paul Weinburg

Chapter 3

Tourism as a Land Use and Development Option

This chapter introduces tourism, and specifically ecotourism as a proposed form of sustainable development in developing countries. Although ecotourism is being promoted by diverse groups as a means of solving many of the problems of development and conservation, providing economic benefits for both the country and the rural poor, while justifying and providing incentives for conservation of natural resources, it is not without its negative side (see Plates 2 & 3). These negative impacts will be discussed, followed by a discussion of the importance of tourism in Namibia and in the communal areas. The emerging awareness of the importance of and the necessity for Community-Based Tourism in Namibia, will be introduced.

3.1 Introduction to Tourism

According to the World Tourism Organisation, tourism is currently the fastest growing sector of the world economy (Garland, 1994). It accounts for over 6% of the world GNP, amounting to R10,5 trillion annually, and accounting for 1 in every 15 employees world-wide (Cowling, 1993). Within the tourism industry, the ecotourism subset is estimated to be growing at a rate of over 25 per cent per annum, with Africa accounting for above average growth relative to other ecotourism destinations. Diverse groups from rural communities and NGOs, to economists, politicians and conservationists, are climbing on the tourism, particularly ecotourism 'bandwagon' with the term 'eco tourism' having been popularised by tourism planners, marketers, environmentalists and tourists.

Ecotourism is being endorsed as the solution to sustainable tourism as its principles of minimal impacts on the social and natural environment are in keeping with those of sustainable development.

3.2 Ecotourism

Ecotourism is the fastest growing sector of tourism world-wide (Satour, 1995) and is the major source of income in certain developing countries as Kenya, Ecuador, Rwanda, Costa Rica and Nepal (Cowling, 1993).

Ecotourism is currently being hailed as the solution to rural development problems by a diverse range of people and organisations, from conservation bodies, the World Bank, tourism industry, governmental and non-governmental bodies. However, as Urquhart points out (1995: 42) '....ecotourism, rather like sustainable development, means many different things to different people.'

Hector Ceballos-Lascurain who coined the term 'ecotourism' in 1983, originally defined it as follows:

'ecotourism is relatively responsible travel to relatively undisturbed natural areas with the objective of admiring, studying, and enjoying the natural landscape and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas' (cited in Pinnock, 1996: 93).

However, after the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, he extended it to encompass the notion of 'sustainable development' and produced a new definition: *'Ecotourism is environmentally responsible travel and visitation to enjoy and appreciate nature (and the accompanying cultural features), which promotes conservation and sustainable development,* ***has a low visitor impact and provides for beneficial active socio- economic involvement of local populations'*** (*Ibid*).

It has also been defined as tourism that 'includes travel to natural areas; to understand the cultural and the natural history of the environment, taking care not to alter the integrity of the ecosystem, while producing economic opportunities that make the conservation of natural resources beneficial to the local people' (Satour, 1995). Thus ecotourism can be seen to be a means to integrate and expand both conservation and development.

Thus while various definitions exist, according to Louise Van Niekerk, of South Africa's Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, most focus on three major concepts:

- promoting and enhancing the natural and cultural environment as a unique selling feature.
- effectively planning and managing the environment to ensure sustainability, and
- ensuring that the local populations, as part of the environment, will share in the benefits derived from the above actions.

These principles, including the shift to community-based tourism, are reflected in the policy frameworks in Namibia, such as the Government White Paper on Tourism (MET, 1994a), as will be seen in Chapter 4.

3.3 Evaluating Ecotourism as a Form of Sustainable Development

Stauth and Baskind (1992, 1994) developed three criteria for evaluating development that can be used in order to evaluate ecotourism as a form of sustainable development:

- "..whether and to what extent the total benefits of a proposed use of resources would exceed the total costs" (the ***efficiency criterion***)
- "...the extent to which different individuals or groups comprising society would be made better or worse off by a proposed use of resources" (the ***equity criterion***) and
- "...the extent to which future generations would be made better or worse off by a proposed use of resources (the ***sustainability criterion***).

Although it is difficult to come to a consensus as to the weights that should be given to each of these, they can nevertheless be used as guidelines.

3.4 Ecotourism Potential: the benefits of ecotourism

Ecotourism has the potential for many tangible and intangible benefits: economic, environmental and social that give it its special "selling features".

3.4.1 Economic Benefits

"Economics is the engine that powers the vehicle of eco-tourism" (US Adventure Travel Society, in Pleumaron, 1994: 144)

The income generated from ecotourism can provide benefits to both the national economy of a country and to local communities. Tourism is important in income generation, employment potential, linkages with other sectors of the economy and the creation of government revenue. Being an integrated industry that forms linkages with other economic sectors, the benefits of tourism extend beyond direct visible effects; the *multiplier effect* refers to the process whereby tourist spending filters throughout the economy and stimulates other support sectors, such as the development of infrastructures and allied services such as roads, hotels, food, transport and crafts.

Furthermore, tourism is an efficient method of *attracting foreign exchange earnings* and of contributing towards a country's balance of payments (BoP).

Tourism is not negatively affected by drought as are other economic activities such as agriculture, but on the contrary the dry periods are generally the best for both game viewing and road accessibility. Thus it can act as a *drought buffer* and means of risk diversification.

As ecotourism destinations are generally in the rural areas, ecotourism has the potential to *promote rural development* and employment and thus provide economic benefits to rural people. The industry can provide necessary additional cash income in these areas.

3.4.2 Eco tourism and Conservation Benefits

"Ecotourism is the conservation benefit most easily sold" (Lindberg and Huber, 1993, in Theron, 1995: 67)

- **Economic Justification of Conservation**

Because of its economic benefits, ecotourism justifies conservation as a land use option for protected areas that might otherwise be developed in less sustainable ways. Thus ecotourism promises to be an important part of larger sustainable development programmes because ecotourism can be a strong motivation to conserve natural sites.

Because it is difficult to place a quantifiable value on environmental resources and services, these are often overexploited, being viewed as free services and common property. Economics is about choices involving scarce resources and trade-offs, and ecotourism can provide an economic means to justify conservation as a sustainable land use option as opposed to other land uses such as industry, mining, housing and agriculture which could lead to environmental degradation. Environmental Economic approaches and techniques, such as *cost benefit analysis and opportunity cost analysis* have been successfully used to evaluate conflicting land use options in several cases, for example in the St. Lucia debate in South Africa, in order to evaluate the relative benefits of ecotourism for the area in the argument against mining (Review Panel Report, 1993). The benefits of ecotourism, both direct and indirect[10] were found to be greater than mining in the long term. Although market prices do not always reflect true economic values, in the case of St. Lucia, these were used as value indicators and as a guide to the use of the resources.

[10] The indirect and intrinsic benefits as well as the option value of the area were also taken into account in this decision, although it was the more tangible monetary value of the land for tourism development that finally won the day for conservationists.

Dohan describes cost benefit analysis as evaluating (usually in monetary terms) "..all the private and external benefits and costs of alternative resource-use projects and choosing the projects that yield the greatest net benefit (that is, benefits minus costs) after taking into account that today's society gives a lower value to benefits and costs incurred in the future than to those occurring today..." (1997: 153-154).

Current examples exist in Africa where conservation of natural areas has been justified in the face of competing development threats through the predicted economic benefits of tourism. In Mozambique, for instance, the debate of Blanchard Enterprise's ecotheme-park vs Sappi's bluegum plantation has become the equivalent of the lake St. Lucia controversy in South Africa. Here, the predicted direct economic benefits of tourism was shown to be more economically beneficial and sustainable compared with SAPPI's forestry and Millionaire James Ulysses Blanchard 111's ecotheme tourist park - 'the millionaire's version of bringing rural development to one of the poorest countries in the world' - thereby won the minds of Mozambique's politicians (Koch, 1996). The Blanchard proposal is predicted to bring an investment of $800 million and create 20, 000 jobs in the long run. SAPPI proposed that their plantation would earn R80 million a year and create 12000 new jobs (*Ibid*). However, Blanchard Enterprises refused to proceed if SAPPI was given permission. The indirect benefits were also promoted, for example, the water conservation advantages of the park as against bluegums, and the saving of the elephants.

Cowling and others are using environmental economics methods in order to put a value on fynbos, particularly its value from ecotourism, and thereby encourage its preservation. Cowling predicts that tourist spending in the Western Cape as a result of the attraction of the unique fynbos vegetation would make plant conservation a highly competitive form of land use. "This strategy could do most of all to safeguard the touristic glories of this 0.02 % of the earth's land surface. Could South Africa's Rand belt, with its mineral output worth $14 billion a year, eventually be matched by the Commercial Muscle of the Cape Floral Kingdom?" he speculates (Cowling & Richardson, 1995).

A further example is provided in Kenya, where land in National Parks has been given economic value above other options as it has been estimated to earn R112 per hectare compared with R3.60 were it used for agriculture (*Ibid*).

The indirect and intrinsic values of a specific area are also easier to explain through using their economic value via their appeal to tourists. These include sense of place, aesthetic beauty, unspoiled nature and recreational values. As discussed, tourists are seen to bring substantial economic benefits that can be increasingly exploited. Natural areas, and especially protected areas, with their fauna and flora and existing cultures, constitute major attractions for people both nationally and internationally. As *Open Africa's* Noel De Villiers claims, based on supply and demand, Africa's natural and cultural resources could be turned into the most valuable product on Earth (1966).

- **Revenue for Conservation**

Furthermore, ecotourism can provide a major source of revenue for conservation bodies by generating funds for the maintenance of existing reserves and the creation of new ones.

- **Environmental Education Potential**

Ecotourism has environmental education potential, as awareness of the importance of conservation to tourists can be heightened through experiencing the recreational and aesthetic value of biodiversity. (Wynberg, 1995, in Theron, 1995). An amount of revenue derived from ecotourism for conservation bodies can be utilised for improved interpretative activities, thus enhancing awareness and appreciation among tourists and local people.

- **Tour Operators as Allies**

Nature conservation organisations and indigenous communities can have an ally in tour operators in combating unwanted developments.

For example, in Cuyabeno, South America, a confrontation exists between tour operators and the oil industry. Here, tour operators regard the activities of the oil industry as a threat to their

'tourism capital' (Ecotourism Working Group, 1995: 294). As tourists pay high prices to experience undisturbed tropical rainforests, this would be jeopardised by the destruction of forests and the contamination of rivers by the oil industry. Samoa Turismo, the owner of Jungle Resort Village, is cited as being in litigation with the US American oil company, Maxus, which is extracting gravel for the construction of development routes from the banks of the Rio Aguarico opposite the hotel. The manager is concerned about damage to her commercial interests and claimed that her bookings dropped by 70% (*Ibid*: 294).

There are other tourist operators in the lobby against the oil industry in this region, which has brought the issue to 'the highest political level' (*Ibid*: 295), to central government, and persuaded the Ecuadorian president to visit Imuya, after which he withdrew his consent to the activities of the Petroecuador oil company in the area.

Communities would do well to enlist the support of those who share common interests.

3.4.3 Social Benefits

- **Capacity Building**

Besides the tangible economic benefits that can result from tourism, local communities can theoretically benefit from less direct benefits should they be involved with decisionmaking and management of tourism projects, as this involves the acquisition of skills and can thus lead to empowerment and 'capacity building'.

- **Renewal of Cultural Pride**

Ecotourism offers the potential for the engendering of reappreciation of indigenous culture, not only by the tourists but also the local community themselves. In multicultural countries as Namibia, this can help affirm the cultural identity of minority groups which could otherwise be

submerged by the more dominant groups. Ecotourism can demonstrate that foreigners are prepared to pay large sums of money, and thus place a high value on, 'nothing more' than nature and the way of life that the indigenous people have developed to adapt to this nature. This could lead to a positive reevaluation of their culture against that of Western culture.

- **Renewal of Indigenous knowledge**

Allied to the renewal of cultural pride is the renewal of indigenous knowledge, as tourists are prepared to pay for local guides to share their knowledge of, for instance, indigenous medicines and food gathering, as well as folklore (see section 5.6 for an example in Namibia).

- **Cross cultural interaction and appreciation**

Ecotourism ideally improves cross cultural understanding, respect and tolerance through cross cultural interaction (e.g. Inskeep 1991, cited in Kilele, 1996).

3.5 The Negative Side of Ecotourism

While ecotourism is currently being seen to provide the solution to many of the developing world's economic development problems, while simultaneously contributing towards solving the environment Vs development debate, in practice ecotourism has been found to have a number of significant negative impacts, environmentally, socially and economically.

Pleumaron warns that ecotourism lacks adequate scientific foundations, and is therefore 'not well equipped to arrive at sustainable solutions to global social and environmental problems' (1995: 70). She adds that the World Bank, criticised for the negative social and economic effects of many of its large scale projects, funds a growing number of projects with ecotourism as its major component.

3.5.1 Ecotourism or Ecoterrorism? Ecofacade, and Ecotourism as a Consumer Activity

Although ecotourism claims to be ecologically and socially sensitive, it has been accused by many to merely further commodity and exploit the environment. Although mainly catering for the alternative market, ecotourism remains a consumer-centred activity. Furthermore, although it is predominantly the economic benefits of ecotourism that sells the idea of conservation to communities and decisionmakers, this market based 'solution' may lead to the commodification of nature and cultures, where everything has its price, based on the common denominator - money.

At times the term 'ecoterrorism' may be more appropriate than the term 'ecotourism'. Ecotourism has been often exploited by the tourism trade as a form of environmental opportunism. There are numerous examples of ecosystems being marketed for their pristine qualities while resulting in 'environmental degradation, economic inequity and instability, and negative sociocultural changes' (Boo, 1993, in Theron, 1995). As Emily Young, professor of geography at the University of Arizona, bluntly stated, ecotourism the world over is 'fast becoming tourism without the eco' (Padgett &Begley, 1996: 36).

Ecotourism can often be seen to be *exploitative rather than non-consumptive*. Trekking tourists in the Nepalese Himalayas may consider themselves 'eco- conscious'. However, the demands they place on resources such as fuel and waste output greatly exceed those of the host population, and are far from sustainable (Gurung and De Corsey, 1994, in Theron, 1995).

Many of the claims of the benefits of ecotourism are exaggerated, owing more to labelling and marketing than to genuine sustainability. Even large resorts, including luxury hotels, shopping centres and golf courses have been established in natural areas in the name of ecotourism. Pleumarom (1995: 70) notes that critics claim that eco-tourism is an *"eco-facade: a* tactic to conceal the consumptive and exploitative practices of the mainstream tourism industry by 'greening' it".

3.5.2 Tourism and Environmental Sustainability: Negative Environmental Impacts and Threats

"tourism is a renewable industry as long as it takes care of the systems which attract tourists" (Sullivan *et al*, 1995, in Kilele, 1996: 11).

Yeld (1996) asks: "will tourism chase wilderness areas off the face off the Earth?". Is wilderness about to become the next commodity "being chased by the world's largest market, tourism?" (*Ibid*: 2).

Ecotourism is vulnerable to self destruction, and *tourism can destroy tourism* if the popularity of a region causes overcrowding and environmental degradation. This involves exceeding the environmental and social *carrying capacity* of an area.

Carrying capacity

Carrying capacity relates to the concept of sustainability, the necessity to live within the carrying capacity of the supporting ecosystems in meeting present needs without compromising those of future generations. This applies equally well to the tourist carrying capacity which can be social and environmental.

Although the concept of carrying capacity is a complex one, and difficult to define, as it varies between environments, situations, societies and individuals, it can be useful to systematically determine the upper limit of development, visitor use and optimum utilisation of tourist resources. It has been defined as :

'the maximum number of people who can use a site without an unacceptable alteration in the physical environment and without an unacceptable decline in the quality and experience gained by visitors' (Mathieson and Wall, 1982, in Kilele, 1996: v).

Tourists are drawn to destinations because of a variety of attractions. The flow of tourists needs to be encouraged but not to the point where it incurs an negative impact on the environment. Should this tourist product degrade, the appeal of the destination will diminish, reducing economic returns.

The ***social*** **carrying capacity** of a tourist area can also be exceeded if the level of tolerance of the host community for the presence and behaviour of tourists is exceeded. It also refers to the degree of crowding that tourists are prepared to accept from other tourists (Heberlain, 1977, cited in Kilele, 1996).

Thus in order for tourism to remain sustainable, care needs to be taken that motives of short-term profit and growth do not override the carrying capacity of the people and the land.

Economic Viability and Carrying Capacity

It has been proposed (e.g. Panatou, 1987, cited in Kilele, 1996), that natural assets be regarded on a par with economic assets. Both are equally capable of generating returns, often over and above the cost of production. Tourism needs to internalise its externalities (social and environmental costs) in order to realise its true worth and to avoid the danger of the benefits being internalised by the tourist consumers while social costs and habitat destruction is externalised (Kilele, 1996). Thus tourists should pay more for the price of conserving the tourist products, of preserving ecological systems while maintaining and enhancing environmental quality (NZMT, 1992, in Kilele, 1996).

There are several options available to maximise profits from tourism; either to increase the number of tourists or to increase prices and thus keep numbers down. The former can result in environmental damage from exceeding the carrying capacity of parks for tourist numbers while the latter results in exclusivity. Low volume high paying tourism is being encouraged in Namibia (MET, 1994a).

Trade-offs can also be made. This may mean promoting high density tourism in certain areas, or in different parts of a reserve, as is the policy of the National Parks Board in South Africa (Diatz, pers. comm.). The Galapagos Islands, for instance, receiving 50 000 - 70 000 visitors per annum, pays the park budget for all of Equador (Cowling, 1993).

Environmental Impacts

Ecotourism must result in some environmental impacts. Even if they are negligible, in aggregate they will become more significant over time. Cater (1994, cited in Theron, 1995) comments that there is a risk in assuming that the ecotourist is a sensitive breed. They often visit an area never to return again and are thus unlikely to consider the long term repercussions of their actions. Furthermore, they may consider that they have the right to use the natural resource as a result of the significant financial outlay they have made.

Environmental impacts include problems associated with *waste and litter.* Furthermore, *off-road vehicles* pose a threat to sensitive areas, causing damage to plants and soils. In addition, the resulting visual scars can adversely affect the quality of the tourist experience

Increasing demands from the tourist industry can result in *overabstraction of water*, a particularly valuable and scarce commodity in Namibia, exceeding the recharge rates, and reducing the water supply for local people and animals. In addition, *increased strain on natural resources* such as firewood, and those used for curios, such as local wood, semiprecious stones, ostrich shells, and endangered plants.

Fragile ecosystems, in particular, are affected through insensitive human activities such as development, recreation and uncontrolled tourism, having implications for the food web and the resource base, and thus on the nation's and local people's livelihoods. This is of particular significance in Namibia.

Destruction of the Tourism Product

The danger is that unless safeguards to the environment are developed and adhered to, ecotourism can destroy the very resource on which it depends - *"Killing the Goose that lays the Golden Egg"*. Examples are numerous and world-wide, and include:

According to John Waitthaka of the Kenya Wildlife Service, the tourist boom in the Masai Mara has resulted in "human-phobic" cheetahs - leaving the park or having their reproductive capacities lowered as a result of the stress. At Monkey Mia in Australia, tourist dolphin feeding has reduced the capacity of young dolphins to find their own food. In Mexico, egg laying turtles are becoming too disorientated to lay their eggs, caused by the lights of the hotels catering for the tourists who come to watch them lay. Whale petting in a previously desolate region of Patagonia stresses the whales, and tourist boats can separate mothers from their calves (Padgett & Begley, 1996). The impact of millions of uncontrolled tourists on the Australian Great Barrier Reef, 'one of the largest things ever made by living animals', at the rate of one and a half million tourists a year, is devastating to the extent that conservationists predict its death within a generation (Knill, undated: 39).

Thus, in order to be sustainable in the long term, ecotourist destinations need to retain what attracts the tourists in the first place

Precautionary Principle

As with other projects, with tourism we need to work on the *"precautionary principle"*. However, it is hard for a country desperately in need of foreign capital to pay its debts and income to feed its people to resist the temptation of mass tourism.

More recently, however, world-wide reforms are being made to tourism abuses in many areas (although more abuses are more than likely occurring elsewhere). For example, the Ambroseli National Park in southeast Kenya was a decade ago 'quickly becoming a symbol of the excesses of mass tourism - too many people crammed inside too small a park' (Padgett & Begley, 1996: 38). Three large safari lodges were built in a 200 acre area in the park centre, with 800 tourists a day turning "a once pristine patch of wilderness into an overcrowded zoo". The local

population is now included in the benefits of the park and more 'environmentally sensitive' tourist lodges are now planned.

3.5.3 Negative Economic Effects and Shortcomings

Besides these environmental impacts, tourism can have negative *economic* consequences for a country or community.

Reduced Autonomy and Income Leakages

Ecotourism is often promoted and funded by foreign interests as developing countries may lack the necessary internal financial resources. The World Bank encourages third world countries to attract tourism and makes loans for projects. Enloe (1989, in Theron, 1995: 66) states that "the international politics of debt and the international pursuit of pleasure have become closely knotted together". Negative effects can be *reduced autonomy* (a form of colonialism can take place) as well as *foreign income leakages.*

Pleumaron (1995) proposes that, as with conventional tourism, most of the money from ecotourism in developing countries is made by foreign airlines, tourism operators, and developers who repatriate their profits to their own economically more advanced countries. Thus, although tourism is seen as introducing needed foreign currency, benefits may leak to outside areas. The World Bank estimates that 55% of the gross tourism revenues to the developing world actually leaks back to the developed countries (Boo, 1990, in Urquhart, 1995). These leakages can result in the overrating of the foreign exchange benefits of tourism.

Inflation

Furthermore, tourism can have inflationary consequences. Thus the price of land and goods in local outlets can increase to levels beyond the reach of locals in response to the ability of rich tourists to do so.

Inequity of Benefits

Apart from national leakages as discussed above, even fewer of the economic benefits usually remain in the host community, although the potential is there. A study by the South African Institute for Natural Resources shows that less than 7% of the R80 million turnover (mainly from ecotourism) of the Sabi-Sabi Wildtuin, South Africa's richest game reserve, flows to the local community. Thus the *equity* test may not be passed as benefits are often not equitably distributed. "Anyone who has ever travelled in Africa will testify to the limited benefits of the tourist industry to the surrounding community. Most tourist industries pride themselves on the secondary spin-offs, yet the most one sees is a battling curio industry in the midst of poverty" (Baskin, 1993, in Urquhart, 1995).

Tourism is touted for its *employment benefits.* This appears to be generally overrated, however. Often local people are employed only in unskilled and menial service positions, such as cleaners and cooks, porters and food and souvenir vendors, which provide low wages, while in parts of Africa, foreigners and other nationals fill lucrative skilled positions.

Tourism Fluctuations - the need for diversity

Tourism fluctuates over time, and cannot be solely relied on. Tourists are fickle, sensitive to such things as political instability, price increases, international currency fluctuations, weather, "fashion" status of a particular destination. Furthermore, tourism is often seasonal. Tourism workers are thus not assured of year-round employment and may be laid off during the off season.

A developing country needs to be careful that it does not 'put all its eggs in one basket'. Likewise a community should not rely on tourism as its sole means of support. It is important to retain diversity rather than to be solely reliant on the fluctuating tourism 'industry, which could devastate a local economy. Tourism needs to be part of a larger development plan for a region.

However, the integration of ecotourism with other economic activities in ecotourist areas can have negative results for tourism, as will be discussed below.

Opportunity Costs: Competing Land Uses and Economic Activities

The concept of *opportunity costs* of tourism becomes apparent, as many livelihood activities and land uses are not compatible with ecotourism. It has been proposed that tourism and other land uses such as agro-pastoralism can exist together (e.g. Ashley, 1995). However there can be factors that preclude this.

Besides not meeting tourist's expectations of Africa as wilderness at ecotourism sites, conflicting land uses both within or surrounding the tourist area can lead to biophysical degradation, resulting in the breakdown of ecosystem processes there. If the area begins to resemble an island, the species therein will have small population sizes and may not be able to migrate to other areas. Minimal numbers of breeding pairs and insufficient territory size become critical issues in small reserves, threatening the viability of reserves as a whole (Meffe & Carroll, 1994). This is of particular relevance to the study area, as was discussed in section 2.4.7. Thus tourism development in a particular area has opportunity costs, precluding or limiting other forms of development, as was introduced in section 3.4.2 where *cost-benefit analysis* was discussed; a community's other means of survival such as agriculture, or the development of employment opportunities such as mining options may thus be foreclosed as a result of the ecotourism option.

An approach which focuses only on tourism and wildlife, and ignores the competing uses of the land and other resources on which that wildlife depend, will thus not be sustainable in the long run. Economic viability is one of the critical components of tourism and CBT. The question is whether tourism generate sufficient benefits necessary to maintain the resource base in the face of competing land uses (Ashley, 1995: 90).

A comparison of tourism and agriculture would depend on the specific area. Wildlife/tourism can be a highly competitive landuse option under certain local conditions, such as proximity to protected areas, settlement patterns and wildlife population density.

3.5.4 Negative Socio-Economic Consequences for Local Communities

"It needs to be borne in mind that indigenous people are often impoverished and politically powerless, living physically and socially on the margins of society" (Khan, 1966).

Although proponents of ecotourism claim that ecotourism *'provides for beneficial active socio-economic involvement of local populations'* (Hector Ceballos-Lascurain, cited in Pinnock, 1996: 93), in practice, however, ecotourism has often led to significant negative impacts on local culture and to furthering socio-economic hardships.

Removals and Loss of Land

In many areas indigenous people who generally inhabit the choice locations, and are dependent on it for their sustenance, have been *evicted from their land* to make way for tourist projects. Examples abound: In Malaysia for instance, the whole of the eastern sea board of Penang, comprising 'some of the most spectacular beaches in Malaysia', was inhabited by local fishing industries until the development of the tourism industry resulted in the expulsion of these people and the replacement by tourists and beach hotels (ITB, 1992: 7). In Uganda, subsequent to and inspired by the 1992 Rio Summit, and as part of a European Union (UN) funded 'sustainable development' project, thirty-five thousand Ugandans were evicted by soldiers and police from the Kibale forest region to make way for 'eco'tourism and conservation (Mail and Guardian, June 27-July 3, 1997). In other instances areas of communal land have been sold by tribal authorities to tourism developers without the consent of the community as a whole, as occurred in the Transkei, South Africa, and publicised in newspapers there, recently.

Furthermore, not only are many ecotourism projects carried out without local consent and support, but they can also threaten the cultures, economies and natural resource bases of the local people (Pleumaron, 1995).

Exploitation of cultures

"The simultaneous romanticism and devastation of indigenous cultures is certainly one of the deepest ironies of ecotourism" (*Ibid*: 71). Ethnic groups can be viewed as an asset, an exotic

backdrop to natural scenery and wildlife, which can have negative consequences for these groups.

As far back as 1929 a traveller named Makin remarked that 'Perhaps someday, the Bushmen will degenerate into that final humiliation - an exhibit by a travelling showman' (cited in Gordon, 1990: 6). This fear was well founded indeed; entrepreneurial tour operators have exploited the recent interest in Bushmen following the spate of books and films such as 'The Gods Must be Crazy' by marketing ploys such as claiming to have discovered the last surviving Bushmen and such enterprises as 'rent-a-Wild Bushman', where South African festivals and other occasions were supplied with 'a bevy of loinclothed, barebreasted Bushmenfolk' (*Ibid*).

Cultural Stereotyping and Commodification

Stereotyping of local cultures and false images and expectations by tourists can be demeaning to the cultures, as well as problematic for tourists when these are not met (see chapter 6). One can bear in mind White's observations of the Bushmen in the Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve in South Africa where Bushmen and their traditions are part of the tourist experience: "Behind the scenes, however, when visitors retire to their 'luxury Bushman hut' chalets, the Bushmen themselves exchange their loincloths for Western rags and go home to a shanty settlement that is hidden from the public gaze." (White, 1995: 33).

The commodification of nature and cultures has been mentioned. This can lead to the *objectifying* of the people at the tourist destinations as well as their traditions, such as sacred rituals being displayed, and generally altered, as tourist attractions, further eroding their self respect (Khan, pers. comm.).

Negative Effects of Foreign Values and Behaviours: Erosion of culture

The local culture can be negatively affected through the impact of outsiders *introducing foreign values and behaviours*. Gurung and De Coursey (1994, in Theron, 1995) state that local communities are often easy prey to the seductiveness of Westem consumer culture as tourists are laden with 'expensive trappings'. Thus, rather than the ideal of the interactions between cultures resulting from ecotourism leading to 'cross cultural understanding, respect and

tolerance through cross cultural interaction' previously mentioned above, the erosion of culture in destination sites often results. Increasingly, Western culture is being seen to be as the normal way, the only way, and 'By contrast, their own lives seem primitive, silly and inefficient' (Jungalwalla, 1992: 11), leading to a rejection of their own culture. (They are not exposed to, and thus generally not aware of the negative sides of Western culture and development, only seeing this one dimensional aspect of Western culture.) Youth in particular can reject their culture wholesale, aspiring to the trappings of the West, leading not only to the dying out of local knowledge and skills, but to intergenerational divisiveness and social disruption.

Tourism can lead to perceived poverty; in comparison to the tourists, the locals may feel poor. The display of wealth, particularly in surroundings of poverty whether real or perceived, can lead to unattainable socio-economic aspirations, leading to discontent, changing social roles for the host population, and possibly, explosive situations.

The *consumer attitudes* fostered by tourism can have negative impacts on the environment and the peoples.

Increased Socio-economic Disparities

Heightened economic and power disparities within a local culture can result, with dominant groups or those with greater access to tourists will benefit more as a result of tourism, thus widening existing power and economic gaps. This is often gender related thus exacerbating the oppression of women (See section 6.4).

Social problems

Social ills such as prostitution, drugs, gambling and crime and the erosion of language, cultural and spiritual values have been attributed to tourism (e.g. Pleumarom, 1994). However, as Kilele (1996) points out, these social problems cannot always be attributed solely to tourism, although it may exacerbate already existing problems. Alcohol consumption, for instance, varies according to the money available, and as the traffic of tourists generate a small money flow, there may be a correlation" (Botelle & Kowalski, 1995, cited in Kilele, 1996).

flow, there may be a correlation" (Botelle & Kowalski, 1995, cited in Kilele, 1996). Prostitution can be offered as one of the service activities demanded by and offered to tourists. Often further marginalised by the results of tourism, while reaping fewer of the benefits than men, women may turn to sex work as 'the steadiest, least seasonal, and by far the most lucrative' opportunity in the tourism industry available to them" (Fillmore, 1994:2).

Thus insensitive tourism can in fact reduce the quality of life of the host communities it claims to be benefiting. Groups such as the poor, women, children and the elderly are the ones that generally bear the brunt of any such negative effects (see section 6.4).

Impact of allied activities

Allied activities such as the building of roads and infrastructure is bound to have dramatic consequences, opening up the area, and possibly resulting in an influx of workers or other outsiders and products.

3.6 Community Participation and the Question of Equity

To ensure that ecotourism developments are socially sustainable, there has to be effective *community participation.* The local community needs tangible evidence of the benefits that can be provided through ecotourism in its true sense and linking benefits to conservation. Much of the subsequent discussion in this study, particularly in the section on Community-Based Tourism (CBT), which developed in response to this need for greater community participation, as well as the section dealing with tourism and CBT in eastern Tsumkwe specifically, will concentrate on this aspect as it is of major relevance to the study.

3.7 Managed Sustainable Ecotourism

It can be seen how tourism as it is often practised is not always profitable, sustainable, equitable or environmentally sound, thus failing Stauth and Baskind's (1992, 1994) *efficiency, equity and sustainability* criteria for evaluating development.

The potential does appear to be there, however, but this will depend on careful and sensitive management practices of the future.

"We do not yet know the conservation and sustainable development value of ecotourism. Nor do we know to what extent its benefits can be maximised and its costs minimised. But we do know that without planning and management, ecotourism will not succeed." (Elizabeth Boo, Ecotourism Programme Officer, WWF, 1993, quoted in Urquhart, 1995: 50).

Tourism needs to be planned and managed on the basis of sustainable principles. Butler (1991, cited in Theron, 1995: 67) defines sustainable tourism as tourism "which is developed and maintained in an area (community, natural environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human, physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well-being of other activities and processes".

3.8 Tourism and ecotourism in Namibia

Before looking at Community-Based Tourism in more detail, we will examine the current status of tourism in Namibia. This is perceived as having great potential, particularly in communal lands, as reflected in government legislation, policies and working papers (see Chapter 4). Its relationship with other, often competing, land use options such as ago-pastoralism in communal areas, will also be discussed.

3.8.1 Economic Benefits

It has been suggested (e.g. Jacobson *et al*, 1995) that tourism is set to become a major, if not the major, source of foreign exchange earnings in Namibia. Minister of Environment and Tourism, Gert Hanekom, was quoted recently as predicting that tourism, currently the third highest

contributor to the Namibian GDP, behind mining and agriculture, will become the number one contributor by the turn of the century (Maletsky, 1997).

It is one of the fastest growing sectors of the Namibian economy (Ashley, 1995: 61). Approximately 300,000 visit Namibia each year, and this figure could double by 2002 (Hoff and Overgaard, 1993, cited in Ashley, 1995: 62; Holm-Petersen, based on information from the Ministry of Home Affairs, cited in Tarr (Ed.) 1996). Tourism contributes approximately 5% to Gross Domestic Product and 12% to foreign exchange earnings (the bulk of both of these comes from mining, followed by agriculture).

Furthermore, tourism is the only sector of the Namibian economy experiencing strong growth (MET, 1995b). The National Development Plan (NDP1) gives the following predicted estimated figures.

	1992 R, in millions	**2000 R, in millions**
Tourism Gross foreign exchange earnings	390	1200
Tourism net foreign exchange earnings	315	950
Tourism total turnover	510	1300
National income generation	350	940
Government revenue	125	450
Tourism direct employment	10 000	19 000

Fig. 6 Estimated Predicted Income from Tourism in Namibia, 1992-2000 (NPC, 1995).

Furthermore, it has been argued that tourism is currently cheaper in Namibia than other neighbouring destinations, being about 29.2% cheaper to tourists than Botswana and 15%

cheaper than either Zimbabwe or South Africa, on a daily basis. This means that besides being highly competitive, tourism earnings have the potential to be increased (Muliya, 1996).

In view of this, in 1991 the Namibian cabinet declared tourism a priority sector for economic development (MET, 1994a). Numbers of tourists visiting the country in that year were 213 000 (Jacobson, *et al* 1995). Total financial turnover for tourism in that year was estimated to be N$320 million, of which N$270 million was foreign exchange earnings from international tourism (excluding international air travel), and direct government revenue from taxation and levies was estimated at N$ 123 million (*Ibid*).

3.8.2 Tourism and Employment

Namibia has a high unemployment rate. Of the total economically active population of 479 799, 91 705 are unemployed (Central Statistics Office, 1995, in Muliya, 1996), over 50% of these being in the communal rural areas (see Fig. 6 depicting communal areas). In 1992, tourism generated an estimated direct employment effect of 10 000, direct employment referring to jobs created in hotels, restaurant or tour companies. However, for every one job created in the formal sector, another job was created in the informal sector, resulting in 20 000 jobs (Jacobson *et al*, 1995). Furthermore, growth in tourism absorbs products from other sectors such as the agricultural sector, and thus creates backward and forward linkages in the economy (the multiplier effect).

By the year 2000, tourism could provide approximately 40 000 direct and indirect jobs, being almost half the jobs needed to meet the present unemployment rate (Hoff and Overguard, 1993, cited in Jacobson *et al*, 1995).

3.8.3 Necessity for Planning and Investment

These estimated figures suggest not only the potential for tourism in Namibia, but that major investments and planning is required to ensure sustainable returns from the expanding tourism industry. Consultants Hoff and Overgaard, commissioned to Conduct a tourism study for the MET, proposed a figure of approximately N$ 500 million that needs to be invested to meet this growth. The White paper on Tourism, approved in 1994 (MET, 1994a), states that returns on this investment will be 26 000 tourism-related jobs (plus 55 000 indirectly related jobs), N$ 1 530 million in gross foreign exchange earnings, and a national income generation of N$ 1 180 million in 2002.

The White paper's plan for development of the tourism industry, and in order to attract local and foreign investment funds, includes plans to institute a series of specific fiscal, financial and other investment incentives (*Ibid*). However, as Jacobson et al (1995: 106) point out, 'Namibia must ensure that achieving this aim does not allow foreign investment to dictate development of its tourist potential, as has frequently happened in other countries' and to define policies and strategies which suit their own short term financial goals.

Thus a plan needs to ensure that tourism development is economically, socially and environmentally sustainable. Sustainable yields of required resources should be part of this plan.

3.8.4 Type of Tourism and Tourist in Namibia

'Tourists are attracted to Namibia because of the wildlife and pristine beauty of wide-open, unspoilt landscapes. These resources will become more and more valuable as the rest of the globe becomes increasingly urbanised and overcrowded.'

(Jacobson *et al*, 1995: 105).

The majority of tourist have been found to come to the country for non-consumptive tourism, such as wildlife viewing and wilderness experience, rather than for consumptive tourism, such as hunting and angling, and thus this has become Namibia's main tourism focus (Ashley, 1995).

Furthermore, Namibia has the potential for cultural tourism, the current world-wide trend of tourism, with the increasing interest in indigenous people in recent years. Namibia has a diversity of cultures that are attractions for these tourists, such as the Himba in the Kaokoveld as well as the Bushmen in Bushmanland.

Although national parks and reserves dominate, guest farms and hunting farms are increasingly common in commercial areas, and the more adventurous eco-tourists tend to visit the '..dramatic landscapes and wildlife in an unmanaged habitat ..' of the communal areas (Ashley, 1995: 61).

Approximately a third of the arrivals in Windhoek are German tourists, and these are increasing (Holm-Petersen, cited in Tarr (Ed.), 1996). Another third are from South Africa although these appear to be on the decline (*Ibid*). There are now more diverse international visitors; direct flights now also operate from the United Kingdom and France, and travellers visit from Italy, Scandanavia, Spain and North America.

3.8.5 Tourism and Wildlife

Namibia's wildlife is an important national asset and one of the cornerstones of Namibia's tourism industry (MET, 1995b).

In addition to the benefits of growth within the more formal tourist industry, such as hotels and tour operators, landowners are also receiving financial benefits from wildlife management and tourism. From 1991 to 1993, the Private Sector earned over N$40 million per year from wildlife utilisation. It is estimated that the figure would be double if indirect earnings such as hotel income, food, travel and purchase of other goods and services were taken into account (*Ibid*).

Thus tourism can justify protection of wildlife and habitats in Namibia.

3.8.6 Tourism in Communal Areas

Tourism can contribute to rural development in communal areas (see Fig. 7), as eco-tourism is regarded as one of the very few economic activities that can be undertaken in these areas by local communities (*Ibid*). Ashley and Garland (1994) propose that most of the jobs created by tourism will be in these areas, where unemployment is highest. Tourism is labour intensive and has the potential to absorb a large percentage of the unemployed population. Furthermore, it does not require a high level of literacy or skill.

Although there is considerable potential, and much of Namibia's wildlife and cultural heritage is found on these lands, there has been little development (MET, 1995). Furthermore, in the past tourism has been highly skewed in favour of private entrepreneurs, rather than in the rural communities.

However, it has now been recognised that if affected people are not involved in or benefit from tourism development, there will be no incentive to maintain the critical component of such development, namely the resource base - the unspoilt scenery and wildlife that attracts tourism. Thus the development of CBT is seen as a vital part of development in the industry.

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Fig. 7 COMMUNAL LAND AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AREAS OF NAMIBIA (Ashley & Garland, 1994: 3)

3.8.7 Tourism and Agro-pastoralism in Communal Areas

Jacobson et al (1995) point out that it has been proposed by development planners that in order to raise incomes of the majority of Namibians, the main thrust of the government should be on agricultural development in communal areas. However, they go on to observe that given the constraints of low and variable productivity in many areas, potential is limited for expansion in this sector. It is suggested that it is clear that there is, however, a great potential for expanding incomes based upon revenues from various types of low impact tourism.

'Namibia's aridity and rainfall variability, and the scarcity of perennial rivers is "...less of a problem for tourists and biologists than for farmers; there are beautiful deserts and a diverse range of wildlife, though at lower densities than elsewhere in Africa. Arid-adapted species, such as ostrich, springbok, oryx and 'desert elephant' are found in the desert, along with rich diversity of invertebrates and reptiles and most of Namibia's endemic species. Plains game are found in the central savannah, while the relatively richer flora and fauna in the north east hosts buffalo, roan, sable, tsessebe, hippo and large herds of seasonal elephants. Agriculture, however, in such an environment with little water and poor soils is precarious. Crops are grown in the north, but most of the country is only suitable for extensive livestock or game."

(Ashley, 1995: 61)

When considering tourism in comparison with other land uses, it needs to be borne in mind that long term, sustainable benefits rather than short term profits are difficult to determine. Furthermore, government subsidies can skew landuse in favour of agro-pastoralism. Thus macro-economic policies influence the relative net benefits of tourism and agro-pastoralism (Bond, 1995).

Ashley demonstrates that although at a community or enterprise level, benefits from tourism can be significant - 'more than most isolated rural communities would ever expect on their

doorstep' (Ashley, 1995: 90) - it is not enough as an alternative livelihood and land use for the larger surrounding area. The estimate she gives is that at a community or enterprise level, earnings can be N$80,000 (this would buy around 130 cattle) from a partnership venture, equivalent of 22 full-time jobs. If the income is attributed to a 4 hectare lodge site, the return per hectare would be far larger than that derived from agriculture. However, as she points out, a community would not want to give up their livestock altogether for this.

Thus in small areas of prime tourism value, tourism is a viable alternative, but it becomes less competitive the larger the area. As an example, Barnes, from MET, (cited in Ashley, 1995) estimated that the potential local tourism income for the whole of Caprivi indicate an average return of around N$2 per ha. Although information on returns on agriculture are not given, the approximate amount for crops given is N$5 per ha. Thus in Caprivi, for example, there will be a number of discrete areas where tourism is viable as an alternative, but large areas where it is not.

The total potential income from tourism for four communal areas - Eastern Bushmanland, Caprivi region, Opuwo district, and Former Damaraland - is estimated at approximately N$6.7 million, and from all non-agricultural resource uses, at N$9 million. Rural population in these areas is about 100, 000, which gives the tourism income per capita of N$67 per year, equivalent to 50kg of mielie meal (Ashley, 1995: 91). Thus tourism cannot substitute for agriculture on a large basis.

It has been argued that tourism and agriculture should be complementary (e.g. *Ibid*: 91); Ashley argues that outside of proclaimed areas, tourism and livestock can and often do occur in the same area, such as in parts of Kunene and Caprivi. Here, the opportunity cost, apart from lost stocks and crops, is competition between stock and wildlife, particularly when grazing or water is scarce, as well as predators who hunt livestock, and loss of small grazing areas around a lodge (*Ibid*).

In the case study area, in the feasibility study of a Leopard Tracking tourist enterprise, Stander, *et al* (undated), estimated that the benefits for the community derived from the project would substantially exceed losses caused from cattle depredation by lions and leopards. Figures given for cattle losses amounted to a total of N$6590, or N$54.92 per village or N$1.93 per adult, over four years, whereas over a trial period of 17 months a total of N$39, 350 was paid out to two villages by 35 tourists who took part in the 12 tours.

However, as has been discussed above, a comparison of tourism and agriculture would depend on the specific area. Land zoning is necessary to maintain the value of core conservation areas and prime tourism sites.

Barnes (pers. comm.) proposes that land use options can be guided by the relationship between profits from non-consumptive tourist activities and land condition, from pristine to disturbed. The more degraded an area is, and thus less attractive for tourists, the less $ it can earn from non-consumptive use, so other land options should be considered, from trophy hunting to agriculture.

3.9 Conclusion

To conclude it can be seen how tourism, particularly ecotourism, is currently being seen as providing a solution to the development problems facing developing countries, providing the means to economic growth from sustainable and equitable development, attracting foreign exchange, while promoting conservation of our natural and cultural resources through the economic value that these resources bring. There is strong evidence of the potential of ecotourism in Namibia as a whole and in communal areas where unemployment, poverty and illiteracy predominate. This tourism potential is perceived as leading to the creation of employment and the eradication of poverty as well as the justification of the preservation of wildlife and Namibia's unique ecosystems and habitats. It is seen as being labour intensive and requiring few skills.

However, ecotourism is not the panacea to rural development that it is often touted to be. Neither can it always compete with other land uses such as agropastoralism as an exclusive alternative form of development and land use, particularly as tourism is often seasonal, and cannot always be relied on as the sole form of economic activity in an area. It has been seen that the effects of other forms of land use can often degrade the resource base on which tourism depends, however.

Besides possible opportunity costs, ecotourism can have other negative consequences. There are dangers of exploitation to the environment, nations and the local people as a result of increased 'eco' tourism. Furthermore, the conservation ethic has often been no more than a marketing ploy.

In addition, ecotourism has its limitations and should not lead to unrealistic expectations. Pleumaron (1995: 71) warns that given the lack of empirical evidence of the benefits of ecotourism, while there exist evidence of serious adverse effects, 'current huge investments in ecotourism seem to be misplaced and irresponsible'.

Ecotourism does, however, appear to have the potential to make an important contribution to sustainable development, particularly in developing regions. However, it needs to be conducted and managed in ways that minimise threat of social and environmental degradation, coupled with the mechanism for the collection and equitable distribution of benefits. Not only policy and decision makers, but also communities in rural areas where the tourist attractions are found, need to be convinced of the potential benefits of ecotourism as a development option. In order to acheive this, concrete evidence needs to be provided to local affected communities that ecotourism and thus conservation as a land use choice will bring them direct benefits.

Thus the successful management of ecotourism areas in order that the precepts of *efficiency, equity and intergenerational sustainability* are maintained, is the challenge facing Namibia.

Community Based Tourism (CBT) has emerged in Namibia as an attempt to involve the local people and by doing so, mitigate against some of the worst impacts of tourism, while maximising the positives. However, before moving onto a discussion of CBT, an outline of the legislation, policies, working documents will be give that relate to tourism and CBT in Namibia.

Chapter 4

Policy, Legal and Institutional Framework

Chapter 4

Policy, Legal and Institutional Framework

This chapter gives an outline of the policies, legal and institutional framework within which tourism, particularly Community-Based Tourism is located in Namibia. The purpose is to illustrate the approaches of the various sectors within the Namibian government, and to show policies that are supportive of tourism and CBT. Land Tenure and Conservancy policies are discussed as these are important issues that affect CBT.

4.1 Introduction

It was seen in the last chapter that the potential of the tourism industry in Namibia to contribute to government revenue, foreign exchange earnings, and job creation has been recognised, and that it is now being seen by many different sectors as an economic development priority, particularly in communal areas. Furthermore, it will be seen in this chapter that cognisance is being given to the distinct advantages of tourism over other sectors.

The dependence of the Namibian economy on renewable and non-renewable resources, and thus the importance of sustainable development, of the necessity of environmental considerations in the planning and management of development, tourism development included, is also generally recognised by government and others. These elements can be seen in much of the legislation and policies of Namibia, including the constitution, even where tourism is not specifically make reference to. After Independence in 1991 a specific national policy was drafted aimed at guiding tourism development and directing it for the achievement of national objectives, the *White Paper on Tourism* (MET, 1994a). This tourism strategy places emphasis on planned and controlled development which aims at optimum land utilisation within carrying capacity limits, and on supporting local cultures and economic developments.

The importance of social sustainability will be seen in this section, to be increasingly considered. In the past, inequities existed in the tourism sector, with tourist related laws and policies favouring the private sector in development of tourist potential in Namibia, including the communal land, and community participation was not encouraged. The tourist industry generally capitalised on both the cultures and the natural resources to the detriment of the communal areas (Louis, 1996, cited in van der Schoot, 1996). It is being recognised that the constraints to community involvement, necessary for tourism to bring social, economic and conservation benefits to communal areas, need to be addressed (MET,1995a).

4.2 National Legislation

The basis for environmental legislation in Namibia is the Constitution and statutory laws, rather than a central Act attempting to co-ordinate the administration of environmental issues. Legislation relevant to tourism and Community-based tourism in the study includes the Namibian Constitution, the Environmental Assessment Act, the National Monuments Act 28 of 1969, PTOs (Permission to Occupy) in terms of the Bantu Administration Act, 1927, and the Nature Conservation Ordinance 4 of 1975, as amended, which legalises the Conservancy policy of the MET.

4.2.1 The Namibian Constitution

The Constitution of Namibia came into effect in December 1991. This guides the government in the making and applying of legislation based on the principles contained in the Constitution. The Constitution does not specifically make reference to economic sectors such as tourism, but refers to the dependence of the Namibian economy on renewable and non-renewable resources.

Article 95 (i) relates to environmental management. It emphasises the 'maintenance of ecosystems, essential ecological processes and biological diversity of Namibia and utilisation of living natural resources on a sustainable basis for the benefit of all Namibians, both present and future'.

The Constitution provides for an environmental Ombudsman, whose function is the investigation of complaints concerning the 'over-utilisation of living natural resources, the degradation of ecosystems, and the failure to protect the beauty and character of Namibia' (Article 91).

Prosperity is viewed as a manner by which human dignity for all Namibians shall be achieved. A mixed economy, i.e. neither purely market nor wholly state controlled, is encouraged. Ownership of the economy is extended to include private, joint-public-private, co-operative and co-ownership as well as small scale family enterprises, rather than remaining solely in the hands of the government. Article 99 encourages foreign investment subject to the provisions of an investment code.

4.2.2 Draft Environmental Assessment Act

The MET has compiled a draft Environmental Assessment Act, to follow from their Environmental Assessment (EA) policy which was initiated soon after independence. Increased requirements for environmental considerations and accountability from projects, policies and developments will result, and certain activities and affected areas will require EAs before being approved. Hopefully, this should include tourism developments.

4.2.3 The National Monuments Act 28 of 1969

National monuments are significant as tourist attractions. National monuments which can be either movable of immovable structures, and objects of archaeological, architectural, scientific, aesthetic or other importance, can be proclaimed using this Act, in order that they be conserved

for future generations. Although the Act stipulates that monuments should not be tampered with without prior written permission from the National Monuments Council, due to a lack of resources, the Act has not been effectively enforced (Vogt, pers. comm. 1996, cited in Kilele, 1996).

4.2.4 Conservancy Legislation

A provision of the **Nature Conservation Ordinance Amendment Act, 1995,** and subsequent regulations, this legislation empowers local communities to manage as well as benefit from wildlife and natural resources in their area, and to generate an income through the development of a range of activities including tourist-based enterprises within their declared areas. This has been introduced in various sections and will be discussed some length in section 4.3.6.

4.2.5 The Permission to Occupy

The PTO is a type of licence granted by the Government in terms of the **Bantu Administration Act, 1927**, and currently constitutes the only form of title to communal land other than allotments according to customary law (van der Schoot, 1996). As they offer a measure of tenure, trading PTOs have become a mechanism for entrepreneurs to gain formal rights of access to plots situated in scenic parts of the country to establish tourism developments, such as lodges and campsites.

The PTO has certain limitations. It does not offer security of tenure, and can be cancelled, but only offers limited right to utilise the natural resources that have been specified. Furthermore, a community may experience difficulties with having to accept the presence of an unpopular PTO holder over a long period of time (*Ibid).*

An option is to have the PTO remodelled into fixed term lease, and for the community to be consulted when the government plans to give a PTO to an outside investor. A future law should permit communities to issue PTOs and benefit from the rental charged, particularly when their rights of access to grazing or water points are restricted by the development (*Ibid*).

4.3 Policies and Working Papers

Recognising the high potential of tourism for economic development, the sector was declared a priority area by Parliament in 1991, shortly after Independence. The industry is seen as having the potential to contribute significantly to government revenue, foreign exchange earnings, and job creation.

This led to the drafting of a national policy aimed at guiding tourism development and directing it for the achievement of national objectives. The most important and pertinent policies relating to tourism and Community-based Tourism are found in the White Paper on Tourism, Namibia's Green Plan, The National Development Plan (NDP1), the Community-Based Tourism Policy, and the Wildlife Management, Utilisation and Tourism in Communal Areas Policy.

4.3.1 The White Paper on Tourism

The White Paper on Tourism (MET, 1994a) is the main working paper for tourism, its primary objective being to *promote the potential inherent in Namibian tourism and to utilise this to contribute to economic development.* It is the basis for the framework for operational aspects of tourism.

In 1991 the Namibian cabinet declared tourism a *priority sector for economic development* (MET, 1994a). Resulting from this, in 1992-1993, and assisted by the European Union, the

Namibian government commissioned a *study* to set up the legislative framework for tourism (Jacobson et al, 1995). Hoff and Overguard's Tourism Development Study was the first comprehensive undertaking to compile statistics on the nature and state of tourism in Namibia (*Ibid*). This culminated in the drafting and enactment of the White Paper on Tourism, approved by cabinet on 29th March 1994.

The outlining of a *developmental framework* in order to secure the proper implementation of the Development Plan, is central to the White Paper. This is achieved through the *Action Programme which identifies necessary changes to both the organisational structures for the management of the tourist sector, and the relevant regulatory and legislative systems* (MET, 1994a).

Cognisance is given to the distinct *advantages of tourism over other sectors*. Tourism uses national assets, such as climate, scenery, wildlife, culture and historical attractions, which can be seen as having *limited opportunity costs*. As an export sector, tourism does not face trade or quota restrictions as do many manufactured goods, raw materials, and primary products. The natural attractions of the country are goods that do not require any form of modification.

The creation of a *financial link between tourism and wildlife and/or natural areas* is considered critical to the continued maintenance of prime tourist settings in pristine settings. *The tourism strategy thus places emphasis on planned and controlled development which aims at optimum land utilisation within carrying capacity limits, and on supporting local cultures and economic developments*. The *monitoring* of resource utilisation is given prime consideration.

The strategy emphasises the development of *low impact high paying tourism*, defines tourism development zones and tourism control zones, many of which overlap with communal lands (Ashley, 1995) (see Fig 7).

The involvement of a *broad array of role players* is seen as important in creating a vision for tourism promotion in Namibia. The *participative framework* is seen as an iterative process which will in the long term be the cornerstone of the future development strategy (MET, 1994a). ***Prime consideration is given to ensure the participation of local communities in the tourism development process and in benefit sharing.***

The White Paper defines the role of both the government and the private sector. The *role of the government* is seen to provide an enabling *facilitatory framework,* while that of the *private sector* is that of the *engine of growth.* Thus the *commercialisation* of tourism is emphasised, and the direct participation of the government as a business partner is reduced.

Investment in tourism is viewed as vital, 64 per cent of which is planned to come from the private sector. The government aims to help attract local and foreign investment funds through 'the creation of a generally favourable investment climate and more specifically, by instituting a series of specific fiscal, financial and other investment incentives' (Hoff and Overgaard, 1993, cited in Jacobson et al, 1995: 106).

8.8 The National Development Plan

The First National Development Plan (NDP1) (NPC, 1995) profiles the development aspirations for Namibia from 1995/6 - 1999/2000. The document proposes a development strategy whose aim is the creation of and economy in which every Namibian will be both a participant and a beneficiary.

As with the Constitution, the NDP1 recognises the dependence of achieving quality of life on the maintenance of healthy environments and productive eco-systems, and of the reliance of the Namibian economy on both renewable and non-renewable resources.

The sectors showing fast economic growth are those reliant on renewable natural resources, namely fisheries and tourism. It is acknowledged that over-exploitation or inappropriate use is unlikely to lead to sustainable use of renewable resources, and could result in diminished economic advancement (*Ibid*).

As a result, the ensuring of the sustainable basis for resource utilisation is one of its primary provisions.

The NDP1 recognises that in many countries the development process has faltered because the chosen development strategy chosen was economically, financially or environmentally unsustainable. Strategies identified by the NDP1 for sustainability include the development of sound environmental policies and legislation, proper pricing mechanisms, and environmental awareness. *Community involvement in environmental management is emphasised.*

The fragility of the Namibian environment is acknowledged as well as the limitations placed on socio-economic development due to the scarcity of water. Planners are urged to ascertain the best uses of limited resources for long-term sustainable development rather than short term over-use, and to determine procedures for decision-making and review. *This would apply to the development of tourism in the study area, with it's fragile environment.*

The NDP1 recognises that in the past, as in other countries, environmental constraints have not been a factor in decision-making. The sustainable use of natural resources and the introduction of appropriate planning measures are achievable within an administrative framework that involves diverse stakeholders, including individuals and institutions in the government, non-government and private sectors, as well as local communities and international collaborators.

The goal for economic development is to transform Namibia from a developing to a developed high income economy, the private sector being seen as having the potential to achieve this, bringing about sustained economic development and the creation of employment.

As a result of the high illiteracy rate, economic growth is aimed at absorbing the majority of unskilled and semiskilled Namibians in order to bring about equity in the distribution of income and other material resources, and thus sectors that do not require specialised or highly skilled personnel are to be identified and promoted. *Tourism would appear to be applicable here.*

Sectors such as agriculture, fisheries and tourism are seen to have the largest potential in the immediate to long-term. *During 1995-2000, the government intends to develop tourism as well as subsistence agriculture, fishing and fish-processing to attain growth rates of 5% pre annum. Growth after 2000 is seen to be dependent on manufacturing and tourism.*

Tourism is seen as a market-driven activity whose investment can be best guided by those directly participating in the market, the private sector, and that this sector in conjunction and co-operation with the government, will provide the main channel for generating growth.

The NDP1 sees the government as having the responsibility of enabling and facilitating the development of the tourism sector. Through the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET), the government co-ordinates inter-ministerial activities relevant to tourism, co-operates with the private sector to create a national tourism identity, passes enabling legislation for the sector, provides development guidelines, and monitors development trends (see section 4.4.1.1). According to the NDP1, the MET has the responsibility to create an enabling environment for tourism through the use of a combination of product development and marketing efforts while mindful of potential environmental impacts.

Wildlife is seen as the backbone of tourism and thus it is appropriate for both functions to be under one ministry which thus has the mandate to ensure sustainable wildlife utilisation.

There is a general realisation that tourism is a broad based activity that cuts across all sectors of society. Thus the government recognises that historically disadvantaged communities living in areas of tourism potential need to be assisted to develop such areas.

4.3.3 Namibia's Green Plan

The Green Plan of Namibia examines the relationship between development and the environment, and sets out measures through which sustainable development can be achieved. The characteristics of different spatial environments and the relevant requirements that would ensure eco-development, are outlined.

The Green Plan advocates *sustainable tourism*, which is achievable through the adoption of an *integrated and multi-sectoral approach, linking natural areas and earnings.* The Green Plan notes that the country's challenge is to *'develop a sustainable tourism industry that will complement and not harm the attractions which draw tourists to Namibia'* (Brown, 1992: 74).

As with the other policy documents mentioned, the reliance of Namibian economy on natural resources is recognised. A healthy environment is recognised as a prerequisite to the realisation of the potential development of a region and country. Possible detractors are viewed as including issues such as human population pressures, disparities between rich and poor, and deforestation. It is seen as necessary to address the needs of the poor in draft development plans.

Water is identified as a major socio-economic constraint to Namibia's development, and emphasis is given to the need to ensure that the use of water for one limited purpose does not limit future options for sustainable development.

4.3.4 Community Based Tourism Policy

The Community-Based Tourism Policy was drawn up by the MET in 1995, in recognition of the following:

- tourism is one of Namibia's fastest growing industries, and that it can thus be a key means to promote social and economic development in communal areas,
- that due to historical inequities in the tourism industry, residents of communal areas have rarely been involved in the planning of tourism activities on communal land or received much benefit, although they have suffered the costs of wildlife and intrusion by tourists,
- that revenue from tourism which is 'related to wildlife and scenic landscapes can be an important conservation incentive to rural communities' (MET, 1995a).
- that Article 23 of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia commits the government to addressing past inequalities,
- that Article 95(1) commits the government to sustainable utilisation of Namibia's natural resources for the benefit of all Namibians and that tourism is one of the key forms of sustainable utilisation, and
- that the principle of increased involvement of local individuals and communities in sustainable utilisation of natural resources is one of the principles of MET's policies, and furthermore that the White Paper on Tourism (MET, 1994a) states that high priority be given to the involvement of local individuals and communities in the process of tourism and benefit sharing.

The Community-based tourism Policy explores ways in which communities can benefit from the tourism industry to promote social and economic development and conservation in communal areas.

Incentives are to be provided to enable people to benefit from tourism and to conserve wildlife and other resources. Tourism development should be environmentally as well as culturally sustainable and should be acceptable to the people living in the area.

It emphasises community consultation in tourism planning and legislation, appropriate and supportive legislation, the recognition of the informal tourism sector, and the sharing of benefits with local residents by businesses operating on communal lands.

Community enterprises are encouraged and supported as well as joint ventures between the formal tourism industry and the informal rural based tourism sector. Community tourism activities are to be strengthened through having local people represented on tourism boards and associations.

4.3.5 Wildlife Management, Utilisation and Tourism in Communal Areas Policy

This MET policy attempts to link conservation, wildlife and other 'renewable living resources on communal land' (MET, 1995b: 2) to rural development that includes tourism, and to community benefits.

This relates to the Conservancy legislation, where contained in an amendment to the Nature Conservation Ordinance (Ordinance No. 4 of 1975), communal farmers are given conditional and limited rights over wildlife in communal areas that were hitherto only enjoyed by commercial farmers. This serves to link conservation with rural development through enabling

communal area farmers to derive benefits from and thus provide an incentive to the sustainable use of wildlife and from tourism.

4.3.6 The Conservancy Policy

Linked to the MET Community-based Tourism Policy and as part of the MET's Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) Programme, the Conservancy policy was designed to provide a legal basis for communities to participate in the management of, and benefits from, natural resources through the establishment of 'conservancies', a legally constituted body[11] One of the objectives is 'to allow rural communities on state land to undertake tourism ventures, and to enter into co-operative agreements with commercial tourism operations to develop tourism activities on state land' (MET 1995a).

Conservancies have been in operation on commercial farmland in Namibia since 1968 when commercial farmers were able to gain rights over wildlife from government. Conservancies on commercial farms have been successful in achieving the joint objectives of wildlife preservation and generation of wealth at the local level as well as at national level (Jones, pers. comm.).

Until recently, communal area farmers, however, were not legally able to derive benefit from wildlife in communal areas as they did not have rights of use over wildlife. Consequently, they were alienated from traditional practices of natural and wildlife resource management and from a significant part of the resource base. Besides not deriving benefits from wildlife they have had to bear some of the costs of wildlife preservation such as stock losses to lion and hyena,

[11] A conservancy is defined as a group of commercial farms or areas of communal land on which neighbouring land owners or members have pooled their resources for the purpose of conserving and using wildlife sustainably (MET, 1995a). Communal land conservancies can be formed by a community or a group of communities with a defined geographical area which jointly manage, conserve and utilise the wildlife and other natural resources within the defined area. In this way, sustainable environmental management, rural development and improved income and livelihoods for rural families and communities are promoted.

and crop and water point damage by elephants. There is, therefore, little economic or other incentive for wildlife conservation in communal (*Ibid*).

Thus the Conservancy Policy is a step to remove discrimination in access to resources previously favouring commercial farmers over communal residents with regard to the utilisation of game and other resources on the land they occupy.

A provision of the Nature Conservation Ordinance Amendment Act, 1995, and subsequent regulations, this legislation empowers local communities to manage as well as benefit from wildlife and natural resources in their area, and to generate an income through the development of a range of activities including tourist-based enterprises within their declared areas. Use of wildlife for economic gain may include direct consumptive use, selling of live game, granting of hunting concessions and eco-tourism ventures and contracts. The only condition on the use of wildlife stipulated by the MET is that it is managed and used on a sustainable basis (*Ibid*).

Legal back-up will now assist them to negotiate terms and conditions with tour operators who may wish to make use of these resources or to engage in partnerships.

The conservancies will have the right to

- operate tourism and hunting concessions and enter into agreements with the private sector for the development and management of these concessions
- make decisions in consultation with the Ministry on wildlife management
- channel financial benefits directly to their members as household money if they wish, and
- take measures for improving their wildlife stocks and natural resource base.

All members of the community should benefit from the conservancy, both in terms of direct financial benefits, and in terms of community development projects which would become possible with funding from the conservancy. Proceeds from the use and management of wildlife will be distributed and used at the discretion of the community. The condition stipulated in this regard is that there is competence and equity in the management of profits and proceeds. Conservancies are operated and managed by members through a committee.

Before a conservancy is registered the MET has to be satisfied that:

- the management community is representative of the community[12],
- the conservancy has a proper constitution which includes sustainable management and includes a set of rules as to how the conservancy will operate,
- the committee has the capacity to manage funds adequately and a policy or plan for the equitable distribution and use of funds, and
- the conservancy has geographical definition which is not undisputed (Jones, 1995).

Six communities are in the process of applying for conservancy status (Jones pers. comm.). Besides the study area of Eastern Otjozondjupa (part of former eastern Bushmanland), the Kunene region, East and West Caprivi, and Uukwaludhi are among the areas in which communities have applied.

It is important to note that the Conservancy legislation currently only applies to rights over wildlife, and does not extend to rights over, or ownership of, other natural resources such as water and land.

4.3.7 Other relevant MET Policies

Other MET policy papers that are related to tourism and CBT are:

- MET 1994. *Policy Document.* Land-Use Planning: Towards Sustainable Development. Windhoek.
- MET. 1994. *Policy Document.* Conservation of Biotic diversity and Habitat Protection. Windhoek.

[12] It is important to note that this is one of the controversial issues and a serious weakness in the study area, thus presenting a possible threat to the application to the Conservancy policy there.

4.4 Institutional Structures for Tourism in Namibia

4.4.1 Governmental Institutional Structures

4.4.1.1 Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET)

The institutional framework is set out in the White Paper on Tourism (MET, 1994a).

The Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) is the government organisation with the principal role of managing and conserving the environment, extending to the management of parks and protected areas, the protection of animals and birds both in and outside parks, as well as to the role of enacting policy, formulating and designing regional plans and promoting the tourist potential of Namibia.

A restructuring of the MET has occurred in order to increase the commercialisation of tourism (MET, 1994a) such as the commercialisation of Tourism and Resorts. It is seen that the tourism industry in Namibia is dynamic and requires a high degree of flexibility, the ability to be sensitive to market forces and to react to changes and opportunities, which is better achieved by decentralisation.

The MET is currently divided into four major directorates: *Resource Management, Tourism and Resorts, Environmental Affairs, and Forestry* (Blatt, 1994: 17).

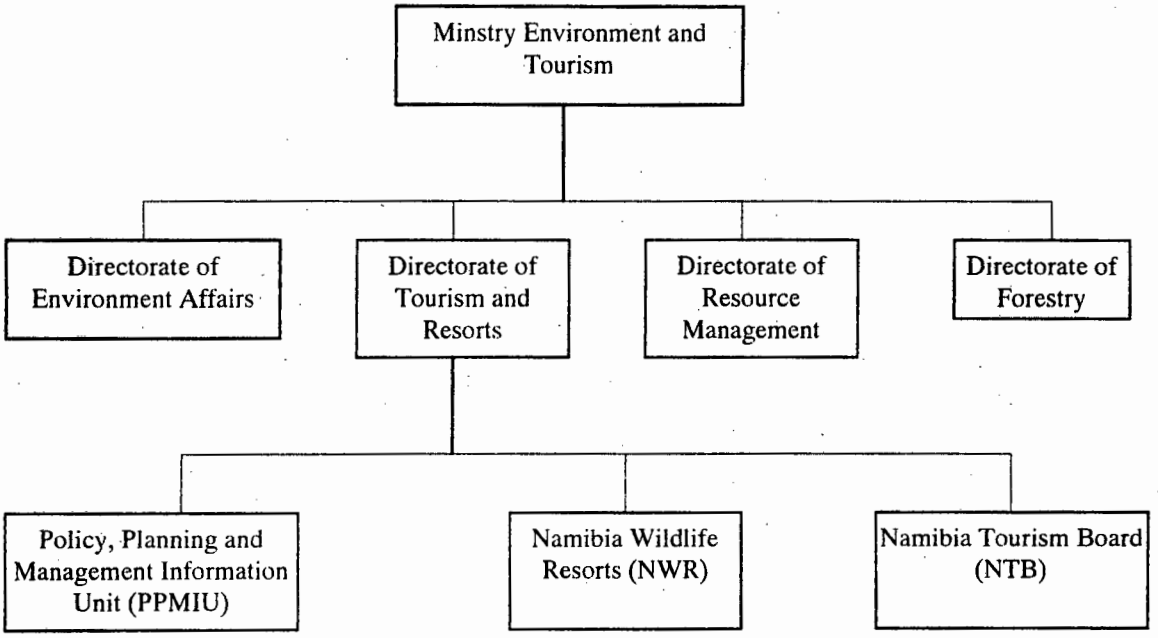

Fig. 8 Directorates of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Namibia (Adapted from Blatt, 1994: 17)

The Directorate of Tourism and Resorts

Although the directorates do not work in isolation and all co-ordinate tourism related activities, it is the Directorate of Tourism and Resorts that is directly responsible for carrying out day to day administrative duties and co-ordinating tourism activities. It is sub-divided into three units:

- ***The Policy, Planning and Information Unit (PPMIU)***

This is the regulatory structure within the directorate, and is responsible for formulating government policies on tourism; collecting, interpreting and disseminating tourism statistics; and initiating tourism development projects through contracts and investors.

Thus it has the responsibility of undertaking macro planning and policy formulation for the tourism industry, as well as by providing input to the various directorates and other sectors of the economy by maintaining tourism statistics. It also sets regulations to aid in grading, licensing and registration of establishments in order to promote high quality within the industry (MET, 1994a).

- ***The Namibian Tourist Board (NTB)***

This body is independent of government and serves as a statutory organ focusing on the operational aspects of tourism. It is responsible for marketing and promoting tourism through establishing intergovernmental liaisons and by setting up a management plan for tourism. It encourages private sector participation in tourism marketing, promotions and in implementing skills training programmes. Another major function is to act in an advisory capacity to the Minister. Being involved in the activities of the Board, the private sector will thereby also be involved in the decision-making process.

- ***Namibian Wildlife Resorts (NWR)***

This parastatal body, a sub-division of the Tourism Directorate has the role of ensuring that resorts are operating profitably. In order to further the objective of running tourism as a commercial venture, the NWR is responsible for ensuring rehabilitation and improvement of resorts and the maintenance of international standards. This will be aided by a grading system set up by the PPMIU. In partnership with the private sector, NWR has the role of developing new facilities, including the initiation and implementation of such developments (MET, 1994a). MWR also seeks to support joint projects within communal areas in order to promote tourism development as well as to generate much needed income in these areas.

4.4.1.2 Other Directorates

Although other directories such as ***Environmental Affairs, Forestry and Resource Management*** are not directly involved in the administration of tourism, their activities have an important bearing on the sustainability of tourism.

4.4.2 Non-Governmental Institutions

Various non-governmental organisations are involved in tourism in Namibia, including the following:

4.4.2.1 The Federation of Namibian Tourism Association (FENATA)

This was established in 1991 as a result of the number (approximately 10) of tourism related organisations. FENATA is a platform for organised private industry in Namibia and is the major link between industry and government for tourism (Blatt, 1994).

4.4.2.2 The Namibian Publicity and Tourism Association (Namib 1)

This acts as an information agency for tourists with regard to important attractions, quality hotels and tour companies.

4.4.2.3 The Namibian Community Based Tourism Association (NACOBTA)

NACOBTA deals directly with Community Based Tourism in Namibia in line with governmental policy of promoting tourism in communal areas. NACOBTA was established in 1995 to promote the interests of locally based, grassroots organisations participating in tourism development and acts as a co-ordinating agency for CBT projects. It is funded by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) (van der Schoot, 1996). NACOBTA has the role of helping CBT Enterprises *'develop a sound natural resource management, to increase their profitability, to give advice, to provide training, to support the exchange of information and to develop codes of Conduct '* (*Ibid*: 2).

One of the primary objectives is to link these projects with training institutions, involving basic education, craft development, field trips to other successful CBT enterprises, knowledge sharing with other enterprises in Namibia and other countries such as Zimbabwe and Botswana (Louis, pers. comm.).

A training course in CBT has been set up, and by February 1997, 12 students had been trained (*Ibid*). A training manual is being designed. It is generally felt that courses need to be designed with the specific target community in mind.

NACOBTA is membership based. Originally 16, there are now 40 member organisations. According to NACOBTA co-ordinator, Maxi Louis, these are presently mainly in Caprivi where most of the resources are found, and also in the Kunene region, although it has recently become involved in the eastern Tsumkwe District, through the NNFC.

Some of the enterprises that are encouraged are: traditional villages, campsites each with their community tour guides, craft centres, rural museums, information displays to be established in the various centres, and the development of community car hire and tour operators. Joint ventures with private tour operations are encouraged. An example of this is *'Poacher's Camp'* in Kunene.

With regard to marketing, according to Louis (pers. comm.), it is necessary to get the product right before a marketing programme can begin in earnest. The first stage was to get set up and popularised. This was achieved in 1996. *Lack of leadership structures in communities is often a limiting factor* and this is the next objective, after which marketing will begin.

Challenges to be faced with marketing include high expectations, often unrealistically so, of communities and strong competition from other tourism enterprises (Ibid).

4.4.2.4 Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC)

Based at Wereldsend, Namibia, The IRDNC was founded in 1987. Its projects are funded by international NGOs or bi-lateral aid agencies (IRDNC, 1996).

Although the IRDC is more concerned with community conservation, CBT forms an integral part of this, as it is a primary means by which the communities have the potential to benefit directly from conserving wildlife and other natural resources. IRDNC aims to find and promote approaches to nature conservation and tourism that re-empower local communities to actively participate in the management and benefits of the sustainable use of wildlife and other natural resources.

In order to meet these objectives, the organisation assists in the establishment of community game guard systems in areas including Bushmanland as well as Kaokoland, Bergsig in Kunene region, East Caprivi and West Caprivi, to provide advice on ecotourism to local communities, environmental education and training activities (carried out at Wereldsend), to conduct environmentally and socially oriented research programmes, and to advise government ministries and other NGOs on Community-Based Resource Management strategies.

4.4.2.5 Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE)

Funded by US AID, LIFE is a capacity building project, working with government, NGOs (Non-government Organisations) and CBOs (Community-Based Organisations), regarding conservation and management of natural resources. *A CBT management programme is included.* Grants and technical assistance are given to organisations such as the Nyae Nyae Farmers Co-operative (NNFC) and to certain MET community projects, including those in the Nyae Nyae area. LIFE works closely with other community organisations such as NACOBTA and IRDNC as well as the MET.

4.5 Conclusion

Ecotourism is perceived as having the potential to play a vital role in economic growth and job creation, and to have the potential to fulfil the requirements of both the NDP1 and the Constitution for environmental sustainability. Furthermore, the recognition exists that for tourism to be sustainable, planning and management is required.

The government of Namibia has realised that CBT as a form of tourism is a method of achieving its objectives of reviving and sustaining national growth, creating employment opportunities, alleviating poverty, and reducing inequalities in income, as well as creating incentives for the preservation of natural areas through community involvement and benefit sharing, and the linking of benefits with ecotourism and thus conservation, and is now actively promoting CBD as a method of achieving these. This can be seen in the various policies and working papers, as well as legislature, that have emerged since independence in 1991. These policies and laws indicate an acknowledgement of, and reflect the concepts, warnings and recommendations of the literature and case studies on tourism and ecotourism.

However, although environmentally and socially responsible principles are to be found in the various policy documents currently circulating in Namibia, actual concrete implementation measures appear to remain lacking. There are examples, however, of attempts to involve local communities in planning and management (see following chapter, Chapter 5).

Legislation has been criticised for being outdated, incomplete and fragmented (Ramboll, 1995, cited in Kilele, 1996). For example, the legislation regarding community rights over land and resources in communal lands is inadequate. The Conservancy legislation currently legalises the control of wildlife by the communities in proclaimed conservancy, but does not extend to land or other natural resources. This insecurity of land tenure and the lack of rights and authority over land and resources on which they depend, has a number of serious problems for any Community-Based developments, including CBT, as well as with control over access by outside groups, Herero from Gam and tourists included. This will be highlighted in Chapter 6.

In addition, in practice, the institutional framework on wildlife and tourism suffers from a lack of co-ordination. Co-ordination between government departments and ministries, as well as between government, NGOs and donors, and private sector organisations, at local, regional and national levels is problematic (e.g. Tarr, pers. comm.; Jones, 1996; UCT, 1997). Consequences include the failure to effectively co-ordinate, communicate and enforce government plans, policies and programmes. Decisions made by government regarding local level participation

are generally not clearly relayed to the groups concerned, and similarly, decisions taken at grass roots level may not be relayed effectively up to government. This leads to suspicion and hostility on the part of the communities concerned.

However, CBOs and NGOs are actively involved in CBT, and are acting in an advisory and capacity-building role to both government and communities concerning CBT.

Chapter 5

Community Based Tourism

Chapter 5

Community Based Tourism

Having viewed the policies relating to tourism and CBT in Namibia, and seen how it is currently being promoted by government, this chapter looks at Community-Based Tourism (CBT) as a component of both ecotourism and of Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM). It will be seen that it shares many of their objectives, has the potential to meet many of their aims, but that it also shares many of their shortcomings. Namibian case studies will be given.

5.1 Introduction to Community-Based Tourism (CBT)

Community-Based Tourism (CBT) is an attempt to mitigate against many of the negative impacts of ecotourism, while maximising the positive. It is an attempt to meet the sustainabilty criteria of tourism, in particularly the equity criterion.

In the past, tourism has been skewed in favour of the private tourist enterprises, while communities in the tourist destinations generally bore the costs of tourism without benefiting from them. Moreover, local communities had little control over access from outsiders, including tourists and tour operators, and over the social and environmental impacts that resulted. CBT has emerged as a result of attempts to redress these issues.

Although it has strong resemblances to ecotourism, the involvement of the local population in decisionmaking, management and the accruing of benefits derived from tourism are stressed. It is supply driven as opposed to market driven, and thus control of the tourism industry in a particular area and the tourism product that is offered, ***remains in the hands of the local***

people. In addition, ***the benefits are realised by them***, rather than remaining with those who utilise the resources, such as the tour operators or government.

Many indigenous peoples around the world are climbing onto the ecotourism bandwagon, as in Canada where they have organised into the Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association. 'There are vast opportunities to profit from tourism if bands properly market their culture and links to nature', according to Barry Parker, president of the association, who advises bands to 'market their way of life cautiously to ensure that their culture and environment doesn't become just a roadside attraction.... We're in the business of tourism which means we have products and services and that's what we promote. We're not putting aboriginal people on display' (cited in Ewart, 1995).

CBT is growing in Namibia and there are a growing number of community tourism enterprises, as well as joint partnerships between private investors and local communities.

As can be seen in the CBT policy (MET, 1995a, see section 4.3.4), it is, as ecotourism has been, perceived to be a strategy to promote simultaneously, both development and conservation in communal areas through the generation of financial and social benefits for communities, thus justifying the preservation of wildlife and natural resources. Furthermore, it is perceived as having the potential to diversify the tourism product to include other aspects such as 'desert, wilderness and cultural assets, appealing more to the 'eco-tourist' who wants environmentally and socially responsible tourism' (Ashley, 1995: 67). In addition, the White paper on tourism (MET, 1994a) promotes community involvement in the tourism industry (see section 4.3.1).

Ashley (1995) proposes that CBT has emerged from three different perspectives:

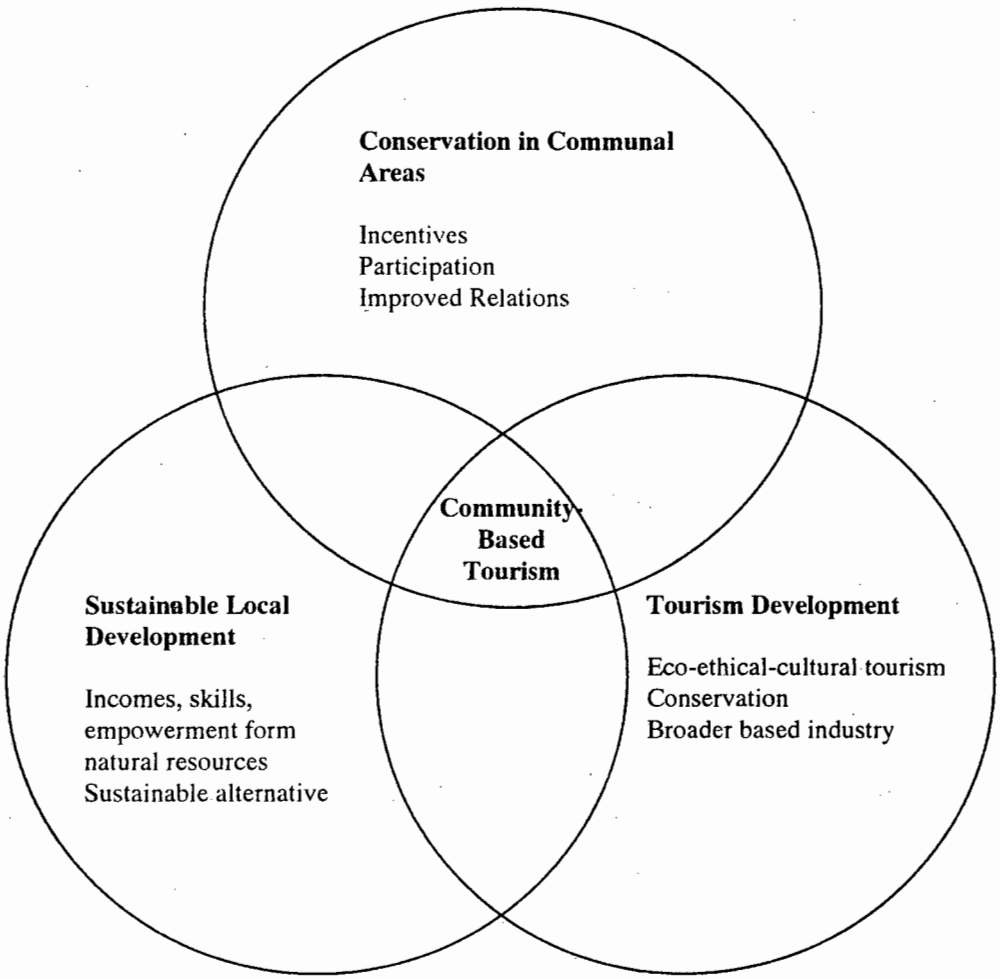

Fig. 9 The Emergence of Community-Based Tourism from three different Perspectives (Ashley, 1995: 66).

Although community involvement in tourism has received attention from these perspectives in the past, it was only in 1994 that community-based tourism emerged as a specific approach and as an acronym.

The term Community-Based Tourism is used by various governmental and non-governmental organisations, tour operators and rural communities. It is important that those involved in it have a clear understanding of what it entails.

5.2 CBT as a specific form of Ecotourism

Community Based Tourism has no formal definition, yet has been claimed to be a specific type of eco-tourism that takes place on communal lands (Christ, 1995, cited in van der Schoot, 1996).

CBT as *Supply-driven* Ecotourism

CBT is in many respects similar to the concept of ecotourism. Walker (1990), however, proposes that eco-tourism is merely a variety of traditional tourism, and continues to be *demand driven*, rather than *supply driven*.

Supply driven tourism is concerned explicitly with the social impact and economic development and natural resource management of the supplier country and destination sites (villages or rural areas). Control and regulation of tourism development remains in the hands of the destination country, not the demand of travel agents or tour operators or international investors (*Ibid*). CBT would appear to expand this to insist that control and regulation of tourism development also remains in the hands of the destination communities. This would appear to act as a constraint against certain of the negative impacts that tourism can bring to a community.

In a *demand or industry driven approach*, producers produce a tourism product based on assessment of the potential market demand. This is important for ensuring that the enterprise is viable and financially successful.

In a *supply, or capacity driven approach* however, producers identify the services or product that they are willing and able to offer to tourists. The marketing of the product follows this, taking place within the existing industry. This helps to ensure that the enterprise is feasible,

and within the physical, ecological and cultural carrying capacity of the area, as well as developing diversity in the Namibian tourism product (Ashley and Garland, 1994).

5.3 The Potential of CBT in Namibia

As mentioned above, the value of CBT is being increasingly recognised in Namibia where it is seen that the development of tourism in communal areas and the involvement of local people in tourism can promote several important national objectives (MET,1995a). Increasing interest is being shown by a number of quarters, including private sector operators developing specific ventures, policy-makers developing the tourism industry, development NGOs promoting local welfare and enterprise, and the CBNRM programme (see section 5 below).

Estimates show that cash earnings ranging from N$2 000 for a small campsite to over N$100 000 from a stake in a joint venture lodge can be earned, a significant amount for a poor rural; community (Ashley and Garland, 1994). Non-cash benefits are also seen as important, particularly capacity enhancement, leading to empowerment and control of the community over tourism development in their area and in terms of their interaction with tourists.

5.4 Community Based Tourism as a form of CBNRM

CBNRM is increasingly focusing on tourism developments, as tourism is a means to direct financial benefits from wildlife and natural resources for communities. It is proposed that it can also generate social benefits and enhanced capacity necessary for local management of resources. CBT is not only a component of CBNRM, but as both are Community Based (CB) programmes, they share many common aspects, including their positive potential and their constraints.

By 1995, CBT had developed as a major component of the national CBNRM programme (Jones, 1996). The MET had developed the CBT policy (see section 4.3.4) and appointed a community-based tourism officer. A Namibian CBT Association emerged and those involved with CBNRM programmes were giving increased support to CBT initiatives (*Ibid*).

5.4.1 Community based Natural resource Management (CBNRM)

'The long term successful development of rural, economic systems based on the sustainable use of natural resources depends very largely on the maintenance of biological diversity and productivity under communal management. Equally, local people must not only benefit from such management but contribute to it also.' (Taylor, cited in Rihoy: 152).

CBNRM is said to occur when *'a specific group of people have clearly defined rights over a resource and collectively take decisions over the use and management of the resource'* (Jones, 1996: 3). This group of people should retain the financial benefits of the use of the resources as well as deciding how these benefits will be used and distributed. As Jones (1966) states, CBNRM shares essential characteristics of common property resource management, on which principles CBNRM activities have usually developed. Thus common property regimes are recognised as being viable methods of managing resources sustainably, and CBNRM works on the principle of strengthening existing organisational management systems, or building new ones where rights and tenure over land and resources have been eroded and 'open access' systems developed (*Ibid*).

CBRM is relatively new in Namibia, having taken over from the previously 'preservationist' stance of the previous Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism. A national CBNRM programme was initiated after Independence, in line with the new Constitution.

- **Community Natural Resources and Community Products**

CBNRM depends on a few high value products. Community assets that can be offered for sale can broadly be described as follows:

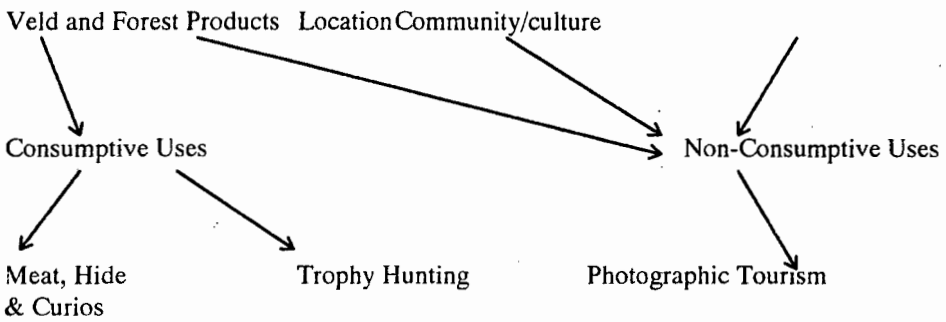

Fig. 10 Marketable Community Natural Resource Assets (Hutton, 1995: 131)

- **The Goal of the CBNRM programme**

The goal of the CBNRM programme is said to be the protection of biodiversity and maintenance of ecosystems and life support processes through sustainable use of natural resources for the benefit of rural communities (Ashley, 1995: 63).

The **objectives** of the programme, in order to achieve the goal are:

- to enable rural communities to share in the control and management of natural resources such as wildlife, forests and fish
- to enable rural communities to derive an economic benefit from the sustainable use and management of living natural resources
- to facilitate the development of suitable community institutions which can manage natural resources
- to reduce the conflicts and competition for land and resources that threaten protected areas
- to maintain and develop the natural resource base

(Ashley, 1995: 63)

All of these objectives are shared by CBT.

Self determination and control of Local Resources

Most development projects in developing countries are inspired by Western models that take little account of local traditions or social structure. *'They remove natural resources from local control and place planning and management in the hands of centralised bureaucracies. Above all, they largely funnel the financial profits of resource exploitation away from local communities, thus leaving them little power to decide their own future'* (Woodsworth, undated).

CBNRM has as its objective the return of the control of local resources to local people.

Developing benefits and incentives

The philosophy of the programme is that effective incentives for rural communities to conserve wildlife and other resources rest on four conditions:

- sustainable management/conservation improves their livelihoods
- the benefits exceed the costs
- rural people have a significant degree of ownership or control over the resource
- resources have cultural or aesthetic value

Ashley, 1995.

Developing skills and capacity

In order for rural communities to share in the control and management of natural resources, skills and capacity need to be developed. This is one of the goals of CBNRM. In order to further this aim, Community Game Guards have been appointed for communities to monitor wildlife and report poaching to traditional leaders and project staff, environmental committees and other institutions have been established, and skills upgraded (*Ibid*).

Developing rights

Until March 1995, communities had no legal rights to utilise or profit from wildlife, leading to frustrated expectations of tangible benefits. Mainly for this reason, the Namibian programme has so far focused mainly on social rather than financial benefits (cash or subsistence) from wildlife, and the cultural and aesthetic values. Enterprises that were possible without these rights, such as campsites, grass thatch sales, and a traditional village for tourists, have been developed.

- **The Role-Players in CBNRM**

Ashley (1995) states that the policy of the MET is that their role is to support rather than to implement CBNRM. Thus field work is done predominately by Namibian NGOs, such as IRDNC (Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation), the WWF-US LIFE programme (Living in a Finite Environment) which began in 1993, funded by US -AID, as well as by Ministry staff working on the programme (these were introduced in section 4.4). Save the Rhino Trust (SRT) are not operational in the case study area but work in the Kunene region, supporting local entrepreneurs to develop small campsites for tourists as well as assisting local farmers with elephant problems (Jones, 1996). The Social Science Division (SSD) of the University of Namibia, together with the MET, IRDNC and LIFE have formed a collaborative informal group, and intend to include representatives from communities in order to provide overall direction for the national programme (*Ibid*).

- **Current Areas of CBNRM**

This programme is currently active in the study area of eastern Otjozondjupa (former Bushmanland), as well as in Kunene Region (former Kaokaoland and Damaraland), and Caprivi.

5.5 Partnerships, Joint Ventures and Alternative approaches to CBT

As communities often lack enterprise skills, access to markets or capital for investment, joint ventures with private sector has been suggested as a solution. Joint ventures are defined by Working Group H (1995) as not being limited to situations where private operators and the community form a partnership company, but rather covering a range of relationships involving various degrees of partnerships between the community and government and the community and private sector in particular.

Ashley and Garland (1994) list four alternative approaches to CBT development. These are:

1. Private investor controlled enterprise with employment potential as the only direct community benefit (*e.g. Footprints and Tsumkwe Lodge village tours, in Nyae Nyae area)*
2. Private investor who shares revenue with the community (*e.g. Etendeka Camp, Kunene)*
3. Outside investor in revenue sharing joint venture with the community *(this is being encouraged in Namibia, as was seen in the previous chapter)*
4. Community-controlled enterprise *(e.g. Makuri campsite, E Tsumkwe)*

It is important to understand the *types* of benefits that communities can gain. On the one hand there is financial income, and on the other, skills development. Particularly with joint ventures, relationships may lead to high revenue but not 'empowerment' and skills development, such as where benefits are restricted to those obtained from wages and peripheral services such as craft sales. Conversely, when empowerment and skills development are high, revenues are often low, such as where a community runs its own campsite (Working Group H, 1995). Ideally the community needs to be an equal business partner in a joint venture, bringing benefits of both varieties. These are difficult to establish however (*Ibid*).

Entrepreneurial business activities can complement those provided by private operators, such as craft production, guiding services, food provision, and the building of tourist accommodation, including providing local materials. Furthermore, training can be provided by the safari operator.

Examples of ecotourism partnerships between private tourism enterprises and rural communities exist. In South Africa, the exclusive, private Mala-Mala, Sabi Sabi and Londolozi Reserves all involve local communities to some extent in some form of participation in management and decision making, and attempt to generate (with varying degrees of success) entrepreneurship in nearby rural communities (Satour, 1994, cited in Urquhart, 1995).

The Conservation Corporation (Conscorp) has facilitated clinics, classrooms and water facilities around the Londolozi and Phinda reserves, through the Rural Investment Fund. The purpose of the fund is to facilitate the development of self-generating economies around the core industry of tourism in the areas of skills training, regional infrastructure, social services and small business development. Community utilisation of resources such as wood, thatch and medicinal plant harvesting are encouraged (Geach, 1995, cited in Urquhart, 1995).

Phinda Resource Reserve's Forest Lodge was constructed by Phinda Constructon, a local entrepreneurial business founded by the Conservation Corporation to upgrade skills and provide employment in the area. It employed I I 0 local unskilled people. The bricks for development were supplied by local entrepreneur, Zibane Mazibuko, who purchased the bricklaying machinery with a Phinda loan (Knoll, 1994, in Theron, 1995). The R7 million Forest Lodge resulted in a R3mill boost to the local economy (Knoll, 1994, cited in Theron, I995).

Furthermore, an example of an ecotourism partnership between national conservation bodies and rural communities can be found in the Richtersveld National Park, South Africa, where a contractual park was established in 1991. The land in the park is communally owned and managed jointly by staff of the National Parks Board and members of the Richtersveld

communities. While local nomadic pastoralists remain in the reserve, ecotourism lodges are being planned to coexist simultaneously.

5.6 Potential Benefits of CBT : Case Studies in Namibia

CBT in Namibia can be seen to share the potential benefits to local cultures that have been ascribed to ecotourism (see section 3.4). Some Namibian case studies will be used to illustrate these.

5.6.1 Cultural Benefits

As discussed in chapter 3, although ecotourism has been accused of leading to the erosion of culture, it can also assist in the preservation of traditional knowledge and culture, particularly in CBT. Tourism can give a value to and thus lead to the strengthening of existing traditional knowledge, activities and expressions, thereby helping to prevent their demise.

This can be seen in the ***CBNRM programme in Caprivi,*** for instance, where *'Resource Monitors'*, local women with knowledge of natural herbs, medicines and wild foods, are paid to show their various traditional uses to interested tourists. This may include such traditional beliefs as of certain particular herbs having properties of keeping husbands faithful, causing delight to many tourists (Davis, pers. comm.). Another tourist activity that has begun involves 'historical' type tours, where a local individual will tell stories and anecdotes of his or her childhood, and of traditional practices (*Ibid*). Not only does this provide interest to tourists, and financial benefits to community members, but it can keep these traditions alive, and instil a sense of pride to those who have them through the concrete evidence that they are valuable and worth preserving. According to Davis, individuals have reacted with surprise that tourists are interested in these stories.

This is in contrast with literature that claims that tourism can degrade a culture by making a 'circus' of traditions (see chapter 3) and thus illustrates that it is the manner in which eco and

cultural tourism takes place that determines the impact on the host community. With CBT being supply driven it is possible for the people themselves to decide for example what events should remain sacred and what should function as public festivals.

5.6.2 Community Benefits of Conservation and Tourism

Examples of CBNRM and CBT programmes in Namibia illustrate the potential for benefits of and thus incentives for, conservation for the community. The IRDCN project in the Kaokoveld provides an example, as follows.

i. *The IRDC Kaokoveld Project*

According to Garth Owen Smith of IRDCN, in order for tourism to happen, there needs to be wildlife. When he arrived in the Kaokoveld, home of the Himba people, in 1982, once abundant game populations had been decimated by illegal poaching by both outsiders and locals. 'Legally denied any right to a resource that had been an intimate part of their lives, local poachers had achieved popular status of Robin Hoods' (Woodsworth, undated: 11). In an area of tribal land (unprotected by fences or park status) of approximately 70,000 sq. km of wilderness, only 60 rhinoceros and 250 elephant were left among remnant populations of smaller animals (*Ibid*).

IRDCN's Community Based Resource Management *Purros Project,* funded by WWF, aimed at enabling the local people to regain control of and benefit from wildlife in this Koakoveld area, and involving the establishment of a community game guard network system[13], paid off. As game stocks have been rebuilt, tourism has made rapid inroads. *Purros* was chosen by MET as one of the areas for game restocking, in 1990 and 1991.

The community now has the legal status, through recent legislation, to exploit their wildlife for their own benefit. This involves financial initiatives such as community-owned campsites, bed-night levies on visitors, and joint ventures with tour operators and safari lodges, as well as the

[13] The gameguard system not only facilitates community participation but enables indigenous knowledge to be integrated into modern ecological practices.

right to kill game for their own use, for meat and skins. Community hunters 'now deliver fresh giraffe, springbok, oryx, zebra and ostrich meat to villages and schools' (*Ibid*: 11).

Tourist levy

Initially there had been a problem of local people moving to and setting up permanent settlements at the tourist focal points in order to beg and derive direct benefits from the tourists, with attendant environmental and social problems. A tourist levy, distributed to all members of the community whether or not they provide direct services to tourists, has resulted in the restoration of original semi-nomadic settlement patterns.

ii. ***The Etendeka Project, Kunene Region***

In Kunene region, part of former Damaraland, unique for having black rhino outside a protected area, as well as home to many other game species, five communities benefited financially from tourism at the Etendeka Mountain Camp, situated approximately 680 northwest of Windhoek (Nel, undated). Revenue was collected in the form of a voluntary N$10 bed-night levy paid in part by tourists visiting the camp and the balance paid by the owner and concession holder of the camp itself into a fund, and distributed to the communities. The total amount was N$40,000 was distributed to the communities surrounding the Etendeka tourist concession area, directly benefiting 370 households consisting of approximately 4500 people (Sutherland, undated). Distributed benefits received were N$3,900 to the community of Khowarib, N$13,422 to Warmquella, N$8,500 to Sesfontein, N$8,500 to Otjokavare and N$8,500 to Omuramba (*Ibid*). Furthermore, awareness of guests at the camp is expanded through their being informed of the environmental and social issues concerned.

The owner, Dennis Liebenberg had been aware that the camp employed few local people and that there were few direct benefits to the community, thus providing little incentive for them to preserve wildlife or be compensated for the damage caused to water installations by elephants and stock losses from predators. He worked closely with IRDNC and the people from the area in order to devise not only a method by which the people would receive benefits, but how distribution of these would occur (*Ibid*).

Community game guards, acting as liaison between communities, NGOs and government, operate in the area as part of a CBNRM programme. Poaching has been reduced and game has increased since the programme was initiated in the 1980s.

Community reactions quoted in *The Namibian* (Nel, undated) included that of Sesfontein Headman Jeremias Gaoben : 'This is an example of unity in development' to Headman Stefanus Uakazapi : 'We are going to work together to save our wildlife and to ensure that our community has sustainable resources' and 'In times of joy and times of sorrow and in times of hardship I would like to see us sit together and decide on a common path'.

5.7 Constraints to CBT

Although potential benefits from CBT are apparent, at the same time there are serious constraints that need to be taken into account. As CBT is a community-based initiative (as well as a form of ecotourism), many of the weaknesses and constraints of community initiatives also pertain to CBT.

5.7.1 Unrealistic Expectations

As pointed out, neither eco or community-based tourism can provide the panacea for solving the development problems of communal areas, and unrealistic expectations by both communities and policymakers needs to be avoided. As Namibia has similarities with South Africa, Schlemmer's warning at the Kwazulu/Natal People and Parks Conference against any unrealistic expectations of ecotourism can be applied. "*Ecotourism cannot undo 3 centuries of colonialism. It does not generate enough money*" (Koch,1995).

5.7.2 Opposition to Community Based Initiatives

As Woodsworth (undated) points out, such systems, operating also in other areas and countries such as Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia, and offering an alternative to rural collapse and migration, have at times met with opposition. For instance, these grass-roots projects may be viewed as being based on 'backward' African traditions, bringing little status to some African politicians, who may furthermore be loathe to surrender centralised economic control and political power. Community-Based, or 'grassroots', initiatives can thus be viewed as political, resulting in power being devolved from central government to communities, and thus they can be met with opposition (e.g. Jones, pers. comm.; Woodsworth, undated).

The Western world also has its objectors. Aid agencies may want rapid, quantifiable results. Animal lovers may want 'bloodless conservation programmes' (Woodsworth, undated: 12). In addition, community management and decisionmaking may have the connotations of past failed socialist experiments to foreign governments and private investors. Not only can backing thus be absent or weak, but undermining may even occur in order to serve vested interests.

5.7.3 Lack of rights, Sectoral Inconsistencies, and Conflicting Land Use Strategies: Failed CBT Initiatives

Communities may be sceptical of the promises of CBT and other CB initiatives, with good reason. In order to illustrate how, despite the 'hype', in practice, CBT initiatives are not the panacea they are often made out to be, how little control and rights communities have over them in practice, and how they can be jeopardised by conflicting sectoral ministries, the current threat to a CBT project in West Caprivi as publicised in *The Namibian* (Imambao, June 16 & 17, 1997) will be considered.

Here, the Kxoe Bushmen group have, with the assistance of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET), set up four Community-based tourism camp sites and a hunting camp at the scenic Popa Falls, in what is described as the heart of a prime tourism and conservation area.

However, they have recently been ordered by the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLRR) to vacate this to make way for a proposed Prisons Correctional Institution, despite protests from not only the Kxoe, who are seeking legal advice, but from Namibian development analysts and conservationists, and a meeting between MLRR and MET. According to a MLRR minister, the eviction is possible as the community do not have rights over the land, and have not been issued a PTO (Permission To Occupy) by the MLRR. Interestingly, the more politically powerful Mbukushu group who also inhabit the area, is in favour of the new development plans. This appears to have similarities with the Ju/'hoansi and the Herero in the Tsumkwe district, and should serve as a warning for potential CBT projects.

5.8 Key Features for Successful CBT

It has been seen that there exist several constraints, as well as conditions that have to be met for successful CBT. Key preconditions include the following:

5.8.1 The area needs to be suitable for tourism, i.e. there needs to be a supply for the market

Eco tourism depends on the factors that attract tourists, the 'presence of an adequate resource base' (Working Group H, 1995), which includes wildlife, natural beauty, unusual geographical formations, and cultural diversity. As discussed in chapter 3, issues such as carrying capacity, the environmental impacts of tourism, and conflicting land uses that could destroy the tourist resources, are significant issues. Other factors include the presence or absence of any necessary infrastructure, such as roads, water supply and campsites, or conditions such as hygiene. However, these would also depend on what the particular market for a particular area requires.

5.8.2 The general political, economic and administrative framework needs to be favourable

Although many of Namibia's policies support tourism and CBT, as seen in chapter 4, *sectoral contradictions* between ministries such as those between MLRR and MET occur that affect CBT (Tarr, pers. comm.). This was illustrated in the example given above of the Kxoe CBT project in Caprivi. In addition, it has been argued that *policies do not go far enough*, especially regarding rights over land and other natural resources (e.g. Jones, pers. comm.; Barnes, 1995). According to Barnes, the Namibian community-based programmes have only 'scratched the surface of what could be achieved in this country' (1995: 9). He proposes that 'the main constraint to further development is the lack of an enabling environment providing an appropriate policy framework and legislation which gives rights over wildlife to rural communities' (*Ibid*: 9). This brings us to the following point:

5.8.3 Communities need to have rights over their land and resources

As has been pointed out, inadequacy of rights over resources and land tenure in communal areas is a serious weakness in Namibia, jeopardising CBT initiatives. Without clear tenurial rights over resources, communities are seriously disadvantaged when trying to negotiate partnerships and joint ventures with private safari or hunting operators. The community has little or no bargaining power and there is little incentive for private operators to become involved with communities.

As has been seen from the above example of the Kxoe in Caprivi, insecurity of land tenure threatens any tourist project and leads to scepticism on the part of communities, as well as insecurity on the part of any private tour enterprise that may be approached in order to form a joint venture with the local community as length of tenure is an important issue for the private operator in order to obtain a sufficient return on investment over time.

5.8.4 Both communities and decisionmakers need to be convinced of the benefits of CBT

Furthermore, both communities and decisionmakers need to be involved and committed to its implementation, as tourism, particularly CBT, takes time and effort. In order for this to take place:

5.8.5 Interest by and involvement of communities is necessary

Affected communities need to be convinced that CBT, and thus management of common property resources, is in their interests and to be committed to it. Thus rather than being imposed, conditions need to be created which enable rural people to see that this is an option for improving their daily lives. Tangible links between production and benefits are necessary, and benefits need to outweigh the negative impacts of tourism for communities. This has been discussed at some length in the various sections where the hypothesis has been presented that when benefits are linked to CBT, interest will follow. This requires that the area generates revenue from the tourists and that this revenue be distributed to the people (Meffe & Carroll, 1994).

We have seen how failed CBT projects, or ecotourism enterprises with more negative than positive impacts, have led to community scepticism. Furthermore, there may be an unwillingness on the part of communities to establish co-operative relationships with authorities, 'based on a history of harassment, distrust and conflict over tenurial rights to wildlife resources' (Working Group G, cited in Rihoy, 1995: 194).

One also needs to be aware of unrealistic expectations, however.

5.8.6 The benefits need to outweigh those of competing development options

This has been discussed in chapter 3. In order for those involved, such as land use decisionmakers and local people, to promote ecotourism as a land use and development strategy, ecotourism needs to be found to be economically valuable, to provide at least as many benefits as would alternative (and possibly more destructive) uses of the land.

5.8.7 Distribution of Profits needs to be apparent and equitable

Not only do local communities need to reap the benefits of the use of resources for tourism in their areas, but these benefits need to be distributed in such a manner that is equitable between groups and individuals within the community. An example has been given of a tourist levy in the Etendeka Mountain Camp in Kunene, where the income from a tourist levy was divided among the various local communities. Although the income can be distributed among groups in this way, other suggestions have included using the income for projects that would benefit the community as a whole, such as a school (e.g. Jones, pers. comm.; Davis, pers. comm.). Mechanisms for distribution need to be worked out by each community, thus necessitating a community decisionmaking structure that is capable of doing so, and that is recognised by the community and outside groups as legitimate, as discussed below.

5.8.8 Institutional and community structures and capacity need to be in place

There is a need for strong community institutions to be in place which can represent members in negotiations as well as make decisions and manage CBT development. This is also important for revenue distribution.

According to Jones (1996), institutional relationships and capacity are key issues that can govern the success or failure of the sustainability of CB programmes and thus CBNRM works on the principle of strengthening existing organisational management systems, or building new ones where rights and tenure over land and resources have been eroded and 'open access' systems developed (*Ibid*). This will be covered in more detail in Chapter 6 as this is of current concern in the issues of CBT in the eastern Tsumkwe district.

As limited managerial capacity and enterprise skills at community level is often a limiting factor, it is not always feasible for the community to take over full running of CBT enterprises. Various alternatives have been suggested with regard to this that include training and capacity building, but also the possibility of outside expertise or the hiring of a manager (e.g. Working Group H, 1995).

Skills and capacity for negotiating with private tourist enterprises is often limited not only in communities, who also lack market power, but among private tour operators who often do not have the skills or experience to negotiate and work with communities (*Ibid*). It has been suggested that government and NGOs can assist as intermediaries or brokers (Jones, pers. comm.).

Thus a process of building local capacity is a necessary component of CBT as a form of CBNRM parallel to the devolution of authority to manage resources and the economic empowerment of local institutions in respect of financial benefits received. This is necessary in order that local communities do not remain merely the recipients of handouts, for example, an annual dividend from wildlife use.

5.8.9 Community Information is needed

There is usually inadequate market information available for communities to make sound decisions, for example of prices and costs with regard to the resources that they are trading when negotiating joint venture agreements (Working Group H, 1995), or with finding markets. Training is thus necessary, and/or outside assistance.

5.8.10 Practical constraints that may exist need attention

Tourism projects require funds for the development of, for example, the necessary infrastructure, which local communities generally lack. Joint ventures as well as donor funding can provide a solution, although the problem of loss of community control would need to be addressed.

5.8.11 Roles played by the various role players involved need to be clearly defined and co-ordinated rather than blurred and conflicting

Examples include the roles played by the MLRR and MET that affect communities. This point will be expanded on in Chapter 6 in the context of the case study area.

5.8.12 Usage conflicts need to be addressed

The risk potential from non-tourism utilisation needs to be assessed and compensatory mechanisms implemented. This has been discussed in chapter 3, where the potential negative impact of pastoralism on the resource base that supplies tourism with its product was discussed. This applies not only to land uses within an area, but in adjoining areas, as what occurs in one area impacts on another, as has been highlighted.

5.8.13 The problems with wildlife management and 'problem animals' need to be addressed

The resolution of human-animal conflicts is one of the key components of CBT programmes. This is linked to benefits exceeding costs to communities.

5.8.14 The product needs to be marketable

Interest by the market is essential, and thus an attractive tourism product needs to be offered. It must be borne in mind that CBT is a component of tourism and not only of CBNRM. Thus although the needs of the local communities have to be considered, it is important to note that in order to be viable, the needs of the customers, namely the tourists and tour operators, also need to be met. This is of particular importance for joint ventures, where private operators need incentives to undertake partnerships with local communities.

As mentioned, communities may lack the information and expertise to offer marketable tourism products and services, and to manage tourist enterprises in such a way that would appeal to the market. Thus strategies such as employing a manager or consultant, or engaging in partnerships with private operators have been suggested.

A market driven as well as supply led approach is necessary. Thus activities need to be based not only on supplier needs (i.e. supply-driven), but based on market analysis and professional marketing. Supply marketing analysis needs to be done to evaluate the tourism resource base, infrastructure and general suitability potential. Demand market analysis is necessary in order to support the feasibility of tourism in the area. An understanding of the private sector's perspective and profitability is necessary, as well as the tourists and how to reach them. One tour operator gave two tips: *if you can't keep your toilet clean, you might as well not bother with tourism,* and, *find a market, then build* (cited in Ashley, 1995: 93).

Markets need to be developed that maintain and increase revenues, but also to spread risks (Hutton 1995). Thus it is necessary to secure and expand markets, increase market share and find new products/markets, i.e. to diversify. General methods for achieving this are to:

- ensure product quality, quantity and continuity (*role of producer/agent/middleman*)
- advertise (*role of producer/agent/middleman*)
- market research (*usually the role of a producer/trade organisation*)
- promotion *(usually the role of a trade organisation or government*)
- create a favourable policy and regulatory environment (*usually the role of government*).

(Ibid)

At the same time, it is necessary that the carrying and production capacity of the environment is not exceeded.

5.9 Conclusion

As a form of both ecotourism and CBNRM, CBT shares many of the objectives as well as the potential benefits of these.

In the past, tourism has been skewed in favour of the private tourist enterprises, while communities in the tourist destinations generally bore the costs of tourism without benefiting from them. Moreover, local communities had little control over access from outsiders, including tourists and tour operators, and over the social and environmental impacts that resulted.

It can be seen that as a supply-centred approach, CBT attempts to redress these issues, to mitigate against many of the negative impacts of ecotourism while maximising the positive,

through the control over tourism, its benefits and its impacts, by the local community in a particular tourist destination. Furthermore, it attempts to meet the sustainabilty criteria of tourism, in particularly the equity criterion, through the distribution of benefits to the local people.

Although CBT is being promoted in Namibia, certain key conditions are necessary for it's potential to be realised, and several constraints have been found to exist. These range from lack of local enterprise skills, lack of community rights over tourism resources, to policies that hinder the informal sector. As a result, the strategies being used to promote CBT in Namibia are diverse, ranging from fieldwork with community enterprises, to attempts to change tourism policy in Windhoek. Partnerships are developing between the various interest groups, in government, NGOs, the private sector, and interested communities, each with different agendas and from differing perspectives.

The case study area will now be examined in order to assess the potential of, as well as the constraints and threats, to ecotourism and CBT.

Chapter 6

The Case Study: Tourism in Eastern Tsumkwe

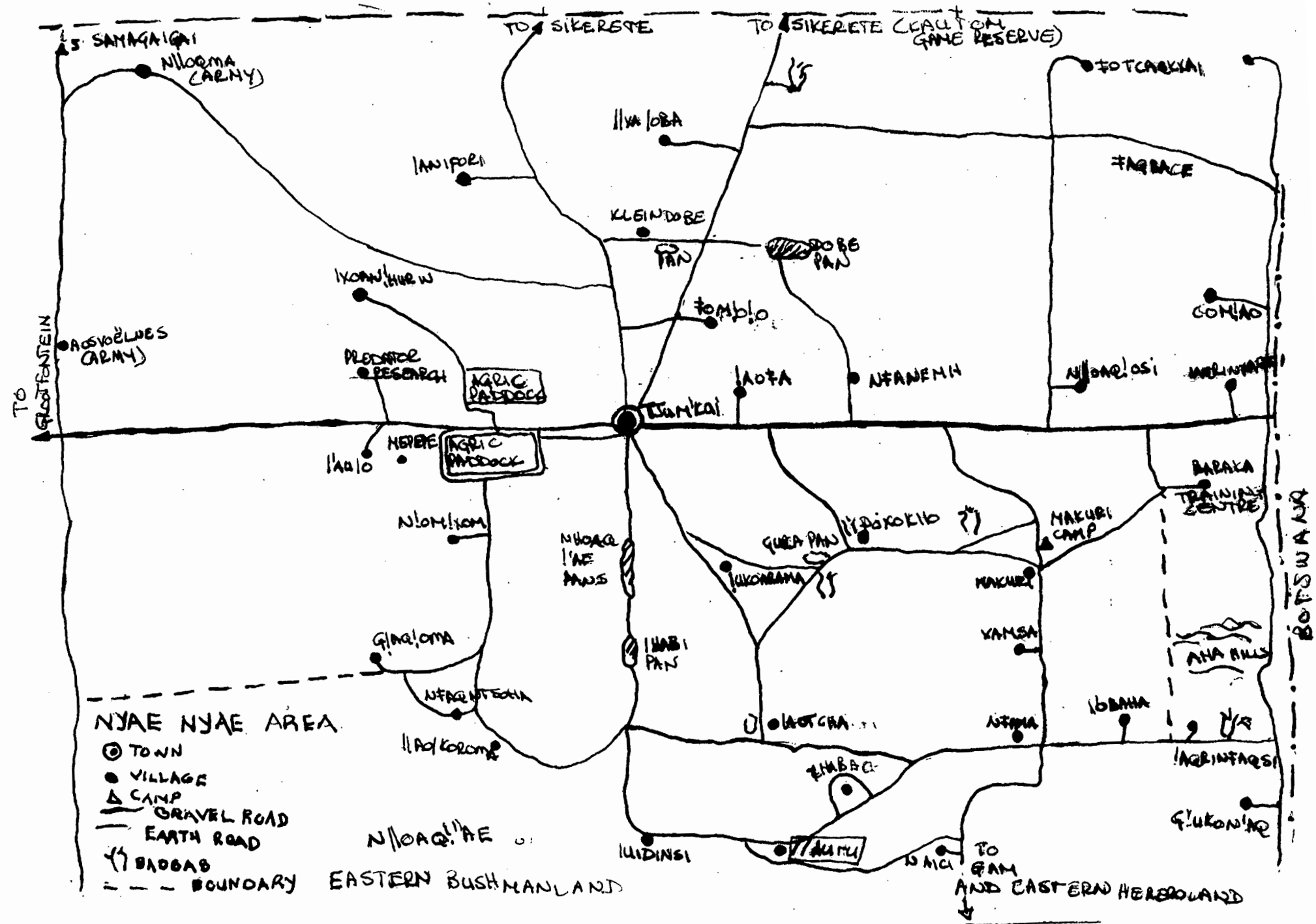

FIG. 11 THE NYAE NYAE (EASTERN TSUMKWE) AREA SHOWING

Plate 4. BUSH CAMPING AT NYAE NYAE PANS

Plate 5. THE MAIN ROAD TO THE NYAE NYAE PANS IN JANUARY (sometimes impassable even to 4x4s in the rainy season).

Chapter 6

Case Study: Tourism in Eastern Tsumkwe

This Chapter examines the status of tourism in the case study area (refer to Fig. 11), its potential as well as major constraints that exist, and the social, environmental and economic impacts that have occurred as a result of tourism activities.

6.1 Suitability and Potential of Tourism in the Area

Ecotourism has been recommended as a land use option for the area as part of a programme of economic diversification, in Botelle & Rohde's land use report for the MLRR, as discussed in section 2.5. Agriculture was seen to be an inadequate development option, and the keeping of livestock was shown to have potential negative impacts on the resource base and thus on the livelihoods of the people. Furthermore it is likely that the shortage of water and arable land, as well as the expanding population will limit agricultural production in the future, while the relatively pristine and undeveloped nature of the area makes it highly suitable for tourism.

The Nyae Nyae area has a number of attractions for tourists that have led to the expansion of interest in the area. Firstly, there are the Ju/'hoansi people themselves. There has been an increase in interest in the culture of indigenous peoples, particularly the Ju/'hoansi, in recent years, particularly since the box office hit film 'The Gods Must be Crazy', filmed in the area, and which 'unleashed a veritable vortex of television and film crews on the area' (Gordon, 1990: 6). Furthermore, Nyae Nyae has had a history of anthropological research and numerous popular books on Bushmen have been produced.

Secondly, the area offers a unique wilderness experience, where undeveloped bush camping is still possible (see Plate. 4).

Thirdly, although due to the minimal permanent surface water, the land cannot support large quantities of game, there is a variety of wildlife, such as elephant, buffalo, giraffe, blu wildebeest, wild dog, roan, hartebeest, kudu, lion, spotted hyena, leopard, steenbok and duiker (see section 2.5.1). Furthermore, the Nyae Nyae wetlands provide seasonal water for migrant birds from all over the world, attracting non consumptive birdwatchers and photographers.

As world demand for ecotourism products grows, and the government of Namibia is currently actively promoting tourism in Namibia, including tourism in the communal areas, it seems likely that there will be increasing possibilities for tourism in the area.

The study area is one of the five areas in Namibia that are classified as regional centres for tourism (see Fig. 7). An indication of the 1994 contribution to national income of tourism, including consumptive wildlife tourism, shows that the area compares unfavourably with the other three communal areas (Ashley & Barnes, 1996) (see Appendix 3). However, Barnes (1995) estimates that the potential exists to increase non agricultural resource use values, of which tourism activities plays a predominant part, by an estimated 6 fold in the area.

Many rural communities suffer from a lack of funding for tourism development projects. However funding appears to be available for the Ju/'hoansi from donor organisations such as the NNDFN (Viall, pers. comm.) who have assisted in the past with projects such as the installations of boreholes in each village.

However, despite the fact that interest in tourism in the area has been around for some time, as well as the proposed potential of the area, tourism remains underdeveloped and small scale (e.g. Garland, 1994; Barnes, 1995).

6.2 The current Tourism situation in the Nyae Nyae area

Tourism is seasonal in both Namibia as a whole and in the study area. There is a peak between the dry winter months of May to September, when wildlife viewing is at its best, and a low in January and February when rains cause the roads to become generally impassable (Garland, 1994; Oosthuisen, pers. comm.) (see Plate 5). However it is after the rains that birdlife in the Nyae Nyae pans is at its best.

The tourist profile shows that the majority of tourists in Bushmanland are self drive 4x4 travellers, mainly from South Africa and Namibia (Garland, 1994). The tourists are from diverse ages and nationalities and generally come for the explicit purpose of interacting with the Ju/'hoansi (*Ibid*). Garland proposes a category of tourists which she calls 'official' tourists, being the second largest category in the region. These comprise the relatively large number of researchers, development workers, government officials, and journalists that visit Nyae Nyae each year.

6.2.1 Types of Tourism and Tourist Activities

Garland (1994) classifies the predominant tourist activities of the area as comprising the following:

- **Wilderness tourism**

The primary appeal of the area to a particular type of visitor, seeking the more 'wild' experience, has been its pristine wilderness, with its unique Kalahari pan-veld ecosystem, the presence of a number of rare bird and mammal species, and the relatively sparse population (*Ibid*).

- **Cultural tourism**

The world-wide increased interest in Bushmen culture has led to an increase in visitors wishing to see and interact with this culture, in addition to the wilderness experience. However, expectations are often romanticised, and visitors may be disappointed to see Ju/'hoansi wearing western clothes and involved in non-traditional activities, such as going to school, keeping cattle, or begging.

- **Informal Cultural Interaction**

According to Garland (1994), cultural interaction between tourists and the Ju/'hoansi has mainly been informal, with visitors usually visiting villages on an *ad hoc* basis, and generally not adequately compensating them for time and services provided, such as talking with tourists, acting as translators and guides (See section 6.4 below).

- **Commercialised Cultural Interaction**

At the Makuri campsite, members of the village have set prices for cultural services to visitors, including dancing, guiding on foraging walks, and the taking of photographs. Not only does this increase the financial benefits to the village, and compensate people for their services, but it also serves to put a value on these services, such as time. As Garland puts it, 'It also serves to remind tourists that their hosts are busy, and that spending time with tourists holds opportunity costs for the Ju/'hoansi.' (1994: 4).

The privately owned Tsumkwe Lodge operates tours to one of the Ju/'hoansi villages, and pays them for the above services (discussed in section 6.2.2).

- **Research tourism**

Many researchers, photographers and film crew visit the area, but it has been only recently that the Ju/'hoansi have been compensated for their time and services such as taking part in filming,

interviews and translating, negotiated on their behalf by the NNDFN and the NNFC management committee. However, as Garland points out, prices appear to be fairly arbitrary, with few management controls or system in place.

Purely commercial ventures such as filming have taken place in the area, such as filming for 'The Gods must be Crazy' and the recent German film crew at the Nama Pans (Nama villagers, pers. comm.).

6.2.2 Tourist Enterprises and Accommodation Facilities

- **Private sector tourism** exists in the area, mostly on an *ad hoc* basis (Berger, pers. comm.). Although the exact current status is unknown, according to Garland in 1994 there were three private companies which regularly ran tours in Nyae Nyae. while other tour companies also sometimes ran safaris through Bushmanland and Kaudom Game Reserve in the north of the Nyae Nyae area.

Footprint's Ian Robertson (pers. comm.) states that his is the only company that takes scheduled and economic trips through the area, encompassing Nyae Nyae and the Kaudom Reserve, using a 10 seater vehicle. The Makuri Community Camp, which he helped set up, is one of the tourist destinations, with traditional dancing, crafts and veld walks offered.

Other tours, perhaps 'half a dozen', according to Robertson, take exclusive and expensive tailor-made tours in a 4x4 vehicle to the area.

The Tsumkwe Lodge and Namibia Adventure Safaris and Tours, owned by Tsumkwe lodge, are private tourist enterprises that operate permanently in the area. Accommodation at the private Tsumkwe Lodge comprises five chalets and a communal diningroom, with an illuminated

waterhole in front where visitors can watch game. Vehicles and guides can be hired. In addition, tourists are offered safaris that includes a visit to a Ju/'hoan village for a demonstration of traditional dancing and crafts and a trail into the veld for tracking and food gathering, led by members of the village. Financial benefits for the village are direct, with, for instance, N$100 per tourist paid for an evening's traditional dance (Oosthuisen, pers. comm.). According to the owner of the Lodge, the village which does not have NNFC membership, had originally asked the lodge to bring tourists. Apparently there is NNFC opposition to the tour (*Ibid*). The village is planning to develop its own tourist campsite. The owner of the lodge has agreed to assist with advice but will leave it to the village to develop the camp.

The marketability of ecotourism and CBT is utilised by the Lodge owners. The brochure states:

'Sensitive ecotourism can earn (them) a substantial income as well as help to preserve their traditions. Namibia Adventure Safaris and Tours....provide the accommodation, vehicles, guidance and arrangements necessary to make tourism to this area rewarding to both the tourist and the Ju/'hoansi'.

The safari company is attempting to encourage the continuation of diminishing traditional knowledge, such as of resource gathering, through incorporating these into tourist activities and thereby linking this with income (Oosthuisen pers. comm.; Marie, pers. comm.).

- According to Robertson (pers.comm.) there are a number of **hunting tour operators** who obtain licences from the MET, and who operate in the area.

- **A joint venture** with a Professional Tour Operator and a community, through the Tsumkwe Conservation Trust, was proposed to run the 'Ju/'hoan Leopard Tour', a leopard tracking trail.

Although research was done into the viability and marketability of the tourism project, it does not appear to have been developed.

- **The Makuri community campsite** was established in June 1994, assisted by *Footprints*. This is very basic, with a 'longdrop' (pit toilet), firewood and a minimal water source. In 1994 figures were estimated at 6 tourists per week (Garland, 1994). However, record keeping is sporadic. In 1994, Garland estimated projected figures of 200 people for 1994. According to Powell (1995) in September 1994, after only two months of operation, over 40 tourists had already stayed in the camp. Each tourist pays N$10 per day to stay and this money is theoretically saved by Makuri's N!ore owner as part of the district fund (*Ibid*). In addition, Makuri village is benefiting from sale of craft, dancing for tourists and taking them on hunting and gathering tours. Previously there had been complaints that those from Makuri village were benefiting unfairly from the camp and its activities.

A recent report of the campsite are that it is poorly managed by the community and not much utilised by tourists (confidential source, pers. comm.).

Other village campsites, with or without NNFC recognition, may be developing. (For example, see Plate 1 on the cover page.)

- **The Ministry of Local Government and Housing** operated a small guest house in Tsumkwe, generally used for visiting government officials, researchers and journalists at the time of Garland's report (1994), as was the **Klein Dobe Camp**, administered by the MET. This is not open to the public but serves as a base for 'official' visitors. Facilities include hot showers, bungalows and braai pits, with no fees charged.

- **The Predator Research Unit** has a hut which is used for researchers.

- ***Ad hoc* bush camping** continues, with tourists spending at least one night free in the bush (Garland 1994). These tourists are unregulated and have often had negative impacts on the people and the environment. Several renowned boabab trees have become favourite sites (*Ibid*). This appears to have tightened up however, and tourists are now encouraged to negotiate with villagers to camp nearby for a negotiated fee, generally from N$50-100 per night (personal observation).

6.2.3 Key Players in the Area

Garland proposes four main groups of key players that are involved with tourism in the area. A fifth group has been added. These are:

- **The Ju/'hoansi themselves**. This includes the NNFC (the body that represents the Ju'hoansi people as introduced in Chapter 2, community rangers[14], villages and individuals.

- **The tourism private sector.** This includes tour operators, private investors interested in joint ventures with the community, and private concessionaires.

- **The MET.** This includes MET officials at the national level, as well as MET staff in Tsumkwe.

- **The NNDFN and the donor community**.

- Another group are the **CBOs and NGOs** such as NACOBTA, LIFE and IRNDC who are involved in technical advice and capacity building, and who work with the NNFC and the Ju/'hoansi. The Environmental Planning Committee (EPC) was established in conjunction

[14] The community rangers, part of the CBNRM programme, focus on a range of resources including veld food and wildlife, and play a role in community governance, providing information from local settlements to community institutions on various issues (Jones, 1996).

with the NNFC and NNDFN in order to provide a platform for NNFC leadership to meet with government officials regarding natural resources management issues (Jones, 1996).

6.3 Constraints to the Potential of Tourism and CBT in the case study area

Although the area appears to have tourism potential, several major limitations and weaknesses exist that may account for the apparent underdevelopment of tourism in the area and which, unless addressed, jeopardise any future potential.

6.3.1 Remoteness and poorly developed physical infrastructure

The area is remote and far from facilities and services. Although it is often the remoteness and lack of physical infrastructure that attracts a certain type of tourist to the area, logistical difficulties result from, for example, the absence of petrol, and the difficulties in access due to poor, often impassable roads. Besides difficulties in the rainy season, these sandy tracks can be hidden by high stands of grass, which themselves can pose a danger as they can get caught underneath a vehicle and catch fire. There are few patrols and many government vehicles do not have adequate spare parts or petrol. The region is thus not altogether safe for the greater number of independent tourists.

The remoteness of the area results in high costs of running a tour operation (Stander *et al*, undated; Robertson, pers. comm.). Although the low numbers of high paying tours may appear to fit in with the government policy of low impact high paying tourism (MET, 1994a), most of the benefits from the tourists in this case would be likely to leave the area. Income would be paid to the tour operator who would in addition bring in provisions from elsewhere, as these are not available in the area.

Infrastructure in the area is poor and underdeveloped and Tsumkwe has only a small poorly stocked shop. Maps are hard to come by, rough and outdated. Tourist information is not available, including information relating to the state of roads, accommodation and destinations such as villages to visit and cultural shows, as well as fees for services rendered by local people such as camping fees, prices for curios, or protocol to be followed. Thus standardisation for services and prices is absent. If tourists feel cheated or frustrated, they will not return to or recommend the area, potentially resulting in a poor reputation of the area as a tourist destination. Operators will advertise and go elsewhere (Berger, pers. comm.).

There are problems with the availability of a clean water supply, and drinking water is only available from village boreholes.

Thus although there are tremendous attractions, (wilderness, birdlife, no restrictions, the Kaudom Game Reserve nearby, Bushmen) the market is small and thus tourism is unlikely to be large. However, as the market appears to comprise mainly those who seek the adventure of the wilderness experience, the remoteness and lack of infrastructure may be a positive rather than a negative factor. However, a market analysis needs to be undertaken.

As it stands, carrying capacity would not appear to be as significant a problem as lack of control and management. However, this situation could change should the area be developed, allowing greater access from tourists.

6.3.2 The quality of the product offered may be inadequate

Communities lack the information and skills necessary to develop and manage a tourism product that may appeal to a more sophisticated tourist. For example, facilities, management, and factors such as hygiene at community campsites may be inadequate. This relates to the culture of the Ju/'hoansi (see section 2.4.4) where standards regarding relevant aspects such as time, hygiene, and permanence of residence differ. As mentioned in Chapter 2, transhumance

still continues to some extent, and entire villages can be absent for periods, for instance to visit relatives or in response to food supplies (Viall, pers. comm.), possibly posing a problem for tourism enterprises.

The erosion of traditional culture and knowledge, these being the products in demand for cultural tourism in the area, can lead to disappointed tourist expectations, as can diversified economic activities, inconsistent with tourist stereotypes.

The main threat to the tourism product, however, appears to be coming from the influx of Hereros in the Gam area, leading to possible conflicting land uses, land degradation, erosion of Ju/' hoansi culture, and elimination of wildlife, changing the nature and 'sense of place' of the area, and thus threatening the resources on which tourism depends, thereby degrading the tourism product (see section 2.4.8).

6.3.3 Inadequate Marketing

Market research, access to markets and marketing of the tourism product has been minimal. Information, skills and funds for this is lacking in the community. However, the NNDFN is to employ a tourism officer later this year, i.e. 1997 (Viall, pers. comm.). In addition, NACOBTA has recently become involved in the area, providing capacity building and advice to the community via the NNFC, in response to needs as requested by the NNFC. The policy of NACOBTA is to get the tourism product right before marketing it, however (Louis, pers. comm.) (see section 4.2.3).

The marketing of tourism related products such as crafts, mostly sold to the NNDFN and informally to tourists, has likewise been inadequate; it appears that little has been done in the way of improving the marketing of crafts since 1992 when Hitchcock noted that there was a large stockpile of crafts at the NNFC storerooms that were not being sold. There is an awareness that greater efforts are necessary to create a market for these (Viall, pers. comm.). However, it needs to be borne in mind that the large-scale marketing of crafts would have

impacts on the natural resources of the area such as ostrich eggshells used for necklaces, and tamboti wood products.

Thus marketing can be a 'double edged sword'; although it is necessary for the viability of tourism, overexploitation, exceeding the social and environmental carrying capacity, spoiling the wilderness experience and thus 'killing the goose that laid the golden egg', can result.

6.3.4 Inadequate Community Representational, Decisionmaking, Leadership and Management Institutional Structures

As discussed in section 2.4.4, the lack of clearly defined leadership and decisionmaking structures among the Ju/'hoansi, resulting from their traditional non-hierarchical approach to decision-making, has created difficulties for tourism development and in negotiations with bodies such as government and private tour operators who may wish to embark on joint ventures with communities, as well as with the management of enterprises or the distribution of benefits thereof, thus jeopardising the sustainability of any CBT development in the area.

This has been one of the major limiting factors to tourism and other CB developments (e.g. Jones, 1996). The NNFC was formed as an attempt to address this, supported by CBNRM programmes in the area that attempt to build and strengthen it as an existing structure (*Ibid*). However, this body has been criticised by both the Ju/'hoansi and outsiders, their representativeness and capacity being called under question. The Ju/'hoansi are having to deal with the process of shifting from a consensus-based system in which everyone has a say, to a situation where representatives 'are having to gauge public opinion and then reflect those opinions in small-scale meetings' (Hitchcock, 1992: 108). Some feel that the *Noresi* leaders are not represented by the NNFC (e.g. Stander, pers. comm.; Hitchcock, 1992), while many Ju/'hoansi people are not comfortable with the idea of representative government, feeling that they should have a right to speak for themselves at NNFC meetings. This view that everyone should have a chance to put forward their views resulted in the early days in extended and large meetings, causing difficulties in logistics and costs in terms of time (Hitchcock, 1992; Jones,

1996). In fact, Biesele argues that in retrospect 'the approach to community development followed by the NNDFN and the government in eastern Tsumkwe District has led to the application of an imposed international stereotype of leadership and community management' (1994, cited in Jones, 1996: 24).

Furthermore, there is a reluctance on the part of individuals to become involved with anything that may be contentious. Hitchcock, for instance, mentions the Ju/'hoan manager of the craft shop who was reluctant to purchase crafts because he 'does not want to be in a position where he is seen as setting prices which people may not agree with, thus potentially causing a certain amount of anger towards him' (1992: 105-6).

Some communities and individuals appear to feel that the NNFC representatives have become out of touch with and thus not as responsive to the local people's needs as they could be, and that some of the members took advantage of their own positions. For example, some Ju/'hoansi felt that people from */Aotcha* had privileged access to employment with the NNDFN and the NNFC (Powell, 1995).

Not only community but official recognition of local resource management institutions such as the NNFC is essential for establishing legitimacy and sustainability (Jones, 1996). Jones proposes that this is being legitimised through the involvement of the NNFC with the EPC, resulting in decisions being taken by government on request of the NNFC, such as the refusal of a licence application from a private operator to operate a photographic safari operation without community participation, as well as the termination of the trophy hunting concession for the area as the local people did not receive promised benefits. There has been criticism, however, that the NNFC may be acting in their own interests and jeopardising the possibility of benefits being received from communities that do not support the NNFC. For example, in certain cases where private tourism operators have wanted to enter into agreements with certain villages, these have been blocked by the NNFC (e.g. Oosthuisen, pers. comm.).

The lack of NNFC credibility as an institution has led to a reluctance of sections of the community as well as outsiders such as some government officials and private operators to become involved with and co-operate with the NNFC. Jones (1996) proposes, however, that the situation is improving.

6.3.5 Lack of Sectoral Cohesion and Commitment

Like community, or other institution, government is not a homogenous entity. Within as well as between ministries and institutions the differing interests and perspectives can 'make government a very unreliable institutional actor from the perspective of communities and NGOs' (Jones, 1996: 18). Jones gives an example of this lack of unity acting against community interests: While some government officials attempted to use problem lions in order to bring income for the people through their sale to commercial game farmers, and thus compensate for stock losses, other officials refused to allow this 'on bureaucratic grounds' (*Ibid*: 21). This has damaged official, including MET, credibility, and has created confusion concerning government roles and their ability to deliver promises. Combined with a history of threats of community dispossessions for a conservation park in the area, community suspicion of government is high. As has been seen from the example of the Kxoe Bushmen in Caprivi given in section 5.7.3, these sectoral inconsistencies can be destructive to the process of tourism development for communities, affecting actions and decisions regarding relevant issues such as land use and rights.

The roles of the various players involved have often blurred together concerning tourism development, according to Garland (1994). Furthermore, interpersonal differences, political tensions and a history of serious organisational conflicts both within and among the various bodies in the area, including those between the NNDFN and the NNFC, has existed, concerning, for example, ideologies and objectives as well as methods of achieving them (e.g. Jones, 1996), as well as problems concerning perceptions of the legitimacy and representativness of the NNFC as the community leadership body, as discussed above. These institutional conflicts have meant that co-ordination and the carrying out of plans has been

difficult to achieve. Resignations of key staff and withdrawal of donor funding for CB projects have also resulted (*Ibid*).

Decisionmakers are not always convinced or committed to CBT which can result in conflicting views on and plans and programmes for alternative development in the area, such as that of agro-pastoralism being the predominant form of development.

6.3.6 Institutional and Community Capacity has been lacking

The Ju/'hoansi have lacked the necessary information and skills for successful tourism development. There is a danger of unrealistically high expectations of tourism benefits by Ju/'hoansi without adequate understanding of the nature of tourism and the demands of the market.

There are various alternatives available for developing capacity, from skills training through NGOs such as LIFE and NACOBTA in response to needs identified by the Ju'/hoansi via the NNFC, as well as through joint enterprises with private operators. The NNDFN has as its major objective, human resource development and thus aims to provide formal and informal training, enhance leadership and management capacity of local people, and strengthen institutions (Hitchcock, 1992: 99). The Community Ranger Programme is a method of reactivating local institutions and empowering the people of the area by drawing on lapsed traditional skills, the local infrastructure and community participation in wildlife and natural resource management (Powell, 1995).

However, Jones (1996) proposes that it is not enough to address lack of institutional capacity through training and human resource development, as the necessary commitment may be lacking. As capacity is also lacking among government institutions acting in the area, NGOs this continue to have a role to play (*Ibid*).

6.3.7 Communities Unconvinced of the Benefits of, and thus not Committed to, Tourism Development: Costs outweigh the Benefits

Tourism has had mixed impacts on the Ju/'hoansi and can be described as a 'two edged sword' in that while it increases access to needed cash and goods, it has had several negative impacts that have outweighed the positive ones. According to Hitchcock (1992), tourism has been a major topic of discussion at community level and at NNFC meetings. Tourists were seen as being discourteous to local residents and of having a negative effect on the environment. Furthermore, financial and material benefits did not generally remain in the area. The NNFC and the NNDF have made efforts over the years to regulate the impacts of tourism. For instance, a tourist brochure on Bushmanland was compiled and circulated by the then Ministry of Nature Conservation reflecting the views of the community, after these were transmitted to Brian Jones of the MNC by Megan Biesele of the NNDFN in 1989.

History of Tourism in the Area: Negative Impacts

'Tourism has long been a source of concern for the Ju/'hoansi of Eastern Bushmanland'

Garland, 1994:1

Despite the perceptions by government and others, NGOs for example, of the potential of tourism to bring benefits to the local people, the actual situation is somewhat disappointing. 'On the whole, the Ju/'hoansi have tended to characterise their experiences with the tourism industry in negative terms' (*Ibid*:1).

The documented negative impacts of tourists in the area as perceived by the Ju/'hoansi (e.g. Hitchcock, 1992: Garland, 1994) parallels those in the literature on tourism in developing areas, as given in section 3.5.4.

- ***Environmental impacts***

The nature of uncontrolled ad hoc tourism including informal bush camping, has had environmental as well as social impacts. ***Litter*** has been a problem, and litter from a previous camping group led to the negative reception by one of the villages to the Mphil. study team's request to camp in their N!ore (UCT, 1997). The study team also found considerable evidence of unburied litter, including broken glass scattered around the informal campsite outside the //Auru village.

Tourists also have a reputation among the local people for ***utilising resources*** such as firewood at a high rate (Hitchcock, 1992)

Tourist off road vehicles have been blamed for destroying plants on which the people depend for part of their subsistence for damaging sensitive habitats such as pans, as well as for frightening away game (*Ibid*).

There is a potential danger that the ***creation of permanent settlements***, necessary for tourism enterprises at particular destination villages, would interfere with the practice of transhumance that continues to an extent, and would lead to ***resource and land degradation*** in the immediate vicinity.

- ***Social impacts***

The local people have had little control over access by, or the manner of their contact with tourists and tour operators. The perception of the intrusion of tourists in their lives is a possible indicator that social carrying capacity may be being exceeded. A major problem cited by the Ju/'hoansi has been the lack of privacy and respect given by tourists, who seldom greet the local people or ask permission for entering villages, and make requests such as that the people remove their 'Western' clothing for photographs, wasting people's valuable time talking to tourists or acting as guides and translators, often without adequate compensation (e.g.

Hitchcock, 1992; Garland, 1994). This latter group includes researchers (Garland, 1994). Tourists are also attributed with giving liquor, tobacco and other goods to the local people, thereby creating dependencies. 'Many Ju/'hoansi have said that they feel that this sort of tourism set-up leaves them open to potential exploitation, and gives them no mechanism for controlling their contact with tourists. In a sense, they are expected to be willing to meet with any tourist who shows up, without being guaranteed adequate remuneration for the time and energy which this requires' (Garland, 1994: 4). Some people have complained that they feel like 'human zoos' while others are aware that this is the product that brings the tourists (Hitchcock, 1992).

While some avoid tourists, others welcome them in order to sell crafts or beg to the extent that the observation has been made that 'some rural people have become so tourist-orientated that they refuse to work on community projects, preferring instead to wait for visitors to come and give them food and money' (cited in Hitchcock, 1992: 6-6).

Social stratification and conflicts have resulted from the inequitable benefits received (see section3.8.8 below). In addition to the often skewed benefits between villages, women, the aged and children do not benefit as much as adult males who are multilingual and thus obtain experience in dealing with outsiders. This applies not only to employment opportunities, but with regard to negotiating power with and access to outside groups such as government (e.g. Viall, pers. comm.; Hitchcock, 1992).

Cultural impacts have been mixed, correlating with those discussed in section 3.5.4. On the one hand, people are being encouraged to engage in and relearn traditional activities and knowledge such as resource use for tourist tours, while on the other people were becoming more ambivalent about their culture as a result of exposure to tourists with their Western culture, becoming more aware of their own poverty and referring to hunting and gathering as 'primitive' (Hitchcock, 1992). Other cultural disruptions include heightened desires for economic gain, and for Western goods such as radios, bicycles and cars, aspirations that are unlikely to be attained.

- ***Economic impacts and shortcomings***

Although the Ju/'hoansi have borne the costs of intruders and resource use by outsiders, few benefits have remained in the communities. For example, the economic benefits of wildlife historically went predominantly to the central treasury or to the safari companies that have operated in the Nyae Nyae area. Furthermore, there is no structure by which tourists pay communities for the use of their land and resources (Biesele and Jones, 1991, cited in Hitchcock, 1992). However, tourists were also seen as beneficial by some people who sought them out and sold crafts to them (Hitchcock 1992). A few people are hired as guides by tourists and thereby benefited from a moderate amount of income, although for short and erratic periods of time.

Furthermore, the history of interactions with private tourist entrepreneurs has mostly been one of exploitation (Jones, 1996). They have used the region as a destination or through route for their tours without adequate recompensation to the Ju/'hoansi for the use of the land and resources. Hitchcock (1992) reported that the Ju/'hoansi were both positive and negative about the presence of the safari company operating in the area at the time. Benefits included income from jobs as trackers, guides or camp workers with the company, which included training as well as wages and rations, and occasional elephant meat from successful hunts. Complaints included the lack of access to profits made by the safari company by the community despite promises made by the company to provide such a system (*Ibid*). The licence for the continued operation of the company has since been discontinued at the request of certain sectors of the community (see section 6.3.4 above).

However, as has been discussed in the section 6.2.2, certain private tour enterprises have directly involved the people, such as *Footprints* which assisted in the establishment of the Makuri Community Camp.

As discussed in section 6.4.1, the lack of facilities in the area has meant that provisions such as food and petrol are brought in from outside the area rather than bringing income into the area.

6.3.8 Inequity of Benefits

Besides benefits 'leaking' outside the area, inequity of benefit distribution and envy and dissension have emerged as problems, even where benefits for the community do occur. Hitchcock (1992) mentions a case where a tourist who had visited the area for some time had paid for services such as time and assistance from members of the community. There was, however, disagreement at the time among some of the individuals he dealt with as to how much money they were to receive, as well as jealousy among those who felt that they did not have access to the income received.

Similar problems regarding inequity of benefits have arisen in such cases as the Makuri campsite and the proposed Leopard Tracking Tourism Enterprise, where it was felt that certain villages benefited while others also had to bear the costs of the existence of the predators.

This proposed Leopard Tracking Venture, where Ju/'hoansi were to take tourists to track leopards in the area, not for hunting but for the experience itself, had been well researched, with a viability study and cost-benefit analyses done of the costs (predation of cattle) versus the benefits (benefits from tourism) of preserving leopards for the community (Stander, *et al*, undated). However it failed to get off the ground as it only linked up with the villages near the project base, and with the village heads, and was seen by others, including the NNFC as leading to inequitable benefits (e.g. Berger, pers. comm). In addition, it has been suggested that it was not regarded as a genuine joint venture with the community; the directors were from outside the community and planned for rather than with them (*Ibid*).

There is also contention as to the distribution of profits by the NNFC from tourism activities, such as the sale of crafts. Hitchcock (1992) cites an example where people were aware that the NNFC had been given money from a Japanese film crew who had worked in the area, and that a

particular tourist had provided some funds to the co-operative. The question arose as to what was to happen to the money. Some felt that the money should remain in the communities where the tourists spent time, others feel it should be shared equally among the communities, while others believe that it should be used for investments in on-going NNFC activities. Suggestions regarding the distribution of benefits have included that of Jones (pers. comm.) and Davis (pers. comm.), that benefits could be invested in a community project such as a school.

Jealousy exists with regard to access to training and jobs (Hitchcock, 1992: 106). The gender inequities that have occurred have been covered in section 6.3.7. Furthermore, there have been rumours of mismanagement of funds by NNFC.

6.3.9 Lack of Rights and Control by the Community

The Ju/'hoansi have suffered from the same absence of clearly defined rights and authority, and of any devolution of power as have other communal people in Namibia over the natural resources including land, that they utilise, these being vested in the state, as has been discussed in chapters 4 and 5. As Jones (1996: 21) states:

'Despite much discussion and a consultancy on community-based tourism strategies, little has been achieved in giving local people control over tourism on their land. Although MET refers applications from safari operators to the EPC, some operators ignore the system and 'free ride' on communal land. The options for instituting local control are limited by the lack of land and resource rights vested in the local community'.

This has resulted in problems with control over access and behaviour by tourists, tour operators and outsiders with competing land uses such as the Hereros and their cattle from Gam. As certain practices have a negative impact on wildlife, natural resources and traditional culture and lifestyles, and thus on ecotourism, conflicting land uses jeopardise these to the extent that ecotourism is no longer an option for the area. This may also apply to other development threats that may occur, such as mining for minerals in the area.

Land tenure insecurity has resulted in problems not only for the community, but for private tour operators who may wish to enter into joint partnerships with the Ju/'hoansi and/or invest in tourism in the area.

The Ju/'hoansi of the area have applied for Conservancy Status as an attempt to address this issue and to provide legal status and a management plan, and thus a 'stick' to help the Ju/'hoansi keep out the Hereros and their livestock, as well as to provide the legal status for control over ad hoc tourism and the mechanism for the receiving and distribution of benefits by the community (Jones, pers. comm.). However, it still needs government enforcement, and the 'political will' to do so may be lacking. Publicity and international pressure as well as donor pressure that could result should there be an international outcry, may be what is necessary to bring about this 'political will' (*Ibid*).

6.4 Conclusion

Despite the proposed suitability for and potential of tourism and CBT in the area, there are several constraints that have stunted its development, many of these echoing those of other Community-Based development programmes in Namibia. These include problems with both supply and demand aspects, including those relating to the area itself, the tourism 'product', inadequate marketing, problems with community and institutional structures and capacity, inequity of benefits, government sectoral inconsistencies and lack of cohesion, and the lack of devolution of power to the communities which results in a lack of rights and control over the tourism product, essential for CBT development.

Furthermore, although there have been some positive results emerging as a result of tourism, such as some cash inputs from the sale of crafts and other tourism related activities, and the emergence of a movement to restore traditional knowledge that is becoming lost as a result of cultural erosion, the negative impacts - social, environmental and economic - have outweighed these. Tourism has generally been uncontrolled and *ad hoc* with few benefits being retained by

the community whose resources are being exploited, and who have little control over tourism and other activities, including the influx of Hereros from Gam. This has serious consequences for CBT, joint enterprises, and other CB initiatives in the area. CBT has thus not developed in the area, with the Makuri Community Campsite being the only operating community controlled tourist enterprise. The Ju/'hoansi in the area have applied for Conservancy Status in an attempt to obtain legal status and control, although whether the political capacity and will exists to enforce this remains to be seen.

The lack of commitment by decisionmakers and community alike to tourism development can result in conflicting views on and plans and programmes for alternative development in the area, and thus have negative consequences for Community-Based as well as any other form of tourism development.

Unless these aspects are addressed and mitigating measures taken, viable, successful and sustainable CBT is unlikely to develop to its potential in eastern Tsumkwe, despite expectations by and efforts of the community, government and any other groups with a vested interest in its successful outcome.

Chapter 7

Conclusion and Recommendations

Chapter 7

Conclusions and Recommendations

The aim of the dissertation was to investigate the situation regarding tourism, and particularly Community-Based Tourism, as a form of land use and development in the eastern Tsumkwe district. The objectives included an investigation of the current status of development and land usuage, as well as any proposed options for these, in the area, and to investigate whether Community-Based Tourism as a development option for the area fulfils the objectives of its proponents. These include sustainable development and the alleviation of poverty in communal areas, involvement of local individuals and communities in the process of tourism and benefit sharing, linking conservation with benefits at both local and national level, and expanding the tourism market in Namibia.

As part of the objectives of the dissertation, an analysis of existing factors in the area was undertaken that would determine whether the necessary features for tourism and CBT are present as well as any constraints and threats that may exist. Although the objectives were not to formulate specific concrete proposals for mitigating measures that could facilitate the attainment of key positive features and help to overcome the constraints and threats, significant key considerations that need to be addressed are highlighted in this section.

The investigation into the eastern Tsumkwe District revealed that the people who inhabit the area, predominantly the Ju/'hoansi but also the Herero, are no longer able to be sustained by the land as a result of factors such as the substantial reduction of land area necessary for traditional subsistence livelihoods, in the case of the Ju/'hoansi, and shortage of water and grazing and of increasing land degradation in the case of the Herero. **Diversification of economic activities was proposed**. However, It was found that development needs to be particularly sensitive and well planned in such semi arid area on marginal lands, susceptible to degradation, and that inappropriate land uses including a reliance on pastoralism can lead to degradation of natural resources and to further susceptibility to drought and loss of livelihoods. **Tourism was**

proposed as an appropriate form of development and diversification as part of a mixed economy for the area in a Land Use Report for the MLRR, as well as being promoted by various other groups such as the MET and NGOs both as part of a tourism development strategy for Namibia, particularly in the communal areas, and for the local area specifically.

Tourism, specifically ecotourism was explored in literature and case studies, and found to have both potential for benefits as well as for negative impacts on the various aspects of environment, social, economic and biophysical. It was found that for ecotourism to be sustainable, management is necessary, covering both the supply and demand aspects. **Community-Based Tourism (CBT)** was analysed as a form of supply-led, sustainable form of ecotourism, mitigating against many of its negative impacts and meeting many of its prerequisites, as well as a necessary component of Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM).

When this investigation was applied to the **case study area**, it was found that although there appeared to be potential for tourism, this may be limited to small scale tourism. Furthermore, there were a **number of significant problems and constraints on a local, regional and national level** that are impeding tourism, especially CBT, development in eastern Tsumkwe. As many of these are reflected by those facing various Community-Based (CB) programmes in other parts of Namibia, the significance of the study goes beyond the study area alone. Unless these problems are addressed, on the local, regional and national levels, it is unlikely that CBT will develop to its potential, or be sustainable.

In order for tourism to be viable, **it is not enough that the *supply* aspects, stressed in CBT, but also the *demand* side, needs to addressed**, tourism being an interaction between the tourism product, the host community, and visitors, the tourism market.

Thus steps need to be taken to **maximise the potential of the area**, to make it attractive to and suitable for tourists as well as for tourism investors including private operators interested in joint tourism ventures with the community. Thus **improving and diversifying the available tourism products** need to be part of a tourism plan, as should **marketing,** including market

research. Although marketing is necessary in order to understand the needs of the market and to reach the potential tourists, care needs to be taken that the **carrying capacity** of the physical and social environment is not exceeded, thus degrading the tourism product. This relates also to the marketing of crafts that utilise natural resources and which, if overexploited, can lead to **resource degradation**.

Improving skills and expanding the capacity of the Ju/'hoansi to provide these products is an important aspect. Private operators (POs) and joint ventures can provide the necessary enterprise skills that are lacking as well skills training to the community. NGOs can also continue to play a role in training, human resource development, and in acting as brokers between the community and POs, in response to the articulated needs of the community. The challenge is to combine modern with traditional knowledge to build local management capacity. However, **interest and commitment** by the community as well as other players involved, is a necessary factor here.

The **remoteness of the area** makes it expensive to run tours, and the **lack of facilities** generally limits individual tourists to the wilderness or research type. These factors have limited tourism development and thus carrying capacity does not yet appear to be a serious problem. Should services and infrastructure, including improved roads, be upgraded in order to make the area more accessible to tourists however, unforeseen negative results may occur, including increased access by tourists and other outsiders, leading to increased strain on natural resources and the people, as well as various changes this would bring to the people in the area. Thus an environmental, including social, impact study of the effects this may have, would need to be undertaken prior to any developments.

Furthermore, **factors that can degrade the tourism product** need to be attended to. This includes the significant **negative impact of the Hereros** from the Gam area, resulting from the process of elimination of migrating wildlife that is occuring in that area, in addition to the movement of the Herero into the Nyae Nyae area with their cattle in search of water and grazing, leading to the degradation of natural resources on which the Ju/'hoansi, wildlife, and the tourism product depend. Those who have a vested interest in tourism development and

conservation, such as private operators, donors, NGOs and sectors of government, as well as those who have an interest in the Ju/'hoansi, can act as the **allies of the people** in taking the necessary steps or putting pressure on those who can do so, in order to prevent activities that could jeopardise tourism such as the intrusion by the Herero into Nyae Nyae. The Ju/'hoansi could take advantage of these existing coincidences of interests, while at the same time understanding the differences in objectives and how these influence priorities and actions. It is hoped that once the community receives **Conservancy status** that this will provide them with the necessary legal status to prevent the influx of ousiders.

As **conflicting land use activities** both in adjoining areas such as the Gam area, as well as within the area, impact on the tourism product, tourism planning cannot be done in isolation, but as part of a **cohesive and integrated regional land use and development plan.** This would demand **sectoral co-ordination**, currently lacking in government.

At the same time that the demand aspects are attended to, measures need to be taken to meet the consideration of **the supply side**, the host community and the natural environment. Garland describes 'appropriate' tourism development in Nyae Nyae as tourism which 'emerges from and reflects the cultural and environmental needs and capacities of the Ju/'hoan people' (1994: 5). This is emphasised as a predominant theme in CBT objectives for the area.

The formulation of **management strategies** at a local level are necessary to **regulate the scale and nature, and thus the impacts of tourism**, presently generally *ad hoc* and uncontrolled, to prevent the exploitation of and negative impacts on the people and the natural environment. This includes the regulation of access by tourists, safari operators, and other outsiders who may impact on the area, and of guidelines for and enforcement of appropriate behaviours from visitors. Revisiting tourist's stereotypes and educating them about the realities of modern Ju/'hoansi lifestyles, as well as behavior that is appropriate, are among the challenges of appropriate tourism development in the area. **Sustainable social and environmental measures need to be incorporated in the planning, implementation and monitoring stages.**

Attempts at the above have been made in the past, with various recommendations being proposed (see Appendix 4), and a formal "Code of Conduct for Tour Operators and Tourists in Bushmanland" (see Appendix 5) having been drawn up in 1992 by the NNDFN in conjunction with the Environmental Planning Committee. However, **implementation and enforcement are significant problems** that need to be urgently addressed. In order for this to be possible, however, there are certain necessary conditions that do not currently exist. The most significant of these are discussed below.

In order for the community to regulate tourism or any other development in their area, they need to have **clearly defined rights and authority over natural resources including land**. The absence of this has been one of the major stumbling blocks to CBT. Government needs to be convinced that it is in its own interest to devolve authority to the local community and to work in partnership with them. The new Conservancy legislation is an attempt to resolve this issue; however it does not go far enough, and although rights will be given over natural resources, this does not extend to land. This insecurity of land tenure has been seen to result in a number of serious problems, from a CBT and any possible joint partnerships or tourism investors point of view, to any other form of CB development. Land tenure rights need to be reformed and defined to give communities the ability to control the use of natural resources and limit access to these by outsiders. Furthermore, the eastern Tsumkwe district has applied for Conservancy status, and it is imperative that this be granted without delay. It remains to be seen how effective the Conservancy legislation will be, however.

Government not only needs to provide the relevant **enabling policy and legal framework**, but also the **political will and commitment**, as well as the **capacity to implement and enforce these.** In addition to **commitment to CBT** from all sectors, **sectoral conflicts and inconsistencies** as well as **blurred roles**, both between and within the various institutions involved - at local, regional and national levels, including government ministries such as MET and MLRR - need to be addressed in order that plans and programmes are co-ordinated and institutions given credibility and strength. The responsibilities of each need to be clarified and co-ordinated in such a way that 'both maximises efficiency and ensures that community wishes are being met' (Garland: 1994: 6). (See Appendix 6 for Recommended Roles of Key Players in

the area). Institutional capacity needs to be upgraded, and NGOs can continue to play a vital role in the absence of this.

The community likewise needs a **strong institution, representative of the people**, and **capable of excercising community control, of implementing a management plan** for the regulation of tourism development and allied issues, such as the Conservancy management plan, negotiating with outside groups, as well as the receiving and distribution of derived benefits, that is supported by the community, government, and other key players. Without this, CBT in the area will remain only a concept, albeit a good one. This is currently lacking, with neither the NNFC or any other community structure being recognised as legitimate by all sectors of the community, government, outside groups and certain private operators, resulting in difficulties with negotiations and the implementation of plans, as they lack the support to do so. Tourism as a form of development in the area needs to focus on **strengthening and legitimising leadership and decision-making structures**, as well as **building their capacity**, to enable their participation in all aspects of planning and implementation. This is currently occurring from certain sectors of government as well as NGOs. Furthermore, in order to devolve authority and control, and thus empowerment, to community institutions, outside organisations need to act in roles that are supportive rather than as 'protectors' or 'mentors'. However, close watch needs to be made to assess political dynamics within the community and to what extent such institutions are really legitimised within the community (Jones, 1996).

Communities need to be **committed to and thus convinced of the benefits** of tourism development. This means benefits should be seen to be linked to tourism and should outweigh the costs, including the opportunity costs of other development options, that are involved. **Mechanisms thus need to be developed** to ensure that benefits derived from tourism remain in the community, and are distributed equitably, rather than being skewed in favour of some groups or individuals, and thus leading to altered social stratification and conflict. Lessons learned from successful CBT programmes in Namibia and other countries can be applied. Suitable community institutions as well as community rights are necessary in order for these conditions to be met, however.

In addition, **ongoing monitoring** is a necessary aspect of management. This would include the social and environmental impacts of tourism, a continued assessment of the dynamics within the community particularly concerning representative decisionmaking and management institutions, and the economic viability of CBT development in the area. Modern as well as traditional knowledge and methods should be combined and utilised, and local people involved with the monitoring process, which should include existing programmes such as the Community Ranger programme.

To conclude it can be seen that the approach to CBT development in the area needs to focus both on the **supply and the demand aspects**, balancing the needs of the environment, the host community and the tourism market for sustainability and viability. In addition, a ***process-oriented***, focusing on *how*, rather than a ***product-oriented approach***, focusing on *what* is achieved (Jones, 1996), although time consuming, remains necessary at this stage.

Furthermore, it appears as though tourism and CBT, while having the potential to provide many benefits both direct and indirect, to both the local people and to Namibia, do not appear to provide the panacea for all the development problems for the area, and thus expectations from community and other sectors, including government, should be realistic. There are many significant constraints that need to be removed for the necessary conditions to occur for successful and sustainable CBT. It also appears that tourism should remain small scale and form part, albeit a significant one, of a mixed economy in the area, while taking care that other economic activities do not foreclose the tourism option. Tourism in the area needs to be viewed not in isolation, but holistically, and as part of a co-ordinated and integrated land use and development plan for the region.

References

1. List of Interviews

1.1 Personal Interviews

1.2 Additional Interviews

2. Literature

2.1 Literature Cited

2.2 Background Literature

References

1. List of Interviews

1.1 Personal Interviews

The following personal interviews were undertaken with regard to tourism and community based programmes, with reference to the case study area of eastern Tsumkwe district (Nyae Nyae), as well as to other areas..

Name, Title/Organisation, Date of Interview

Barnes, J., DEA, Windhoek, 30/1/1997

Berger, Dyanni, LIFE, Windhoek, 27/5/1997

Berriman, N, DEA, Tsumkwe, 2/1997

Davis, A., Outreach Project Manager, Int. Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC), 9/2/1997

Diatz, D, National Parks Board, South Africa, 1996

Fuller, B, SSD, University of Namibia, 28/1/1997

Jones, B., DEA, Windhoek, 30/1/1997, 21/2/1997

Khan, F., Environmental Advisory Unit, UCT., 1996/7

Kakujaha, Z., Agricultural Extension Officer, Tsumkwe/Gam, 16/2/1997

Louis, M., Namibian Community-Based Tourism Association (NACOBTA), 21/2/1997, 23/5/1997

Marie, Teacher trainer, Nyae Nyae Development Foundation, Baraka, 2/1997

Mijlof, I, Health Educator, Health Unlimited, Tsumkwe, 19/2/1997

Oosthuisen, Arno, and Estelle, Tsumkwe Lodge, Tsumkwe, 19/2/1997

Robertson, Ian, Footprints Safaris, Windhoek, 2/6/1997

Simpson, Save the Rhino Trust, Khorixas, 2/2/1997

Dr. Stander, F., Etosha Ecological Unit, DEA, Etosha/Predator Research Project, 15/2/1997

Tarr, P., DEA, Windhoek, Various, over the period 11/1996-2/1997

Viall, W., Nyae-Nyae Development Foundation, Windhoek, 29/1/1997

1.2 Additional Interviews

The following interviews were undertaken by the UCT sudy team (UCT, 1997) as part of the original UCT study, and pertained mainly to the situation in the Herero Resettlement Programme, Gam. However, as developments here have significant impacts on the Nyae Nyae area, these are relevant to the study.

Name, Title/Organisation, Date of Interview

Binding, H., Programme Budget Analysis, USAID, Windhoek, 22/11/1996, 31/1/1997

/Goagoseb, U, Programme officer, Environment, USAID, Windhoek, 31/1/1997

Hartley, M., Groundwater Consulting Services, 12/3/1997

Hensien, K., Early Warning Unit of Department of Agriculture, Windhoek, 21/11/1996

Hines, C., Environmental consultant, Environmental information Services, Windhoek, telephonic, 20/11/1996

Hogberg, P, First secretary, Swedish Embassy, Windhoek, 20/2/1997

Kahaku, L., Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, Gam, 17-19/2/1997

Kakujaha, Z., Agricultural Extension Officer, Gam, 16/2/1997

Kroll, T., SARDEP Programme, Windhoek, 29/1/1997

Kruger, B., National Co-ordinator SARDEP Programme, Windhoek, 29/1/1997

Maharero, S, Treasurer, Herero Repatriation Committee, Gam, 17/2/1997

Mugendje,J. and other members of the committee, Chairman of Waterpoint Committee, Gam, 17/2/1997

Nugoma, T., MLRR, 29/1/1997

Peters, G., Director of Planning and Operations, EMU, Windhoek, 21/11/1996

Dr Seely, M., Director, DRFN, Windhoek, 19/11/1996, 11/2/1997

Shanyengana, M., Director Resettlement and Rehabilitation, MLRR, Windhoek, 29/1/1997

Dr Simmonds, A., Managing Director, Interconsult Namibia (Pty) Ltd, Windhoek, 21/11/1997, 11/2/1997

Shumba, M., MLRR, Windhoek, 20/2/1997

Simpson, Save the Rhino Trust, Khorixas, 2/2/1997

Tijpueja, H., Director of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, MLRR, Windhoek, 29/1/1997

Tjipueja, S., Head of Infrastructure, NPC, Windhoek, 28/1/1997

Waldron, P., Groundwater Consulting Services (Pty) Ltd., 28/1/1997

- Furthermore, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) exercises took place in three communities in Gam.

- In addition, informal interviews took place with people from various communities visited around Gam and with members of the //Auru Ju/'Hoansi village.

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List of Appendixes

Appendix 1

UNDERSTANDING THE CRIPPLED HAND METAPHOR (Source: Powell, 1995: 32)

The Crippled Hand:

Our hand, that is to say, our humanity has a large wound. The wound is a real problem for us. For when we try and shake hands with a stranger we experience so much pain. The stranger tries to look us in the eye but we turn our heads away - we don't want him to see the tears in our eyes. He can't understand us. When we try and join hands and work together we can't because all of our hands hurt so much. When a stranger comes into our place we put up our hand so he will stop, but he doesn't, because he sees the wound and knows he will win the fight. We try and scare the strangers animals away, but they smell the blood on our hand and laugh at us. When we go out into our N!ore and dig for food, the wound on our hand stops us digging so we go hungry.

The metaphor appeared to encapsulate the community's major needs and problems; and it was subsequently used as a tool in the remaining five settlements. By constructing and deconstructing the metaphor, local participants had a mechanism which assisted them in expressing real needs and problems.

Examples of Comments Facilitated by the "Crippled Hand Metaphor"

** Hereros[5] say to us, "stop saying this your N!ore, this is government land!*
** Tourists should inform the N!ore owner if they are going to drive around in our area!*
** Many ostriches were killed at the Nyae Nyae Pan, we saw the vehicles tracks!*
Tourists must be sensitive to villagers
** If Nature Conservation had given us rights over the game earlier, then we wouldn't of had the problem of lack of game*
** Hereros are just coming into our N!ore and helping themselves*
#
** I want other villages and the NNFC to hear my ideas*
** Nature conservation water points have been responsible for elephants and lions*
** The radio collar on the lion makes it a bigger problem than before*
#
** Elephants put holes in our pans so they dry out more quickly*
** Fires come from villages east of us and destroy our berry bush food areas*
** Elephants rip down our Mangetti trees*

[5] Hereros are recently repatriated group of people from Botswana who live immediately south.

Appendix 2

History of the Bushmen in Southern Africa

(Taken from Biesele, 1993)

There is evidence that Bushmen hunter-gatherers have lived south of the Congo-Zambezi line for at least 11 000 years (Clark, 1970, cited in Biesele, 1993). The Ju/'hoansi are the largest language group and inhabit northern Botswana, north-eastern Namibia, and south-western Angola. Brooks and Yellen found excavations near Dobe, Botswana on the Namibian border that demonstrate their continuous habitation of the area for at least ' several thousand years and possibly for as many as forty thousand' (Biesele, 1993: xix).

From an estimated one hundred and fifty to three hundred thousand Bushman inhabiting Southern Africa south of the Zambezi at the time of the arrival of the Dutch colonists at the Cape of Good Hope, two hundred years later they were reduced almost to extinction (Lee, 1976, in Biesele 1993) by the settlers. Contact in the eastern parts with pastoral Bantu groups also led to conflict which generally resulted in assimilation and exploitation by the Bantu. Ju/'hoansi and other Bushmen now form a small minority, inhabiting the most arid areas of the country (*Ibid.*). This is one of the causes of *The Crippled Hand.*

Appendix 3

THE CURRENT AND POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL INCOME OF WILDLIFE UTILISATION IN FOUR STUDY AREAS IN COMMUNAL LAND WITH ASSOCIATED PROTECTED AREAS (Source: Ashley & Barnes 1995: 9)

	Caprivi Region		Former Bushmanland[2]		Opuwo District		Former Damaraland[3]		TOTAL	
Extent (sq km)	18,800		17,877		61,585		58,105		156,367	
a) Current contribution:	N$	%	N$	%	N$	%	N$	%	N$	%
non-consumptive tourism[4]	2,181	*53*	77	*62*	1,467	*99*	1,466	*76*	5,191	*67*
consumptive tourism (hunting, angling)	1,969	*47*	0	*0*	0		439	*23*	2,408	*31*
small-scale hunting	9	*0.2*	48	*38*	15	*1*	24	*12*	119	*2*
Sub-total	4,159		125		1,482		1,929		7,695	
LESS wildlife damage	110		14		14		30		168	
TOTAL	**4,049**		**112**		**1,468**		**1,899**		7528	
Total per sq km (NS)	215		6		24		33		48	
b) Potential contribution:										
non-consumptive tourism	4,851	*69*	609	*58*	3,622	*10*	4,192	*86*	13,274	*80*
consumptive tourism	2,180	*31*	388	*37*	0	*0*	671	*14*	3,239	*20*
small-scale hunting	2	-	60	*6*	9	-	6	-	77	-
Sub-total	7,033		1,057		3,631		4,869		16,590	
LESS wildlife damage	55		17		14		30		116	
TOTAL	6,978		1,040		3,617		4,839		16,474	
Total per sq km (NS)	371		58		58		83		105	
c) Percentage increase current to potential	%		%		%		%		%	
non-consumptive tourism	122		690		147		186		156	
consumptive tourism	11		inf.		0		53		35	
small-scale hunting	-77		25		-66		-75		-35	
TOTAL net of wildlife damage[5]	72		828		146		155		119	

1 Adapted from Barnes (1995)

2 "Former Bushmanland" refers to Tsumkwe District, eastern Otjozondjupa region, north of latitude 22.

3 "Former Damaraland" refers to the whole of Khorixas District in Kunene region, the western communal land in Erongo region and the West Coast Tourist Recreation Area.

4 Craft production and marketing are included in non-consumptive tourism although some items are sold to hunters and local residents.

5 Damage caused by wildlife to communities, e.g. elephant damage to crops, predation of livestock.

Appendix 4

Recommendations for Tourism Management at the Local Level

(Note: Most of the following have been taken from Hitchcock, 1992)

- That careful consultation needs to be done ahead of time and a standardised approach taken, so that an agreed on fee is charged and it is clear as to who receives what and how much . A set of standard payments needs to be worked out with the NNFC that is agreed on by the community.
- The players in the area play their appropriate roles and co-ordinate and clarify these.
- The NNFC, MET and the Environmental Planning Committee, i.e. all the actors involved, need to be consulted prior to the initiation of any tourist activities in the area.
- The numbers of tourists in the area should be controlled and monitored.
- Tourists should adhere to certain behavioural standards. For example,
- tourists should be required to camp in designated areas.
- tour operators should obtain their firewood at least 5 kms from existing villages and from tourist concessions.
- large campfires should be avoided so as not to waste fuel and frighten game.
- tourists should not be allowed to drive off existing tracks, nor to bathe in Nyae Nyae community reseviours.
- tourists should treat people with respect and the dignity which they deserve.
- Other recommendations include: 1. the need for tourists to greet people in the communities prior to making camp; 2. tourists should not enter villages and take photographs of people before asking permission;3. people should not be asked to remove their clothing for photographs

- villages where tourism activities occur should receive the benefits, and a levy should be payable by tourism companies and individual tourists per person for visits to the area
- tourists should pay a set fees for specific activities and services. Only local people should be used as guides. Alcohol should not be given in exchange for goods or services
- tourists should not be allowed to camp directly on or adjacent to pans, so that sensitive habitats and game will not be affected. Litter should be carried out
- local communities should be able to determine whether tourists have complied with the guidelines and should go to the NNFC to report violations
- the NNDFN should establish a tourist programme including: identifying sites of cultural, natural, and historical significance that could be part of a tourist route; working with local communities on local tourism related issues; training tour guides; design and preparation of brochures and other materials.

Appendix 5

PROPOSED CODE OF CONDUCT FOR TOUR OPERATORS AND TOURISTS IN BUSHMANLAND (Source: Garland 1994: Appendix 2)

This Code of Conduct is being proposed by the Nyae Nyae Farmers' Co-operative (NNFC), which is the recognized local authority of eastern Bushmanland.

1) PERMISSION
The NNFC and the Environmental Planning Committee of Bushmanland (EPC) should be consulted prior to the initiation of any tourism activities in Bushmanland. There is a Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism office in Tsumkwe, and an NNFC office at Baraka.

2) RESPECT FOR RESIDENTS
Tourists are visiting a unique area. The people of the area are an integral part of the experience of visiting Bushmanland, and have a strong, complex culture which is of interest to most tourists. Introductory material on Bushman culture (written largely by the Ju/'hoansi Bushmen themselves) will be provided upon entering Bushmanland. Tourists visiting Bushmanland are requested to treat the people of Bushmanland with respect and dignity. In the tradition of the Bushman peoples, this includes:

i) Greeting the people in the villages prior to making camp
ii) Requesting permission before attempting to take photographs - the people do not wish to remove their clothing for photographs!
iii) Requesting permission before entering villages

3) REMUNERATION FOR SERVICES
Tourists should pay a designated amount of money for activities in which they take part (eg. for camping close to a village, for accompanying Bushmen on gathering or hunting trips, etc.)

i) Only local people should be used as guides
ii) The NNFC has established a price list for all activities.

4) BUYING CRAFTS
The NNFC has agreed to a well-researched price list for all craft items made in the area.

i) No form of alcoholic beverage should be exchanged for goods or services. Cash is the desired currency.

5) FIRE
Large campfires should be avoided so as not to frighten wildlife, or to set the veld alight.

i) Whirlwinds often ignite the veld from leftover coals. Tourists are requested to extinguish all fires and bury the coals well below the surface!

6) CAMPING
Once established, tourists should camp only in designated tourist areas.

i) Firewood (only dry wood) should be obtained at least 5 kms. outside of these areas, and in the meantime, at least the same distance from villages.

ii) All litter should be carried out of the area (eg. to the Tsumkwe dump) - not buried!
iii) Tourists should not camp directly on or adjacent to pans, as this frightens wildlife dependent on the pan systems.
iv) Tourists should not swim or bathe at any water points, especially village water reservoirs!
v) Tourists should not stay overnight in villages.

7) TRAVELLING
Tourists must not drive off existing tracks.
i) This scares wildlife and spoils bush food which the people travel for many kilometers to find.
ii) Tourists who get stuck in remote areas may not be found for weeks!

8) FUTURE GUIDELINES
a) Alternative Tourism (international definition to be submitted to the Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism), is preferred to other types of tourism.
b) The numbers of tourists visiting Bushmanland should be based on ecological carrying capacity, and controlled.
c) A levy should be paid per tourist to the NNFC for visits to Bushmanland (modelled on the system successfully implemented in Purros, Kaokoland).
d) Villages visited regularly by tourists should receive a fair share of this levy (to be distributed by the NNFC).
e) A tourist guide training programme is currently operating in Baraka. Traditional Bushmen skills chosen by the people will be the basis for offering an exclusive and exceptional experience to tourists visiting the area. Once trained, these tourist guides will be an integral part of all guided tours in Bushmanland.
f) Local communities under the auspices of the NNFC should have discretion as to whether tourists and tour operators have complied with the above guidelines. All violations will be reported to the police.

Appendix 6

Recommended Roles of Key players in the Nyae Nyae Area

(Note: most of the following information has been taken from Garland, 1994)

The roles of these players have often blurred together concerning tourism development, according to Garland (1994), who goes on to propose that the responsibilities of each be clarified and co-ordinated in such a way that 'both maximises efficiency and ensures that community wishes are being met' (*Ibid*: 6).

Garland suggests that the tasks be allocated as follows:

Key Players	**Appropriate Tasks**
The Ju/'hoansi	• Improving and diversifying the Bushmanland tourism product • Improving tourism -related human resources • Controlling the scale and impact of tourism
The Tourism Private Sector	• Improving and diversifying tourism in Bushmanland • Improving tourism-related human resources • Controlling the scale and impact of tourism
The MET	• Controlling the scale and impact of tourism
The NNDFN and the Donor Community	• Improving tourism-related human resources • Controlling the scale and impact of tourism

The fifth group could be:

LIFE, IRNDC, NACOBTA	• Improving tourism-related human resources, including CNRM.

Garland proposes that it is not appropriate for the MET, the NNDFN, or the donors to plan, control, or implement the development of tourism ventures in the area. Rather, the Ju/'hoan community, together with the tourism private sector need to identify and develop **tourism products** that they would like to, and are capable of, providing to tourists (i.e. supply driven). In this way tourism development will be appropriate to the needs and wishes of the people it most affects, and autonomy and capacity-building facilitated. However, as pointed out by Jones (pers. comm.), at present the community may lack the capacity to negotiate on equal terms with private operators, and thus may need the assistance of organisations such as LIFE to do so, until capacity is developed.

This **capacity building**, the building of tourism-related human resources, including business and language skills among the Ju/'hoansi can be developed through players such as the NGOs and the private sector, in response to the training needs as defined by the Ju/'hoansi themselves. The community rangers, as part of the CBNRM programme, can play a key role in working with Ju/'hoansi people in order to identify their training needs, and to communicate these to the NNFC, who should in turn communicate these to the various relevant players. NACOBTA is in the process of working with the NNFC to provide guide training. *Footprints* has in the past provided advice to the villagers from Makuri who run the Makuri Community Camp.

The MET should play an **enabling role**, including ensuring the policies and legal rights necessary for the development and implementation of tourism as well as its benefits by the community. This also relates to **controlling the expansion and impacts** of tourism, as well as **other activities which may negatively impact on tourism** in the area. The MET needs to ensure that the community has the legal rights to enforce restrictions.

Garland proposes that the task of **designing a system** for limiting tourist numbers and controlling the impacts of tourism falls to the Ju/'hoan. However, distributing information about this system and enforcing regulations established would need to be shared by the Ju/'hoansi (this includes the NNFC), the MET, the NNDFN, and the private sector.