The Contribution of Ecotourism in Local Development: The Case of the Torra Conservancy

Interactive Qualifying Project

Interactive Qualifying Project Report completed in partial fulfillment of the Bachelor of Science degree at Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, MA

Sponsoring Agency: The Polytechnic of Namibia

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Date: May 8, 2009

Ecotourism
Conservancy
Indigenous culture

Abstract

This report, supported by Mr. Erling Kavita from the Polytechnic of Namibia's school of Natural Resources and Tourism in conjunction with Worcester Polytechnic Institute, investigates Wilderness Safaris' Damaraland Camp and its effects on the local cultures, society, and economy of the individuals living on the Torra Conservancy. Through analysis of observations, surveys, and interviews conducted with Torra Conservancy members, Wilderness Safaris employees and individuals from other related organizations in Namibia, suggestions for improvement and conclusions were developed.

Acknowledgements

We would like to recognize the many people who have helped us to complete our research and project. Firstly, for all the time and effort spent on everything from ID2050 to the PQP meetings and draft readings, we would like to recognize our advisors Professor Peet and Professor Ault of Worcester Polytechnic Institute. We would also like to recognize our advisor and liaison from the Polytechnic of Namibia, Mr. Erling Kavita for his constant encouragement and guiding hand. Next, we would like to thank the students from the Polytechnic for their invaluable input to the project and the significant amount of time they spent translating in Damaraland: Joyce Newman, Ebson Ngondo, and Onesmus Sagaria. We are very grateful and indebted to the people of the Torra Conservancy, particularly those in Bergsig and the surrounding farms, for their time, patience, and welcoming attitude towards us and our long list of questions. We would also like to extend special thanks to Wilderness Safaris for their willingness to participate in our interviews, chiefly Basilia Shivute and Bruce Salt. We also appreciate the time the employees of the Damaraland Camp branch of WS took from their busy schedules to talk to us. From the IRDNC, we would like to recognize the founder and the rest of his staff for always providing a wonderful place to stay and valuable information regarding the project. Additionally, Mary Seely was an important source of information from the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia, who was also able to direct us to more helpful resources. Furthermore, we would like to recognize the assistance we received from Christine Drew who helped us get the ball rolling with our extensive literary review. Finally, we would like to thank Norton for being a fantastic friend and driver, and for bringing us all over Namibia.

Authorship

As a group, we feel that we have all contributed equally. All group members shared the project work, by either writing or reviewing and editing.

Initials without brackets indicate the primary author. Initials in brackets indicate the primary editor.

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AGM – Annual General Meeting
CAMPFIRE - Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources
CBNRM - Community Based Natural Resource Management
CGG - Community Game Guard
D Camp – Damaraland Camp
DC - Damaraland Camp
DL - Damaraland
DRFN - The Desert Research Foundation of Namibia
FIRM – Forum for Integrated Resource Management
ICEMA - Integrated Community-Based Ecosystem Management
IDCE - International Development, Community and Environment
IQP - Interactive Qualifying Project
IRDNC – Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation
IYE - International Year of Ecotourism
LAC – Limits of Acceptable Change
MET - Ministry of Environment and Tourism
MLRR - Ministry of Lands, Resettlement, and Rehabilitation
NACOBTA – Namibia Community Based Tourism Association
NACSO - Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organizations
NGO - Non-Government Organization
PON - Polytechnic of Namibia
SWAPO - South African People's Organization
TC - Torra Conservancy
UNDP - United Nations Development Program
WES - World Ecotourism Summit
WPI - Worcester Polytechnic Institute
WS - Wilderness Safaris
WWF - World Wildlife Fund

Executive Summary

The popular advent of international tourism was initially celebrated as a method for improving both the economies of less-developed countries, and the livelihoods of indigenous peoples. By the 1990s, however, it was evident that improperly managed tourism does not necessarily benefit local communities, and has the potential to harm indigenous cultures and ecosystems (Honey, 2008). The implementation of non-consumptive ecotourism ventures, including conservancies and joint ventures, has been viewed as a potential solution to the issue (Higham, 2007).

In general, ecotourism ventures should improve the livelihoods of indigenous peoples while maintaining their cultural integrity and that of the environment. In community-based ventures, local populations have substantial control and participation in the venture's operation (Denman, 2001). This type of ecotourism arrangement is often established as a joint venture, where an outside company and a local community form a contractual agreement in order to manage a tourism attraction. One such example, and the focus of this project, is the Damaraland Camp in the Kunene region of Namibia.

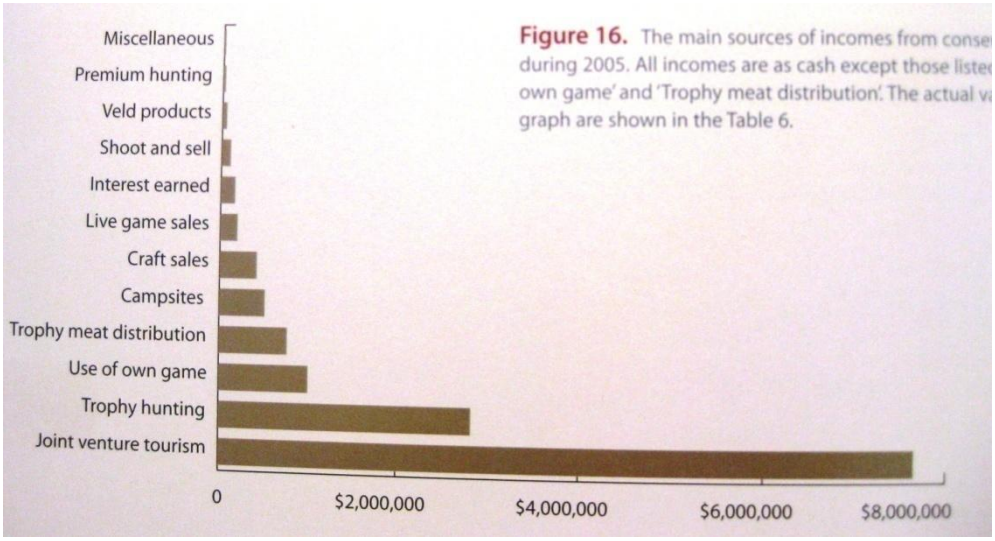

Figure 1: Sources of Income for Conservancies (NACSO,2006)

In 1996, a joint-venture between the indigenous people of the Torra Conservancy (TC) and Wilderness Safaris (WS) built the Damaraland Camp on Conservancy land. By contract, WS guarantees to give a certain percentage of its revenue to the local people of the TC and to employ

and provide vocational training for local community members (Ashley, 2000). In addition, the goals of WS include improving the livelihoods of the local people while minimally impacting the environment (Hellocomputer, 2008). Despite the Camp's commercial success, little is known about its economic and socio-cultural effects on the local population.

Goals and Objectives

Our project worked to determine the previously unknown economic and socio-cultural impacts of the Damaraland Camp on the members of the Torra Conservancy. First, we established if the people were benefitting financially from the joint venture. Next, we examined the degree of training offered by WS, to whom it is offered, and its overall quality. In addition, we determined how individuals from the Conservancy felt about the training and how the training may have influenced both their self-perception and community perceptions. Our project also identified the Conservancy members' opinions about the Camp itself, specifically whether it impedes or enhances their development. Finally, one of our project's major objectives was to identify cultural changes engendered by the joint venture. We determined if the introduction or presence of the Camp had altered any traditional practices—language, stories, dress, social conduct, social structure, day-to-day behavior— of those living on the Conservancy, and how they perceive these changes.

Methodology

Due to the lack of published information about the culture of the population on the Torra Conservancy, our research was based primarily on first-hand information. We conducted a series of listening groups and individual interviews in Damaraland in collaboration with three students and a lecturer from the Polytechnic of Namibia (PON). We formed listening groups along age and gender lines in order to perceive any dichotomies between different community subgroups that would not be obvious if groups were mixed. We posed the same set of questions to each group, including how they feel about the Camp, how their livelihoods have changed, and if they have noticed any changes in their cultural traditions.

In addition, we also administered a survey in which we posed statements from a questionnaire to seventy-five Conservancy members. We recorded their level of agreement with each statement according to a numerical scale. We also made use of observations to gather information. The focus of these observations was on aspects of the Conservancy members such as employment, clothing, state of cleanliness, and living conditions. Finally, we interviewed several individuals who work for other organizations in Namibia, such as the Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation.

Results and Analysis

The primary benefit from the Camp is that it employs many Conservancy members. Another positive economic impact is that WS pays the TC 10% of its revenue each year, and this money is distributed to members of the Conservancy. One of the economic challenges we found, however, was that economic benefits are not evenly distributed throughout the Conservancy. For example, individuals who already work for the Damaraland Camp only recommend hiring their relatives for available positions. As a result, it is difficult for other families to benefit directly from the Camp. Another problem is that the Conservancy does not have strict enough requirements for membership. As a result, individuals from outside the area are able to become members of the Conservancy and receive benefits without contributing to the Conservancy or helping the community to profit from tourism. Another area where we identified several economic problems was the governing Executive Committee. Every five years, a new committee is elected and some of the initiatives from the previous committee are abandoned in favor of new ones, inhibiting the Committee's ability to accomplish long-term goals. Though it is not as much of a problem as an area for improvement, we also learned that Conservancy members have not been provided with enough entrepreneurial training to fully take advantage of having so many tourists in the area. This is an area where there is untapped potential to benefit the Conservancy.

In terms of socio-cultural impacts engendered by the Damaraland Camp, the Conservancy has seen a revitalization of many of the local cultures. With activities like weekly traditional dances, people in the Conservancy told us that they feel their culture is being brought back because of the presence of tourism (Q43, see Figure 2) and the money provided to the Conservancy. The advent of tourism has helped to remind the Conservancy members of the importance of maintaining their cultural identities.

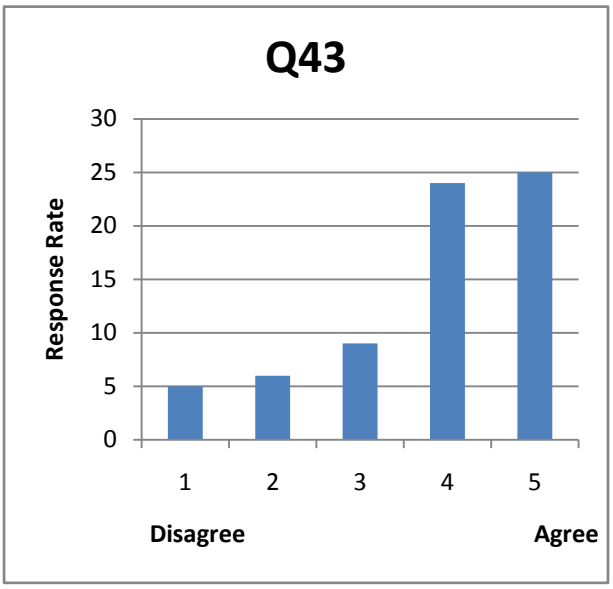

Figure 2: Response to "Local culture is being renewed as a result of tourism"

Through our survey, we identified several of the Conservancy member's positive feelings towards the joint venture. The community feels that most tourists are respectful to the Conservancy members and not only do its members not mind the presence of tourists, but they want to see an increase in the number of tourists coming to the Torra Conservancy (See Figure 3) .

They are satisfied with the way that the joint venture operates, emphasizing that that they prefer photo tourism to hunting tourism.

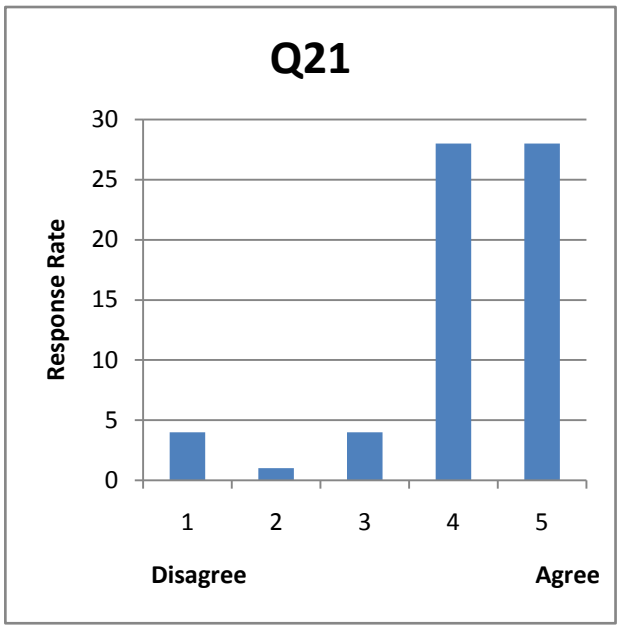

Figure 3: Response to "The number of tourists on community tours should increase significantly"

Conclusions and Observations

After analyzing our results, we came to some conclusions about how the Conservancy and WS could better help each other in the future. We feel that the Conservancy should strive to offer more employment opportunities and offer entrepreneurial training. In addition, we feel that WS should change their hiring procedures and expand the Damaraland Camp. It would also be culturally and economically beneficial for the Conservancy members if a cultural center was built on the Conservancy. The Conservancy should also consider changing the Executive Committee elective process and ensure that the committee keeps the Conservancy members informed about how the profit gained from WS will be spent, and potentially give individuals the choice to change the committee's decisions.

We hope that our conclusions will be considered by the Torra Conservancy and Wilderness Safaris in order to benefit the people of Damaraland. We feel that any of our suggestions will help the Conservancy in some way and will be an excellent source of information for others studying the potential impacts of ecotourism ventures on indigenous cultures.

Chapter 1: Introduction

International travel was first thought to have the capacity to increase national wealth and the wealth of indigenous cultures, but in time it was observed that tourism has the potential to be more harmful than productive (Honey, 2008). The influx of many new people into an area results in busier roads, a greater demand for services, and an increase in pollution that harms natural ecosystems. In addition, some local communities see little benefit from tourism. Ecotourism is an attempt to maintain the benefits of regular tourism without the negative socio-cultural and environmental effects (Higham, 2007). If improperly managed, however, ecotourism can still have a dramatic impact on the lifestyle of the local people. As stated, ecotourism should concern itself with limiting environmental and socio-cultural impacts. If it harms the environment, changes the traditions of native populations, and fails to improve the local communities' livelihoods, its entire foundation is undermined.

Figure 4: The location of Damaraland in Namibia (Oasis Africa, 2008).

In 1996, upon the request of the local people, the company Wilderness Safaris established a safari camp in northwestern Namibia. It is situated in Damaraland, on the Torra Conservancy (TC), which lies in the Kunene region of Namibia (see Figures 4 and 5). The local people are generally farmers and herders and do not earn substantial income (Ashley, 2000). The residents' poor economic standing combined with a desire to conserve their land prompted them to establish a Joint Venture with the Wilderness Safaris Company, as well as register to become a conservancy. The company states its goals as follows: to create a high-income, low-impact camp that will benefit the local people by training them in all aspects of tourism and providing them with employment. Further, the

organization wants to uplift and empower the area financially and socially (Hellocomputer, 2008). Little is known about the Camp's success at achieving its objectives, its actual impact on the Conservancy members, or how this joint venture compares to other ecotourism ventures in Namibia.

The Damaraland Camp is one of Africa's many ecotourism joint ventures. Several case studies discuss the Camp's general operation, but focus on environmental concepts and lack any information about specific cultural or economic changes. Ecotourism ventures strive to empower local communities without negatively affecting their culture and the environment in which they live, but the success of these goals cannot be guaranteed. Studies of other ecotourism ventures worldwide, such as the CAMPFIRE Program in Zimbabwe, show that, if well managed, a venture can maximize its economic benefits while minimizing its negative cultural effects. The CAMPFIRE Program was so successful that it serves as a benchmark for other conservancies and joint ventures in Africa. Namibia's ecotourism ventures are plentiful, and must be examined to see if they are as successful as examples like CAMPFIRE and live up to their expectations.

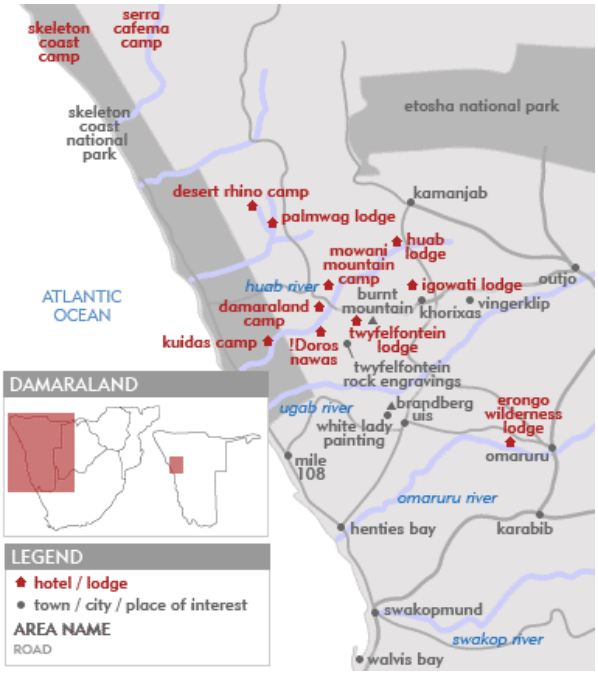

Figure 5: The location of the Damaraland Camp and other safari camps in Namibia (Rhino Africa, 2007).

The dynamic partnership between the Conservancy and Wilderness Safaris, for example, is highly complex—specifically, the way in which it has affected the Conservancy members. The problem with assessing the economic and socio-cultural impacts of the Damaraland Camp and comparing them to the impacts of other Namibian ecotourism ventures stemmed from the lack of information. While Wilderness Safaris openly discusses the basic information concerning its agreement with the Conservancy, there was little information regarding the financial relationship, the economy and culture of the local people, and the Camp's indirect effects on the local population.

The aim of this project was to determine the impacts of the Wilderness Safari's Camp on the culture and livelihoods of Damaraland's indigenous people, and to compare the results to other ecotourism ventures in Namibia. Through personal interviews, listening groups, a survey, and direct observations we gathered information concerning the opinions of the Conservancy's members, their livelihoods, and the internal operations of the Wilderness Safaris Company. We also used personal interviews with individuals from various organizations, like the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia, to gather information pertaining to other ventures. We determined several positive and negative impacts that the Damaraland Camp's ecotourism operations have had on the Torra Conservancy. After completing our research, we have devised several recommendations for both the people of the Conservancy and the company Wilderness Safaris that should help to improve the joint venture.

Chapter 2: Background

Fully understanding Namibian ecotourism ventures and the Damaraland Camp's impacts on the Conservancy requires a thorough grasp of numerous interconnected issues. Knowledge of ecotourism is necessary to determine how the Camp fits into ecotourism models. Learning about the cultural and economic impacts of other ecotourism ventures from other areas of the world also provides direction and highlights potential issues and points of interest. In addition, learning the theory behind conservancy and joint venture operations, as well as the theory of the Community Based Natural Resource Management in Namibia, is essential in assessing the situation in Namibia and Damaraland. Finally, it is vital to understand as much as possible about the Wilderness Safaris' Damaraland Camp.

2.1 Ecotourism

As international travel became economically feasible for citizens of developed nations, tourism to less-developed nations increased dramatically. This increase in tourism received much attention and criticism worldwide. According to Honey (2008), this influx of money-laden tourists to poor regions was initially embraced as a chance to increase gross national product and improve the standard of living of indigenous peoples. Over time, however, the negative impacts of tourism became blatantly evident. Money from tourists rarely benefits the local populations, and in most cases, local people only hold low-level industry related jobs with no room for advancement. Tourist companies are the only ones profiting from the situation. In addition, unchecked tourism can potentially pollute and harm native habitats and ecosystems. Honey also believes that the introduction of many foreign visitors encourages industrialization and commercialization of underdeveloped nations. This can lead to the destruction of previously virgin landscapes and can amplify the harm done to the native flora, fauna, and culture of the people. As Honey (2008), Higham (2007), and Kruger (2003) all mention, since the 1990s ecotourism, a branch of tourism that strives to protect native environments and improve the economies of indigenous cultures, has been

widely hailed as a solution to the negative effects of tourism. Ecotourism, however, is an exceedingly complicated topic and its real-world effectiveness is constantly contested.

In *Critical Issues in Ecotourism*, Higham (2007) prefaces the collection by introducing a fundamental problem with ecotourism – it has no operational definition. Though there exist many proposed definitions and qualifications for ecotourism, Higham states, "the contradictions and constraints that are embodied in many definitions of ecotourism confirm its general inoperability" (p. 7). It has been so difficult to construct a universally accepted definition of ecotourism, that both Higham and Bjork (2007) believe it to be futile. Despite these opinions, the 2002 World Ecotourism Summit declared ecotourism too important for the development of responsible tourism to be underestimated, and thus neither the development of ecotourism ventures nor their study has been stunted (Higham, 2007). Because of the subject's ambiguity, most ecotourism researchers and authors begin their works by establishing a definition of ecotourism upon which they build their discussion. Though these definitions differ, the majority have several key concepts in common.

The International Ecotourism Society created what Honey (2008) refers to as "the most popular and succinct, yet encompassing, definition of ecotourism" (p. 6); it states that ecotourism is "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people" (p. 6). This particular definition is relatively short, yet it highlights the main points of other more complicated explanations. Overall, several shared aspects link the various definitions. According to a variety of explanations presented by Higham (2007), ecotourism must be non-consumptive; it must not abuse natural resources, and it must have a minimal impact on the environment. Economically, it must provide financial gain for continued conservation and "financial benefits and empowerment for local people" (p. 28). Bjork (2007) mentions that the Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism further expanded the role of local communities in its definition. The 2002 declaration stated that not only must ecotourism improve the well-being of indigenous cultures, but it must also include the local communities in its planning and operation (p. 28). In addition to these qualifications, most ecotourism definitions indicate the importance of tourist mentality. Ecotourism

must foster a sense of respect for the native cultures and the environment, as well as encouraging conservationist attitudes.

In general, the definitions indirectly seek to differentiate ecotourism from other types of tourism, like nature tourism and adventure tourism (Honey, 2008). Most definitions, like that provided by Higham (2007), assume that the ecotourist derives his or her satisfaction from the study of native cultures and environments and learning about conservation and responsible living. The conservation aspect sets ecotourism apart from nature tourism, and the lack of thrill-seeking distinguishes it from adventure tourism.

On the other hand, Higham (2007) believes that ecotourism can really be thought of as a subdivision of sustainable tourism. Kruger (2003) states: "the rise of interest in ecotourism can be largely attributed to the rise of the term sustainability" (p. 579). Bjork (2007) defines sustainability as "a situation when all human activities are practiced so that the society and its members are able to meet their needs and wants, while preserving environmental and socio-cultural systems indefinitely" (p. 35), a concept that clearly parallels the ideals of ecotourism. Thus, ecotourism, with its goals of preserving environments and cultures, cannot be separated from the concept of sustainability.

2.1.1 Sustainability and Ecotourism Ventures

Kruger's (2003) research has focused on the level of successful implementation of hundreds of ecotourism ventures, with a particular focus on their sustainability. According to his studies, the highest number of ecotourism ventures can be found in Africa, followed by Central America and Asia. In addition, some particular biomes within these various regions attract more ecotourism ventures than others, with tropical rainforests and savannas first and second, respectively, in regard to their popularity. Though these regions attract more ecotourism ventures, the level of sustainability achieved for each particular location depends on the geography and operational factors specific to the particular venture. Only a little more than half of examined case studies actually met Kruger's sustainability criterion, and half of the unsustainable cases resulted in serious

habitat alteration. Honey (2008) considers this to be the worst case of ecotourism management - an ecotourism venture that endangers the very ecosystem upon which it relies.

The most successful ecotourism ventures – the ones considered most sustainable – involve the local community in their development and operation (Kruger, 2003). They improve both the community's positive feelings towards the venture as well as their overall financial standing. This encourages and allows the indigenous cultures, which may need to switch from a consumptive lifestyle to a non-consumptive lifestyle, to change their ways of living. This agrees with the findings of Ashley (2000), who noted that increased community involvement leads to an acceptance and commitment to the ecotourism venture. The greatest threat to the sustainability of an ecotourism venture is tourist overpopulation (Kruger, 2003). If the tourist population becomes too large, the damage to the environment increases drastically. Potential solutions to this dilemma have been heavily debated amongst experts; from this discussion, the idea of Limits of Acceptable Change, a major component of ecotourism, came into being.

According to Bjork's (2007) conceptions of ecotourism, the size of the tourist group is irrelevant to the damage it causes, but Kruger's (2003) research demonstrated that tourist overpopulation can seriously decrease sustainability. The optimal solution, however, is not to merely establish a tourist population quota for each venture. Instead, the concept of Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) must be applied (Honey, 2008). LAC defines the extent of damage and change that a particular ecosystem can sustain. For example, since hikers cause less environmental damage than all-terrain vehicle riders, an accurate LAC takes into consideration the type of tourists, in addition to the number in a particular area. These limits are situation specific, and must be determined for every ecosystem. Though predicting the LAC in a region can help significantly with the sustainability of an ecotourism venture, the value and global success of ecotourism is still widely debated.

2.1.2 The World Ecotourism Summit and International Policies on Ecotourism

The United Nations celebrated 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism (IYE), and mandated that the World Trade Organization and the United Nations Environment Program hold a

series of international ecotourism events, culminating in the World Ecotourism Summit (WES) (Higham, 2007). The overall result was the celebration of ecotourism as a viable solution to counteract the harmful effects of tourism, and encouragement for the implementation of ecotourism ventures worldwide. By the end of 2002, over fifty countries had established national ecotourism strategies. The IYE, however, met with criticism from environmental experts and many non-governmental agencies. According to Higham, "critics have argued that the IYE invited widespread government and investor sponsored development programs that may have been ill-conceived, ill-advised, and poorly planned," (p. 11). This matches similar complaints voiced in *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development*, that ecotourism allows outside companies to encroach on environmentally and culturally fragile areas. In addition, the Third World Network protested that ecotourism presents opportunities for stakeholders to participate in illegal poaching, logging and other environmentally-hazardous activities (Higham, 2007). Regardless of the claims about ecotourism, the best way to truly understand its effectiveness in preserving environments and local cultures, as well as improving the livelihoods of indigenous peoples, is to examine case studies of various ecotourism ventures from around the world.

2.1.3 Ecotourism in Action: Peru, the Caribbean, and Greece

One study performed by Stronza (2005) involved an ethnographic account of the development of the Posada Amazonas ecotourism camp, which opened in 1998 in the community of Infierno de Madre de Dios in the Peruvian Amazon. Though a private company established and operates the Camp, members of the local community both work for and have partial ownership of it. Stronza worked with both sides of the venture to perform research, but also to assist in communication between the groups. Each side contributed its own skills and resources to the project, and the author witnessed the development of the Camp over four years. One of the earliest changes to the culture noted by the author was the social roles of the women. Though at first the women rarely participated directly in the founding of the Camp, they were forced to adapt to their husbands' absences during the day, and as a result began to take on a broader range of

responsibilities. At times, the author found the local people choosing how to portray themselves to benefit the Camp. In a way, they were attempting to market their culture. Therein, the people were both accepting their culture and also changing the public perception of it to create a marketable image. In this case, Stronza felt that the ecotourism venture was beneficial to the community and helped increase its peoples' feelings of self-worth without compromising their values and heritage.

Carrier and MacLeod (2005) did another study of ecotourism in the Americas. This study focused on two locations in the Caribbean: the coastal village of Bayahibe in the Dominican Republic and the national park of Montego Bay in Jamaica. In a national park, all the wildlife within the boundaries is protected. In both of these areas, ecotourism has led to a change of lifestyle amongst the local people. The transformation of a place into a tourist destination will inevitably have an impact on the local people; at a minimum people will take jobs in the tourism industry. However, the authors noted significant changes in the fishing in Montego Bay. Agriculture and fishing were once the two dominant occupations. Now, tourism has replaced agriculture, and fishing makes up a far smaller part of the revenue earned by the community. More importantly, the national park boundaries encompassed many water areas, severely limiting the amount of fishing that could occur. As a result, many fishermen lost their jobs, and were forced to find new work. In conclusion, the authors found that when a local people's lifestyles and culture clashed with the ideals of the ecotourism ventures, the indigenous community suffered the negative consequences.

In both of these cases, "the establishment of the facilities used to attract tourists disrupted and constrained local people" (Carrier and MacLeod 2005, p.331). Further, they claim that the term 'local people' is used merely as a way of materializing and commercializing the culture of a people so that tourists will be more interested in them without acknowledging the context of their culture. Only harm can come to an indigenous people when their culture becomes a commodity. As such, these authors believe that ecotourism only appears to work as long as one does not investigate the deeper impacts of its presence.

A study by Valaoras et al. (2002) investigated the impact of ecotourism on rural communities in Greece. In the 1970s, much of Greece's land was converted into orchards in order to provide income for rural citizens. This led to the endangerment of many species, as it caused their habitats to slowly shrink. However, when environmental laws were passed to protect these areas, the local inhabitants were left without a source of income. The orchards were closed in order for the land to return to its natural state, resulting in the unemployment of those who had previously cultivated them. By the 1990s, the people had been without a major source of income for over 10 years. In 1992, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) began a tourism program designed to allow visitors to experience the natural areas of Greece without having negative impacts on the already weakened animal populations. The dramatic success of this program was attributed to the interworking of both public and private organizations, trust within the local community, and incentives for small business owners. In preserving the natural world and protecting endangered wildlife populations while simultaneously providing sustainable income to the local people, this ecotourism venture has shown a major positive impact on the region.

These examples clearly show that ecotourism can be either a positive or negative force for those it impacts. Regardless, it is always a force for change. The culture of the local people will inevitably shift as a greater focus is placed on tourism. Because of this, one must assume that the presence of ecotourism carries with it a guarantee that the local people will change and adapt to take advantage of the tourism, and that the tourism will also benefit from the people, and that neither side is necessarily wrong in doing so.

2.1.4 Project's Definition of Ecotourism

Based on various suggested definitions and characteristics of ecotourism, we have constructed our own working definition, around which we will base our research: ecotourism is the act of traveling, often in small groups, to remote natural areas, mostly in developing countries. In traveling to these locations, ecotourists attempt to leave no indication of their presence behind, while benefitting the local people. In general, this is achieved through an understanding of local

environment, history and culture, whereby tourists contribute to local economies while observing, but not affecting, the local environment and people. As any involvement will have some impact, ecotourism focuses on minimizing any effects while maintaining local identity.

2.2 Conservancies

A conservancy acts to protect the natural resources of a region, while providing opportunities for economic growth and profit. Conservancies offer a wide range of activities that draw in tourists from around the world. Trophy hunting, sightseeing, and safaris offer tourists glimpses of exotic plants, animals and scenery. Since many parts of Africa have no other ways of developing economic infrastructure, tourism through safaris has been vital in introducing revenue to the continent.

2.2.1 CAMPFIRE

One defining example of a conservancy is the CAMPFIRE program in Zimbabwe. This program has been so successful that many new conservancies draw heavily on this one for guidance and inspiration. CAMPFIRE, or Zimbabwe's Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources, has been working with local communities in an attempt to sustain and benefit from local wildlife (Metcalfe, 1993). Similar to the Torra Conservancy, the CAMPFIRE conservancies are working to incorporate local people in the management and operation aspects of the conservancies. They are also paying attention to the native culture of the people living on the conservancies.

In one specific region, they have had promising effects attributed to the presence of the conservancy. The Guruve District of Zimbabwe has an abundance of natural wildlife, but had previously suffered greatly from illegal hunting and trapping. After the inception of the CAMPFIRE program in the region, many changes became apparent. The animals of the region, instead of being targeted for illegal activities, became the main attraction for tourists and a large source of income for the native people. There has also been a reinvigoration of the culture of the local peoples.

Metcalfe quoted one elder of the native tribe as saying, “We see now that these buffalo are our cattle” (p.7).

The Beitbridge District in Zimbabwe has also improved both the livelihoods of the people and the environment after the installation of a conservancy (Metcalfe, 1993). The people in the Chikwarakwara village began investing in their future by using the money they received from the U.S. to build a grinding mill. This grinding mill will help the villagers continue to modernize their settlement. The village also allows everyone to involve themselves in decision making. For the community to turn away from traditional hunting and gathering to farming and cattle raising meant a complete change in culture. By allowing everyone to be involved in the decision making of the tribe, most villagers became comfortable enough to begin adopting a more permanent life style. These changes are viewed as good, however, as the people are embracing their new lifestyle.

2.3 Joint Ventures

Joint ventures are an important and promising trend developing in Southern Africa. According to Ashley and Jones (2001), joint ventures have increased tourism in many different sectors. Joint ventures as defined by these authors are a “contractual partnership between a community or local institution and a private investor, to work together in establishing and operating a single tourism or hunting enterprise” (p. 407). There are several factors contributing to this growing trend such as more land being turned over to the communities for ownership, private investment helping communities that otherwise lack capital and business skills, as well as market trends that are favoring ecotourism and nature safaris. Business skills would include topics such as business styles, business operations and procedures as well as accounting and tactics.

In other parts of the world, including countries like South Africa, governments are more involved in joint ventures. In these instances, usually called community foundations, the government is in partnership with both the participating community, as well as the private sector company (Kuhlase, 2005). Many of these community foundations are run based on a concept called the triple bottom line. The term “triple bottom line” was coined by John Elkington from the UK-based

organization SustainAbility as a business concept referring to “corporate attainment of balanced and integrated economic, social and environmental performance” (p. 6). This has become a staple business practice amongst not only ecotourism ventures but also geotourism operations (Ashoka’s Changemakers, 2008). Namibia was one of the first southern African countries that developed official legislation that strengthens the relationship between the community and a private investor. Many provisions are written into the contracts that provide additional transparency between the two parties. There are, however, still advantages and disadvantages for both groups involved in the long process. For example, an added bonus for the investor is that the community will want to help maintain a high level of pristine wilderness and wildlife that can mean an increase in business and therefore revenue. However, a negative effect of negotiating with a conservancy or community is that it can be time consuming.

2.3.1 Joint Ventures in Southern Africa

Wilderness Safaris (WS) provides a source of income for local residents and offers a way for the residents to protect their rights to their land. As stated on their website (Wilderness Safaris, 2009) WS is a forward-thinking group of individuals that founded their business on the goals of providing photographic safaris in pristine African destinations and helping to protect and maintain sustainability in the area. One of their main concerns since their inception in 1983 is responsible tourism. They started small with their first operation in 1983, in Maun, Botswana, looking to change the safari industry (Bruce Salt, personal communication, March 18, 2009). Today WS has over fifty camps in six different Southern African countries (Wilderness Safaris, 2009). Throughout the years, they have earned many prestigious awards; the company placed eighth in 2008 for the National Geographic Adventure Awards, second in Travel and Leisure Awards (2008), and was selected as a finalist in Tourism for Tomorrow (2007). One of their most celebrated accomplishments is the Damaraland Camp, which won both the Imvelo Award in 2008 for resource management and the highly coveted United Nation Development Program (UNDP) Equator Prize for the Torra Conservancy in 2004.

WS focuses on tourism that works to help save the environment (Basilia Shivute, personal communication, March 18, 2009). The environmental officers perform audits of all camps and educate the staff members about conservation, waste management, and other environmental concerns. In addition, they perform research such as vegetation and soil studies to assure the sustainability of particular locations. WS also aims to empower local communities and does this mainly through community integration. Many of the individuals employed in the WS camps are members of the local communities. This is made possible by the fact that WS provides training for all of its employees in all of the various positions. The training lasts from two to fourteen days, depending on the nature of the job. Several training positions are reserved for community members. Managers can suggest members of the community whom they feel would be excellent candidates for certain positions, and community members can also submit names via the community office. Once the community members have a position on the WS staff, they can be promoted through various positions. For example, several members of the Torra Conservancy began working in housekeeping positions in the Damaraland Camp, and now hold managerial positions that take them to many of the different WS camps. This dedication to training Conservancy members highlights the company's goal to empower and financially uplift the indigenous people.

WS employs a total of around 200 individuals from the different conservancies in Namibia (Bruce Salt, personal communication, April 30, 2009). The three major camps are in Dora !Nawas, Palmwag, and Damaraland, which will be discussed later. While Dora !Nawas and Damaraland Camps are on conservancies, Palmwag is technically a concession. The land is owned by the government but three different conservancies have permission to use it - Torra, Sesfontein, and Anabeb- so WS pays these three for land usage and hires individuals from an additional four

conservancies – Otjimbgo, Omusati, Omaheke, and #Khoadi-//Hôas (see Figure 6).

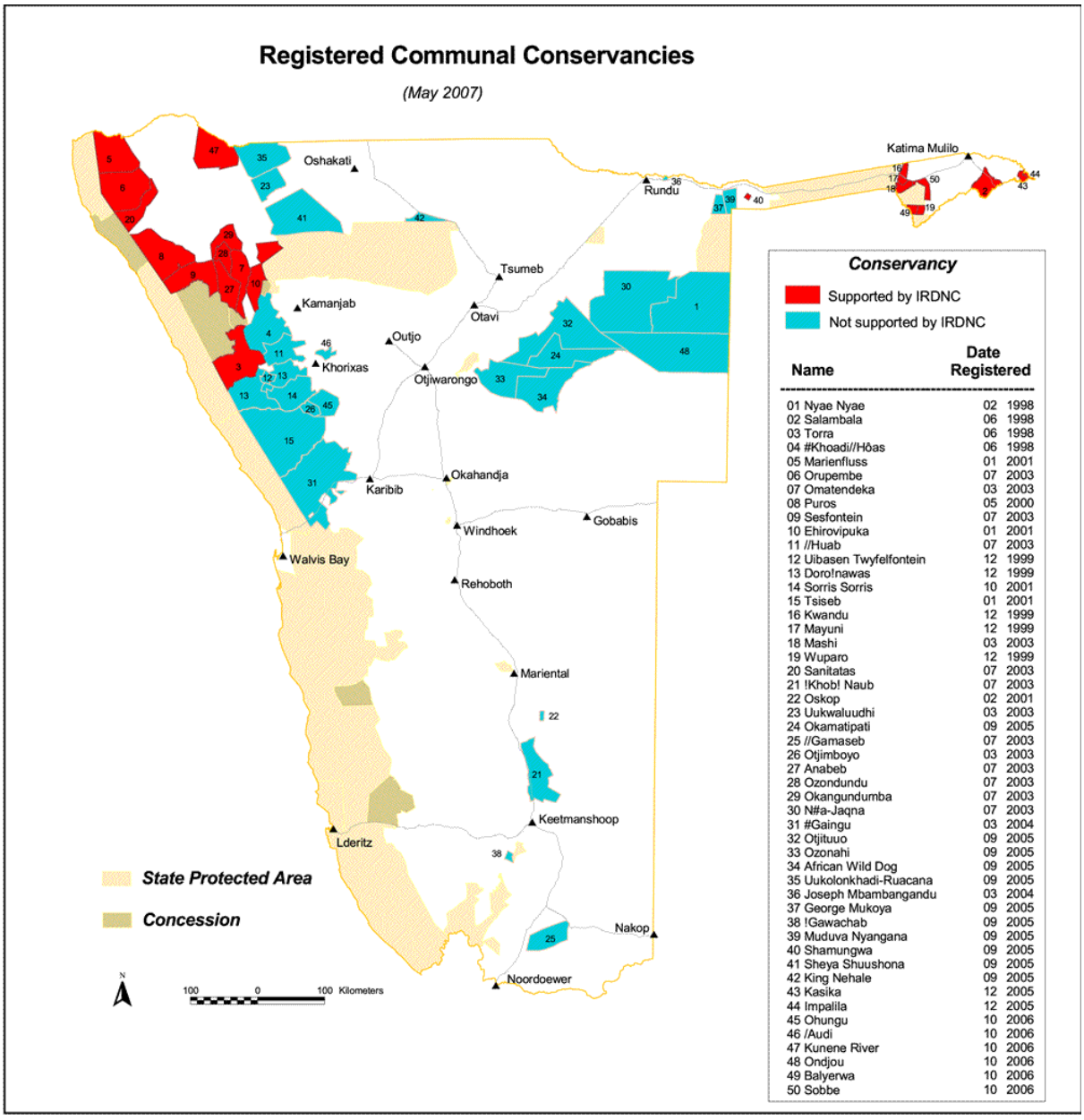

Figure 6: A Map of Namibia's Conservancies (IRDNC, 2007).

On the other hand, WS and the Dora !Nawas Conservancy are equity partners. WS pays the Conservancy for land usage, but the Conservancy also has partial ownership of the Camp. Of the 36 staff members at Dora !Nawas, 18 are from the Conservancy. In addition, for 2008, the Camp had a 67% occupancy rate with 9,586 guests. The Palmwag Camp had a 48% occupancy rate and 24,053 guests. Finally, the Damaraland Camp, which is a joint venture, had 5,261 guests, which meant an

occupancy rate of 42%. According to WS, the peak tourist months are May and July through November.

2.4 The Namibian Context

A complete understanding of how ecotourism, conservancies, and joint ventures impact a particular indigenous culture requires knowledge of the relevant history of the region. In the case of the Damaraland Camp, the history of the establishment of the Namibian Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) played an integral role in laying the foundation for the joint venture between the people of Torra Conservancy and Wilderness Safaris.

2.4.1 Namibia's CBNRM

Community Based Natural Resource Management (MET, 2009 a) aims to provide communities with incentives to use natural resources in a sustainable manner. It revolves around the idea that if local people have "exclusive rights of use, benefit and management" (p. 7) in terms of natural resources, then incentives can be created to encourage sustainable behavior (NACSO, 2007). Namibia's CBNRM program is a joint venture between the government, non-government organizations and communities. The group of organizations that works together to promote CBNRM is called the Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organizations (NACSO) (MET, 2009 a). NACSO has three approaches to achieving this goal: a natural resource management and conservation program, a rural development program, and an empowerment and capacity-building program. These programs work together to create the necessary conditions for sustainable development, opportunities for income generation, and the skills necessary to successfully develop sustainable lifestyles (see Figure 7).

Prior to independence, little was done to protect wildlife as most hunting was for subsistence. However, with the introduction of firearms, unregulated trophy hunting, habitat

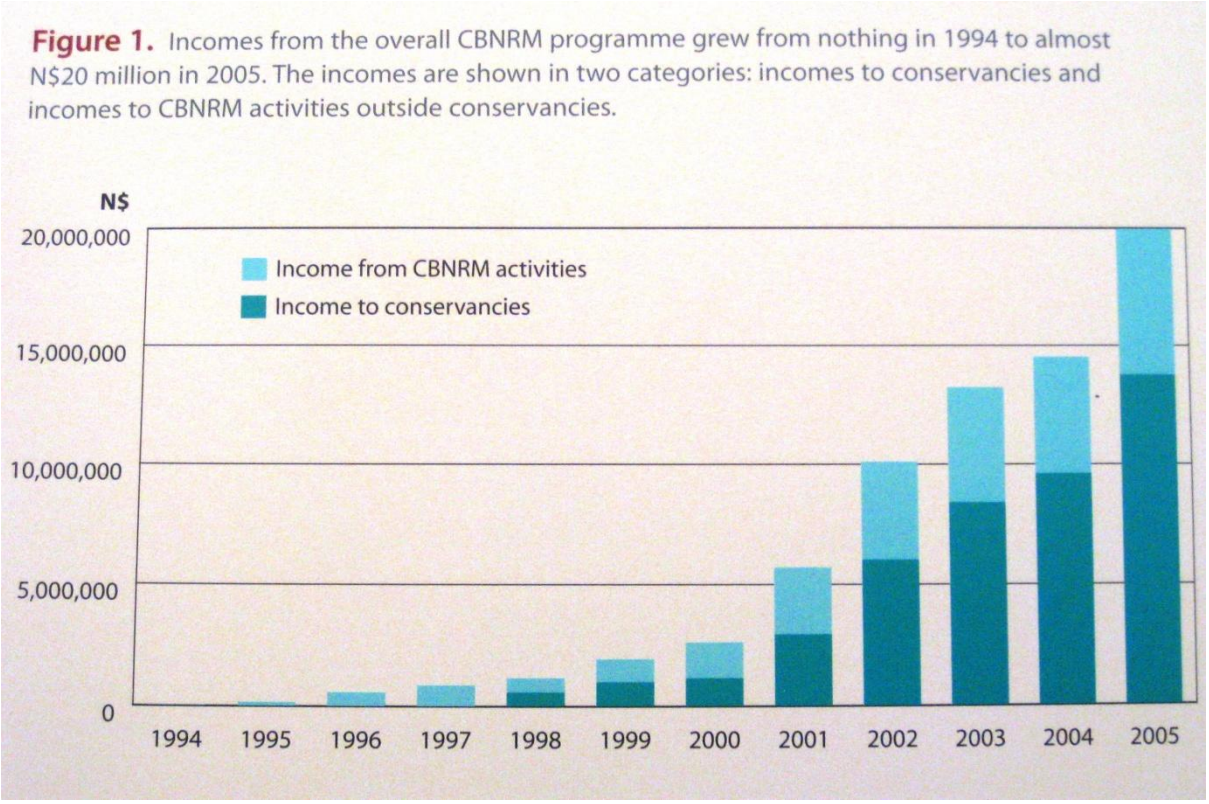

Figure 7: CBNRM Income (NACSO, 2006)

destruction and over-hunting, wildlife numbers in Namibia decreased drastically. With an independent Namibia, the new government conducted a series of socio-ecological surveys looking for a model to empower communities with the responsibility of managing their own wildlife resources. In 1996, the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) gave use rights over wildlife to communities in communal areas (NACSO, 2007). More communities then began to take advantage of CBNRM, and many organized themselves into conservancies.

Namibian conservancies require a defined membership, a representative management committee, a legally recognized constitution that makes provision for the development of a wildlife management strategy and an equitable benefits distribution plan, and defined boundaries (MET, 2009 a). In 2006, conservancies earned 73% of all CBNRM income (NACSO, 2007). By the end of the same year, Namibia had a total of 50 registered communal conservancies, covering a total of 14.4% of the country's total land area in five of the six national, terrestrial biomes (NACSO, 2007). In

addition, there has also been a dramatic increase in the number of individuals living on conservancies. As conservancies became more profitable, individuals struggling in other parts of Namibia relocated to the conservancies to reap the financial benefits.

The constitution of Namibia specifically addresses conservation of wildlife and natural resources. Article 95 of the constitution states:

> The State shall actively promote and maintain the welfare of the people by adopting, international policies aimed at the following: maintenance of ecosystems, essential ecological processes, and biological diversity of Namibia, and utilization of living natural resources on a sustainable basis for the benefit of all Namibians, both present and future (Stefanova 2005, p.176).

Conservancies have led to the recovery of many of Namibia's dwindling wildlife species (MET, 2009 a). The comeback was so significant that it enabled 31 conservancies to harvest meat and distribute it throughout the community and 24 to profit from trophy hunting (NACSO, 2007). In addition, strong management and concern for natural resources amongst the various communities has almost eliminated poaching.

The CBNRM program is having a strong impact on rural development in Namibia. Because conservancies manage natural resources in sustainable but profitable ways, rural areas can successfully earn income without risking future opportunities (MET, 2009 a). This is especially true with respect to tourism, as the CBNRM helps to protect communities from exploitation while giving them the tools, such as training, needed to benefit from tourists. In fact, the largest source of income for conservancies during 2006 was joint venture tourism. Tourism lodges and camps garnered N$19,045,854, 51.6% of the total income of all conservancies (NACSO, 2007). By the end of 2006, there were 13 operational joint venture agreements, and 20 under negotiation.

2.4.2 Torra Conservancy Facts and Statistics

In 1998, the Torra Conservancy was one of the first conservancies registered in Namibia (Torra Conservancy, 2006). It is situated in the Kunene Region, next to the Skeleton Coast Park, with a total land area around 352,200 hectares (1,360 sq mi). Due to its position in the arid Nama Karoo

biome, the Conservancy serves as an important habitat for desert-adapted elephant and black rhinoceros. The Torra Conservancy is also home to a wide variety of wildlife, including giraffe, oryx, zebra, jackal, cheetah and lion. Due to the Conservancy's establishment and the creation of the Community Game Guard, the animal population has rebounded considerably since the 1980's when communal hunting and poaching were rampant.

The Torra Conservancy has three distinct cultural groups: Nama, Damara, and Riemvasmakers. The Damara are the largest cultural group. Ninety-five percent of the Riemvasmakers moved back to South Africa following Namibian independence, and the majority of the Nama live farther south (Maggie Vries, personal communication, April 30, 2009). The current membership is around 860 registered individuals, all over 18 years of age, representing a community of around 1000 (Torra Conservancy, 2006). There is one main settlement, and many family homes are distributed throughout the area. A democratically elected committee of six individuals, who hold office for five years, runs the Conservancy. In 2001, Torra was the first conservancy to become financially independent of the start-up donors and organizations. Since then, the Conservancy has met all of its own costs and has made a considerable profit that benefits the members of the Conservancy. In 2002, the Conservancy had N$1 million, and they have used that money to build and maintain various facilities, like upgrading the local schools.

In addition, the Torra Conservancy was the first to be granted an annual game harvest quota by the Namibian government, as well as a trophy-hunting contract. Torra also has six game guards trained in the "Event Book Monitoring System" (Torra Conservancy, 2006). As a result, monthly information on all issues concerning wildlife – sightings, problem animals, poaching – is reported to the Conservancy officials.

2.5 Damaraland

The Damaraland Camp, a joint venture between Wilderness Safaris (WS) and the Torra Conservancy, after only five years in operation, was reported by Ashley and Jones (2001) to be a

great success. The story of this particular Camp is unique since it was WS's first joint venture in Namibia. WS saw the Kunene region as a great opportunity because there were no other similar establishments in the area, and it was a prime region for attracting tourists. The negotiation process began in 1994 when they began talks with the community. At this time, the local people took their first legal steps to being partners by forming a trust. A trust is "a relationship created in the direction of an individual, in which one or more persons holds the individual's property subject to certain duties to use and protect it for the benefit of others" (Farlex Inc., 2009). After the government devolved the land and resource rights to the trust, discussion could continue on the benefits and disadvantages there would be for both parties involved. The trust formed an elected committee that would be fair and impartial in order to relay the concerns of the rest of the community to Wilderness Safaris during the talks. Since the local people had been living in the region and depending on its resources for hundreds of years, their concerns were much different than those of the Wilderness Safaris. As a result, the contract proceedings took almost two years to work out. The delays were mostly caused by the fact that in such a setting, it can be difficult to arrange meetings with a population that is spread out over a large area, especially when at least one member of every family needed to be involved in the proceedings (WS regional manager, personal communication, March 19, 2009). In the end though, they had formed a close and trusting relationship with the local people that went beyond just a professional partnership. They worked closely to make sure that the people had a stake in the company, ensuring that the community would take care of and help the joint venture to flourish. The cooperative spirit that both sides employed has proven to be critical. Other camps that lacked this spirit entered negotiations, but never came to fruition. It is also within the philosophy of WS to make certain their Camp benefits the area it occupies and provides a means of raising the community out of poverty as well as educating the people in terms of sustainability and job opportunities up to management level. An important part of their contract during negotiations was to include job training up to management level, hiring local staff (Ashley and Jones, 2001).

A fifteen year contract was established 12 years ago between the Torra Conservancy and Wilderness Safaris (Bruce Salt, personal communication, March 18, 2009). During the first ten years, the Conservancy was to receive a monthly levy of 10% from the company. After that, the levy was to increase to 15%, and WS expected the Conservancy to be self-sustaining. That was not the case, however, so the two parties are currently reworking the contract. In keeping with their goal of community empowerment, WS has no control over how the Torra Conservancy decides to use the levy money given to them. The Conservancy has complete monetary freedom, and has already funded several projects such as the creation of a kindergarten. The employed Conservancy members all received training through WS. Several even began in basic positions like housekeeping, and received enough training to become managers.

According to Ashley's study written in 2000, the introduction and continued operation of the Wilderness Safaris' Camp in Damaraland has strengthened the local people's sense of community solidarity. Ashley (2000) refers to it as "enhanced social cohesion," the result of the heavily community-oriented demands of the joint-venture application and selection process required of the Conservancy (p. 16). This cohesion means that the entire Conservancy must make the decision to invite an outside company into a joint-venture, and the entire Conservancy must agree to the terms of the agreement. The farmers of the Torra Conservancy were especially pleased with this particular type of tourism as it allowed them to continue working as farmers; they did not need to relocate elsewhere or travel in order to supplement their income. In this respect, Wilderness Safaris has helped the people hold onto some aspects of their identity and way of life. According to Ashley, the tourism venture has aided farmers and livestock owners in another way: "collective tourism income can be used to assist in drought-coping, such as transporting livestock" (p. 21). The farmers can now afford to move their livestock to areas with water during droughts.

Though there have been some noted benefits for the Torra Conservancy, the joint-venture with Wilderness Safaris has already impacted the people in negative ways as well. While the sense of community pride and community solidarity increased, relations between particular families and the

rest of the Conservancy were strained (Ashley, 2000). The establishment of the Camp required the relocation of several families, which created feelings of resentment between those families and the other Conservancy members. The people of the Torra Conservancy were also worried about the environmental changes that tourists might bring to the area. Although the documented increase in the number of antelopes and elephants is good from a conservation standpoint, many of the members feel that the tourists are aggravating the elephants, making them more aggressive and driving them closer to their farms and homes (Ashley, 2000). The members also fear that the water supply used in times of drought will be polluted by the tourists. They depend on the spring for their existence, and to lose it would be disastrous. Issues, such as the previous example, that extend beyond the obvious economic and cultural topics may not be apparent to the outside observer. Regardless, they are extremely important concerns of the Conservancy and must be addressed.

2.6 Conclusion

Ecotourism, the socio-culturally and environmentally conscious branch of tourism, is both hailed as a solution for aboriginal poverty and criticized as an opening for illegal and destructive environmental behavior. As seen by case studies done in different areas of the world, ecotourism ventures can both harm and help indigenous cultures. Conservancies strive to protect natural ecosystems, but can also benefit local communities. Since the establishment of the CBNRM in Namibia, conservancies have been extremely beneficial for many of the local people in Namibia. Joint ventures feature an agreement between an indigenous people and an outside organization or company for the establishment of an ecotourism venture, and are particularly popular in Africa. The

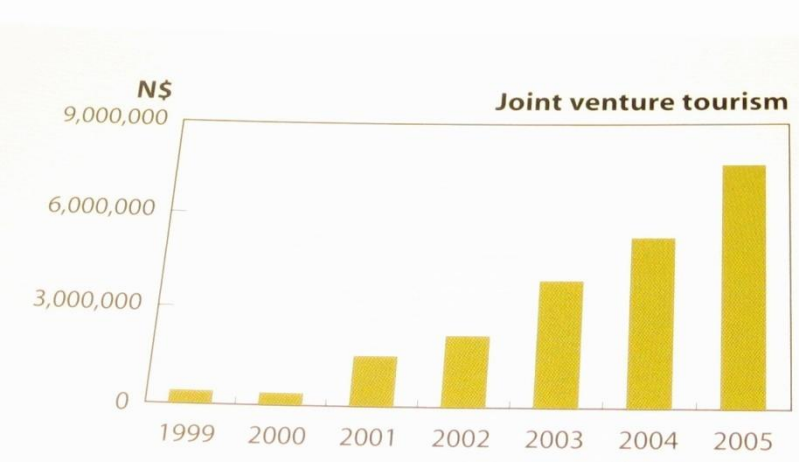

Figure 8: Joint Venture Incomes (NACSO,2006)

Damaraland Camp is an example of a joint venture, and has been in operation since 1996 on the Torra Conservancy. While the Camp has been commercially successful since its first year of operation, hardly anything was known about its economic and socio-cultural impacts on the Conservancy members or how it compares to other ecotourism ventures in Namibia. Though case studies can suggest the effects, the only way to truly understand changes engendered by the Camp's introduction to the Conservancy is by studying the people, the Camp, and the relationship between the two.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The goal of our project was to determine the economic and socio-cultural impacts of the Damaraland Camp on the people of the Torra Conservancy. Previous research concerning the Damaraland Camp was extremely limited, thus the best way for us to achieve our goal was to ask the Conservancy members directly about changes engendered by the Camp. We used four different types of methods to achieve all of our objectives pertaining to the Damaraland Camp: individual interviews, listening groups, a survey, and direct observations. In order to completely understand the socio-cultural impacts, however, we needed to focus our research on several issues, such as the training offered to the Conservancy members, their economic standing, and their perceptions and opinions about the Camp. We also interviewed individuals from different organizations in Namibia that deal with conservancies, joint ventures, or ecotourism to better understand and validate the information we gathered from our research.

3.1 Determining Economic and Socio-Cultural Changes

In order to fully realize the degree of economic benefit accrued to TC members from the joint venture, we worked to understand their current economic status and how it had been affected by the Camp's presence. The Conservancy members agreed to the establishment of the Damaraland Camp under the assumption that they would benefit financially from the joint venture; we sought to determine to what extent the Conservancy was benefitting, if it all. Most of the Conservancy members should feel more economically stable because of the Camp. For some individuals, the economic improvement should be the result of receiving training and employment from WS. In the contract, WS agreed to train and provide jobs for members of the Conservancy. We sought to determine if training has actually been offered to the members, if it has been offered impartially, and if it benefits the Conservancy. In addition, we also wanted to determine if the training had caused any changes in how the members viewed themselves, the community, or the world around them.

Despite the heterogeneity of the local people, each culture living on the Torra Conservancy has its own distinct identity and traditions. Because the Damaraland Camp is an ecotourism venture, the Conservancy members should not feel as though the Camp has negatively impacted their culture. This refers to a variety of concepts, such as cultural traditions, stories, songs, crafts, ceremonies and traditional behavior. One of our objectives was to determine if the Conservancy members felt that the Camp had caused changes, either negative or positive, to their culture.

For one of our final objectives, we sought to understand how the members felt about the Camp in general, if they felt that it is an engine for community empowerment or a simply a nuisance. In addition, we wanted to know how they felt about the direction of the joint venture. If they did not feel that the Camp would continue to be beneficial, that would be a serious issue that would need to be addressed.

In order to fully understand the complex issues pertaining to TC and the joint venture, we sought to discuss the Damaraland Camp and other conservancies and joint ventures with individuals removed from the situation. Our final objective was thus to interview individuals from organizations in Namibia who know about conservancies and joint ventures. These interviews allowed us to gather even more information and validate what we learned from our research.

3.2 Polytechnic of Namibia Research Collaboration

Three Polytechnic of Namibia students and a lecturer collaborated with us on our methodology while gathering additional information for a project of their own. Their participation was integral to the successful completion of our goals. In addition to writing our questionnaire, which will be discussed later in this section, the lecturer Mr. Erling Kavita arranged all of our accommodations with the TC and helped arrange the listening groups and transportation to outlying farms. He also addressed the participants of our listening groups and those who might answer our questionnaires, explained the nature of our study, and thanked them for their time. The PON students aided in designing valuable, culturally appropriate questions for the listening groups and

interviews, and they helped in editing the questionnaire. Additionally, they helped us gather questionnaire responses and acted as our translators.

3.3 Listening Groups

The first method we used to gather information was listening groups. They were beneficial because they allowed us to talk with many people in a short span of time, but they did not sacrifice our ability to get in depth responses to our questions. The listening groups operated like focus groups, except they were less structured and more informal. We organized groups of three to eight people, proposed questions (see Appendix F) to the individuals as points of discussion, and then recorded their responses.

We arranged the listening groups with the help of the Torra Conservancy office staff. An announcement was posted on the TC bulletin boards several days before our arrival, so the Conservancy members were made aware of our intentions to meet with them. The TC office is located in the village of Bergsig, the largest population center in the area. Given the close proximity of the community center to the Conservancy headquarters, we were able to convince people living in Bergsig to walk to the office. For those living further out from the village, one of the Conservancy supervisors agreed to drive out to outlying farms and pick up anybody who was willing to attend. Upon the arrival of the participants, we held the listening groups in the shade outside of the office.

Since not all of the people in our listening groups spoke English, we relied on our three Polytechnic of Namibia (PON) group members to translate for us. The typical format of the listening groups was as follows: we would ask a question, the PON students would translate into the appropriate language, the individuals would discuss amongst themselves, and the PON students would translate their comments into English. At this point, we would either move on to another question, ask them to explain more, or ask a more directed question in order to gain deeper understanding of the response. At the end of our questions, we encouraged the members of the groups to inform us of anything else they felt was relevant to our research.

We had approximately twenty participants distributed into three groups. The majority of these were women; only three men participated in a listening group. We decided to keep the men together even though one man was in his twenties, one in his late thirties, and one was over fifty years old because there were only three of them. The women were divided into two groups. One of these groups comprised of eight individuals less than thirty years of age, while the other group consisted of seven older participants.

We used the questions in Appendix F to direct the core of our investigation, asking for clarification on confusing issues or directing the conversation back to the topic at hand. During the listening groups, we found that after a question was asked, one or two participants would answer, while the rest would acquiesce with the one speaking. In any case where there was a disagreement, the two individuals or groups would discuss for a while before our translators described the communication. On each question, the respondents seemed to change, so that all participants answered at least a few questions.

3.4 Individual Interviews

Our second method of gathering data was personal interviews. The personal interviews were used when individuals had a thorough understanding of the Camp and its operation. In these cases, we felt that their knowledge would be better communicated individually, rather than having them speak as part of a group. We met twice with officials of the Torra Conservancy in order to get the perspective of those heavily involved in both the day-to-day operations of the Conservancy and the decision-making aspects of the joint venture. We mostly used questions from Appendix F to direct these interviews, but we also asked additional questions (see Appendix N) in order to gain a better understanding of the issues pertinent to each individual. We held an interview with a retired chairperson of the Conservancy, who was the original leader of the TC. We also held an interview with the current manager of the TC, as well as the head game guard. The manager heads the day–to–day operations of the TC, while the head of the game guards monitors the Conservancy for

poaching and other illegal or threatening activities. Since these men have worked or are currently working for the TC in management positions, they were able to accurately explain the goals and plans for the Conservancy. We were also able to attend a block meeting which is a gathering where one of five geographical sections of the Conservancy meets to discuss issues and concerns. There we met another game guard, as well as the current TC chairperson and founder of the Conservancy (see Appendix O).

Personal interviews were also used with individuals who work WS. Our group visited the WS office in Windhoek and spoke with Bruce Salt, Basilia Shivute, Maggie Vries, and two other individuals (see Appendices D, E, R, and S). We wrote sets of questions specific for each of these individuals. We spoke with Salt twice, and he was able to provide us with information regarding the actual agreement between WS and the TC, as well as other information specific to the various WS Camps such as occupancy rates. The other individuals were able to provide valuable information regarding Damaraland, such as facts about the cultural groups living on a Conservancy.

We also used interviews to accomplish our final objective. We met with individuals from various organizations that deal with or have extended knowledge of ecotourism ventures in Namibia. The questions we asked these individuals differed significantly from the questions we asked the members of the TC. After researching the different groups, we constructed a set of questions to ask each of our interviewees that would help us to understand the TC situation better and to think of suggestions for either the Conservancy or for Wilderness Safaris. We successfully interviewed the retired director of the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia. She was able to give us an overview of some issues common to conservancies, and offered her opinion on several issues we mentioned about the Damaraland Camp (see Appendix Q). In addition, we also met with the founder of the IRDNC who is intimately involved with the TC and the joint venture and understands the issues of the area.

3.5 Questionnaires

The third method we used to perform our research was surveying. We administered questionnaires written by Mr. Erling Kavita that covered a wide range of issues, from socio-economics, to cultural changes, to interactions and disruptions caused by tourists. In order to have responses that were easily quantifiable, the questionnaires used a Likert Scale. With a Likert Scale, an interviewer makes a statement, and the interviewee agrees or disagrees according to a numerical scale. In the questionnaire that we used, the numbers one through five corresponded to strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, and strongly agree, respectively. While free responses allow for more detailed explanations, scales allow for more efficient data comparison due to their quantitative nature.

Further, the questionnaires were also much less time-consuming to administer than free response questions. With open-ended questions, individuals might spend considerable time responding to each question. Deciding a level of agreement based on a number scale makes both choosing a response easier and the communication of that response much faster than giving an explanation. This allowed us to ask many questions in a short time span, giving us a chance to both gather a significant amount of information from each person and to meet with more individuals.

Because the literacy rate and English language fluency of the target population was known to be low, we needed to administer the questionnaires in groups of three: a WPI student as interviewer, a PON student as a translator, and an interviewee. The interviewer would present a statement from the questionnaire, a PON student would translate it into the appropriate language for the interviewee, and then would translate the interviewee's response into English. Sometimes the questionnaires required two translators depending on whether or not the PON students spoke the interviewee's native language. In these cases, a member from the Conservancy head office translated the PON student's Afrikaans into a language that the interviewee could understand, such as Damara.

We administered 72 questionnaires over a series of a few days (see Appendix K for detailed respondent information and Appendices U and V for overall results). The first day, we surveyed individuals we met in the listening groups, some individuals on outlying farms, and the employees we met at the Damaraland Camp. The second day, we went door-to-door in the village of Bergsig and administered questionnaires to anyone willing to participate. The third day, we administered the questionnaires to more individuals in Bergsig whom we had missed the previous day, and we also drove to several of the outlying farms and completed questionnaires with those residents. In addition, we were also able to administer several questionnaires when we attended the aforementioned block meeting.

3.6 Observations

We focused on observing the Conservancy members to learn about different characteristics of people living on the TC. We examined the clothing worn by individuals to see if they were able to afford well-fitting clothing, and if they were able to maintain cleanliness. In addition, we looked at housing to learn about living conditions on the Conservancy and to see if we could distinguish what economic stratifications existed in the population, if any. Another important aspect that we observed was the social relationships and interactions of the Conservancy members. We looked to see who spoke when we addressed groups, and we also watched how everyone interacted with each other.

3.7 Issues with the Methodology

Though we planned our methods sufficiently before our trip to the Torra Conservancy, several unpredicted or underestimated issues hindered our ability to collect the most accurate data. Several of our problems were related to communication issues between group members and language issues between our group and the Conservancy members. Our other major issues related to the questionnaire.

Even though the PON students were adept translators, our inability to speak the local languages put us at a disadvantage. Many of the individuals we interviewed needed to have the questionnaire statements explained in detail, and we were unable to help the PON students in these cases. Additionally, the PON students did not have a translated set of questions to use for each participant, so their translation of the questionnaire may have changed from individual to individual. The PON students understood the importance of maintaining the translation, however, we do not feel that potential problem impacted our results.

The Likert scale we used for our questionnaire utilized the numbers 1-5 to represent levels of agreement. Though this type of questionnaire is fairly common in the United States, many of the individuals to whom we administered the questionnaire did not seem to fully understand how to respond to a scale of choices. They grasped the idea of agree, disagree, and neutral, but did not understand the strongly agree and strongly disagree options. Although this was inconvenient, the aforementioned individuals generally selected numbers corresponding to just agree, disagree, and neutral. We took this into consideration when doing our analysis and adjusted to look for varying degrees of agreement, but we did not restrict ourselves to the original numerical responses. Instead, we used a three-point scale; we took responses of 1 and2 as disagreement, 3 as neutral, and responses of 4 and5 as agreement.

Another issue that we encountered was that several individuals to whom we administered questionnaires were intoxicated. As a result, the validity of their answers was questionable. To deal with this issue, we discarded three of the completed questionnaires. We felt that including such questionnaire responses in our results would have affected the accuracy of our conclusions.

We also had several issues with our questionnaire. The first issue was that it was far too long. With 63 questions, some of the individuals whom we interviewed became bored or annoyed. Many of the questions were also redundant, and some were completely irrelevant to the focus of our research. As a result, some individuals seemed to take our questionnaire less seriously, particularly when we made certain statements like “Contact with tourists may introduce health risks

to the host community." Additionally, some questions were not placed in the correct sections, which made the questionnaires more confusing. Finally, there were grammatical errors in the questionnaires that caused further confusion during translation. This was especially problematic because we attempted to ask the same questions in the same way for every person, but each question required some form of explanation. The questionnaires would have been more useful had we been able to use the revised versions. If we were to repeat our study, we would use the version of the questionnaire that can be found in Appendix L. Despite the issues with the questionnaire, 72 were successfully completed. Such a large amount of quantitative data helps with another issue that arose while we performed our research: it was difficult to organize large groups of individuals for listening groups.

Originally, we had anticipated a large Conservancy member turnout in Bergsig, the main village of Damaraland. We expected to be able to perform several listening groups of around seven individuals each. Unfortunately, we were only able to conduct three listening groups, and one only had three individuals. As a result, we gathered much less open-ended information. Though we would have preferred more, the information the participants gave us was quite helpful.

3.8 Summary

Throughout our time in Damaraland and afterwards, our team pursued our goals of investigating the impacts of Wilderness Safaris' training and employment opportunities, determining the Camp's effects on local culture, and discovering the local perceptions regarding the Camp. By conducting interviews and listening groups and administering questionnaires, we were able to gather qualitative and quantitative results about our target population. In our interviews with other individuals, we verified some of our results and derived some conclusions based on what was said about other conservancies.

Chapter 4: Results and Analysis

Through interviews, listening groups, surveys, and observations, we were able to determine the socio-cultural and economic impacts of the Damaraland Camp on the local people of the Torra Conservancy. Culturally, the Camp has been a mostly positive influence, engendering a reinvigoration of some of the local cultures. Economically, though the Camp has benefitted some families, it has not been able to help many of the Conservancy's members. In addition, we noticed several other factors that have affected the ability of the Damaraland Camp to help the Torra Conservancy.

4.1 Economic Impacts

One of the major goals held by Wilderness Safaris and the Torra Conservancy in establishing the Damaraland Camp was to uplift the area economically and improve the standard of living for residents of the Conservancy. For the most part, residents feel that this has taken place, considering their positive response to "The current level of tourism has significantly improved the standard of living of local residents" (Q10, see Figure 9). In our conversation with a TC manager, we learned that the Conservancy administration does not feel that its responsibility is to alleviate poverty, but rather

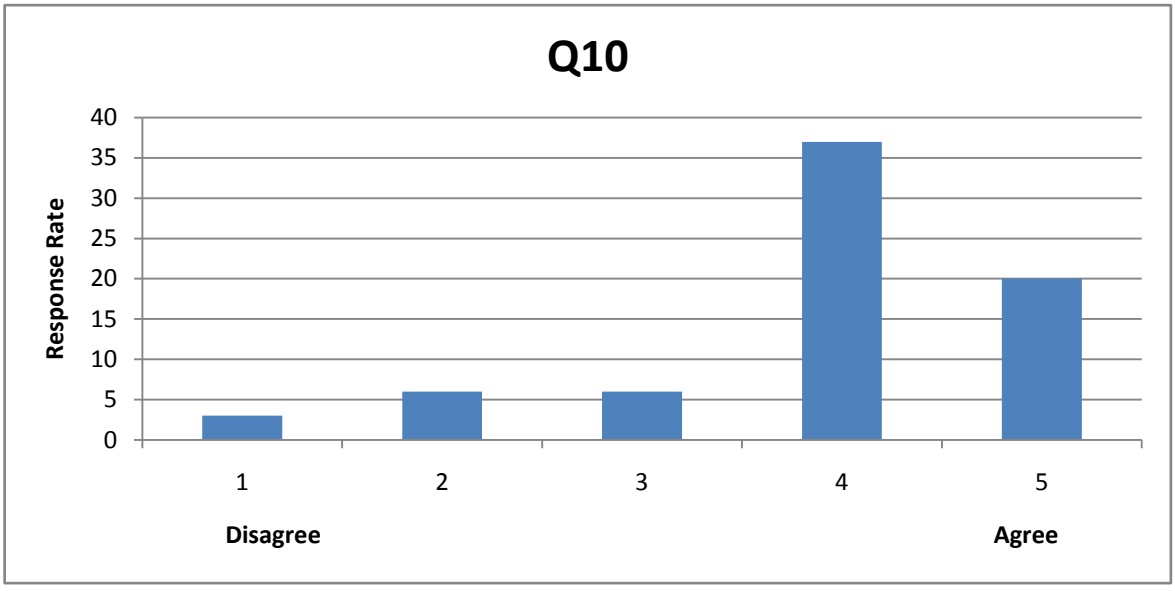

Figure 9: Response to "The current level of tourism has significantly improved the standard of living of local residents"

to improve the standard of living and help those who have economic or social initiatives to achieve

their goals while protecting the environment (Appendix N). The joint venture has been partially successful in achieving this goal, though we have noted several concerns with the current practices. The economic impacts of the Camp can be divided into several categories. The most prominent of these categories is the direct financial benefit that some Conservancy members earn by working at the Camp. There are also indirect benefits resulting from the levy agreement, WS training, and the presence of tourists. Though the benefits are significant, there are several areas where the members of the Torra Conservancy feel that changes would be appropriate.

The Camp primarily benefits the area by providing jobs to local people. This allows money to pass directly from the Damaraland Camp to individuals in the Conservancy, and these individuals can use their income to support themselves and members of their family. Through listening groups we found that some people, both non-employees and former employees, are concerned that the salaries for some positions are not high enough to allow them to provide for themselves and their families (Appendices G,H,I). Others feel that working at the Damaraland Camp requires extensive travel to and from work, and they do not get enough compensation for the amount travel that they must make. We did not hear any complaints about the salaries from those currently working at the camp, but since we asked questions related to income only to listening groups and in personal interviews, we do not know if the opinions of those currently working for the Camp differ from the other people we interviewed. Others feel that with such a high rate of unemployment amongst members of the Conservancy, the benefits of having a job compensate for a modest salary. However, the opportunities for employment in the Damaraland Camp are limited.

The Camp provides work for thirty individuals (Bruce Salt, personal communication, April 30, 2009). Of these, twenty-five are hired from within the Conservancy. A total of 40 individuals from the Conservancy are working for various WS camps both in and outside of the Torra Conservancy. The adult population of the Conservancy, by contrast, is estimated to be between 900 and 1200, with about 850 of those being registered members. In its current state, the Camp lacks the facilities to provide jobs to more than a very small minority of the population. While the Torra Conservancy is

able to hire staff because of the income from WS, they only have six game guards in addition to the executive committee and a handful of administrative personnel. As such, few of the adult members of the Conservancy are directly benefitting from work provided by the joint venture. In addition, according to the retired Conservancy chairperson, much of the hiring at the Damaraland Camp is done in-family (Appendix M). This means that individuals who work at the Camp tend to hire and recommend their relatives. Since family members do know the capabilities and skills of their relatives, it may help the camp to select well-qualified candidates for the positions, but it also makes it very difficult for other Conservancy members to find work, a complaint voiced during several of the listening groups. The response by the Conservancy members to the questionnaire question "Only a small minority of residents benefits economically from tourism" (Q52, see Figure 10) shows that the members have mixed views about the prevalence of jobs. This is dividing the Conservancy members, as some individuals have not yet received any direct economic benefits from the joint

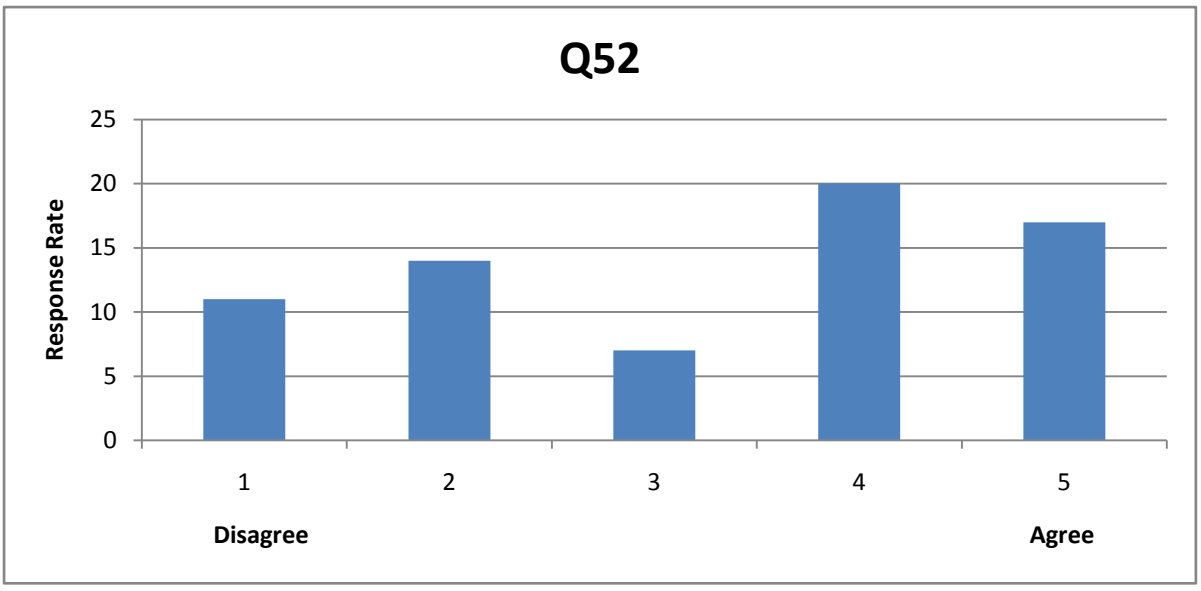

Figure 10: Response to "Only a small minority of residents benefit economically from tourism"

venture and do not appear to have any opportunity to do so in the future. We also learned that those who live far from the Camp or from Bergsig find it almost impossible to get work at D-Camp. However, not all the benefits of the Damaraland Camp are directly tied to employment.

Another economic benefit of the Camp is that it brings tourists to the Conservancy. This provides the people of the area with entrepreneurial opportunities. Some individuals have tried selling locally-made crafts to tourists with limited success. Likewise, some of the stores can supplement their revenue by selling goods to tourists. However, we received very mixed responses to question 61 (see Figure 11) "Residents have been adequately consulted in practicing entrepreneurial initiatives in tourism."

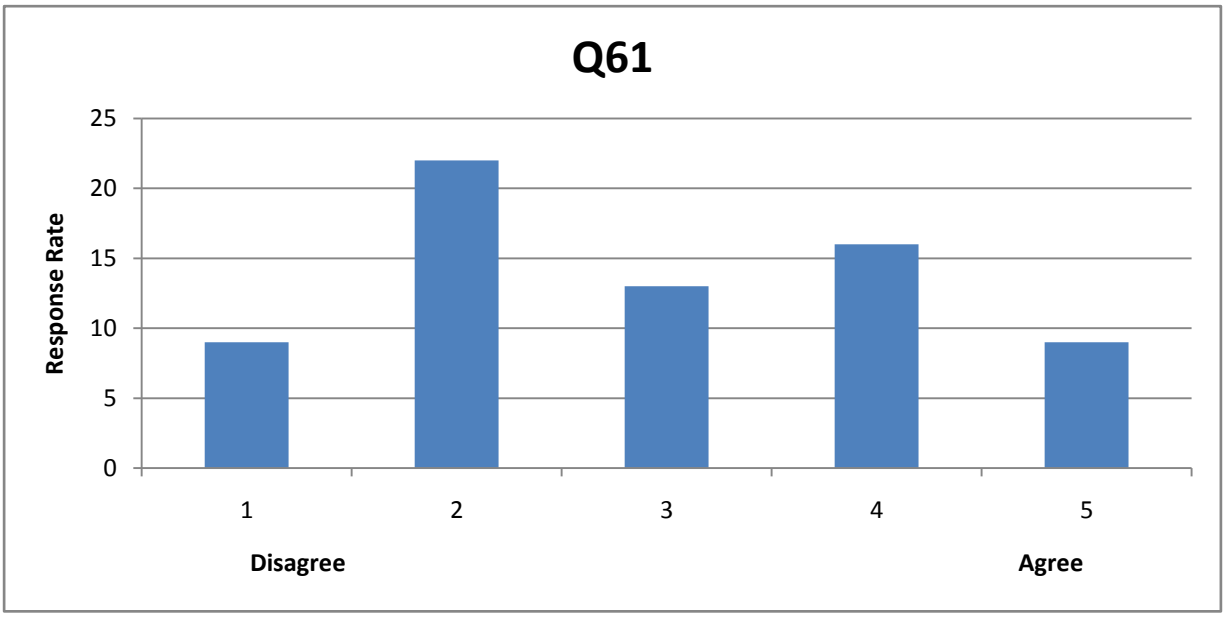

Figure 11: Response to "Residents have been adequately consulted in practicing entrepreneurial initiatives in tourism"

Over 36% of those surveyed agreed with this statement, 45% disagreed, and 19% were unsure. Though over a third of the individuals felt that they have been adequately prepared, the current chairperson of the Conservancy indicated that he feels people do not yet have the skills necessary to take full advantage of the presence of tourists, and that the TC office is attempting to remedy this shortcoming. He did not specify how this training would be provided or to whom (Appendix O). However, he also felt that in some respects there has not been enough initiative from within the population to pursue these opportunities and that placing this responsibility on the TC office is inappropriate. Though the lack of initiative could be attributed to either the membership or

the office staff, these perspectives suggest that the people of the Conservancy are still not benefiting to the extent that they could from tourism in the area.

One significant benefit of the joint venture is the skill training offered to the Conservancy members. The training helps those working at the camp to perform their jobs effectively. In our conversations with listening groups, we encountered individuals who received training in housekeeping, tour guiding, cooking, maintenance work, and management. However, there are very few individuals with management training according to both a TC manager and the former chair of the Conservancy (Appendices N, M). They do not feel that the members have sufficient training in management and marketing to allow them to separate themselves from WS. They told us that if WS left, the Damaraland Camp would not survive, it would become a "white elephant". However, everyone we spoke to felt that WS training was beneficial and they would take the opportunity if they were offered the chance to be trained. Additionally, those with whom we spoke said that upon completing training, they received certification papers (Appendix H). This has helped some individuals find work with other camps or agencies. In addition, those who received training said that the skills that they had learned transfer well and are both useful to themselves and to the Conservancy. For example, those trained in cooking told us they can apply their skills to making food for themselves and their families (Appendix M). We did learn that some of the people who have received training are distancing themselves from others as they now consider themselves superior to people who have not received training. This is not a widespread issue, however, and most of the people with whom we spoke told us that those with training are helping the Conservancy, rather than isolating themselves (Appendix H, I).

An aspect we had not considered was that not all the people who are trained by WS end up getting jobs at Damaraland Camp. Though they see some of the benefits of training, they do not get the direct financial benefit of actually working for the Camp. Further, they seemed unaware that not everyone with training would be employed by WS (Appendix H). As such, they are confused as to why they were able to complete their training yet not find work. In our interview with Wilderness

Safaris' staff, we learned that they intentionally train more TC members than they can hire in order to give the members the benefits of training (Appendix S).

Another problem with the training is that some of those who need to travel to get to the training session see the world outside the Conservancy and decide that they do not want to return. They recognize that their training could lead to a better job with a higher salary if they continue to live outside of TC. This can be a problem for those paying for the training since the people they train are not returning to work for the Camp. However, since WS attempts to train more people than it can hire, this appears to be a product of their training strategy rather than an unexpected problem. It is also a problem for the Conservancy since it cannot benefit from the skills of these individuals. The former head of the Conservancy (see Appendix M) also agreed that most people who had received training had left the area in pursuit of work. In addition, we were told that it is younger people who are leaving for the cities. Because of this, some people in the Conservancy are proposing that any trained individual must work for the Camp for at least a few years before leaving. However, without WS hiring all those whom it trains, it is inevitable these trained people will look for work elsewhere. Some Conservancy members have found that other companies pay better salaries than Wilderness Safaris, so it is financially advantageous to leave the TC to work for one of these other tourist ventures (Appendix H). Those present at the block meeting were also concerned with this trend (Appendix T). The overall attitude was that people leaving, with or without training, was a negative impact on the region. While we do not know the exact cause of this view, or if there are benefits that are not apparent to those we spoke to, it is clear that a significant portion of the Conservancy does not see the migration out of TC as a positive.

A final issue with the training is that it is entirely controlled by Wilderness Safaris. As such, the Conservancy has no say in either who receives training or what type of training they receive. What those on the committee would like to see is Torra Conservancy being the one responsible for training, assisted by Wilderness Safaris (Appendix O). In that way, they can give the people the skills they need and integrate the training in areas such as first aid and HIV/AIDS awareness with the

conventional skills taught by WS (Appendix T). There is already an existing example of TC offering training without the help of WS, as the game guards receive training on their position by TC. However, this is but the first step towards this committee goal.

According to the current manager of the Conservancy, anyone related to a member of the Conservancy can also claim membership (Appendix N). This has allowed individuals to move to the area and enjoy the benefits of the Camp. According to several of our interviewees, some of those who moved into the area since the Camp's inception have no interest in actually bettering the Conservancy (Appendix M,N). Thus, the members to whom we spoke feel as though some of the new residents are taking advantage of the joint venture. The interviewees believe that the new residents lessen the already small economic benefits given to each member, such as the meat from trophy hunters and the community game drive. Though we do not know the exact number of residents who exhibit this type of behavior, enough are currently living in the Conservancy to upset other members. In order to quell this problem, the Torra Conservancy administration is proposing two solutions (Appendix T). The first of these is only allowing membership for those who live in TC. This prevents people from moving away and continuing to collect benefits while they are away. This is currently a point of debate, as shown in the block meeting, since some believe that those born in the Conservancy should have membership for life. The second solution that the Conservancy committee is proposing is to only award membership and begin providing benefits to those living in TC after they have lived in the area for several years.

Another issue affecting the Conservancy members economically is that they have no alternative to tourism. Right now, the Camp financially benefits some families, but many families still rely on farming for their livelihood. According to the manager of the TC, the Conservancy aims to stop farming and other activities completely and rely solely on tourism to survive (Appendix N). As previously mentioned, tourism fails to help many members right now, so stopping their non-tourism related activities will not be feasible for quite some time. A TC manager told us that the people of the region also see farming as an honorable profession and they are not universally excited about

the transition to tourism. In addition, a previous Conservancy chairperson expressed concern about the transition to only tourism and suggested looking into mining and other ventures (Appendix M).

The governing structure of the Conservancy is actually another large problem that is slowing economic progress. The Conservancy's executive committee is elected every five years. When that happens, an entirely new group of people, who are not familiar with working with WS, has authority over all of the Conservancy decisions. Both sides, that of the Conservancy and that of Wilderness Safaris, agree that the committee complicates the situation (Appendices D, I). Every time the Conservancy members elect a new committee, new relationships with WS must be forged. This was the main problem that Bruce Salt from the WS Windhoek office identified the Damaraland Camp as having. The individuals elected to the committee do not necessarily have any understanding of the agreements with Wilderness Safaris, proper business practices, or the English language. As a result, some issues between the committee and WS must be renegotiated every five years. The new committee members sometimes do not agree with some of the arrangements and ideas of the previous committee, and thus some beneficial plans do not come to fruition. In some cases, money has already been invested in a project. Once the project is abandoned, the money spent is lost. This wastes the levy money and slows the economic development initiatives of the Torra Conservancy, thereby lessening the economic benefits to members.

The committee can also affect the Conservancy's development in another way since it controls the distribution of money made from the Camp. The committee determines exactly how all money is spent. According to the three men from the men's listening group, the money was originally distributed fairly among the entire Conservancy. Now they say that the committee has begun to save more and more of the money each year for future projects. Although this does not presently help the Conservancy, it could prove useful in the future. By keeping the money, the committee has angered some individuals who believe that the profits from the WS Camp should simply be handed out to each Conservancy member. Other Conservancy members think that handouts do not work to actually benefit anyone in the Conservancy, as they feel there is not

enough money to effectively split among the over 800 members. This is creating discord amongst the Conservancy members about how the money earned from WS should be handled.

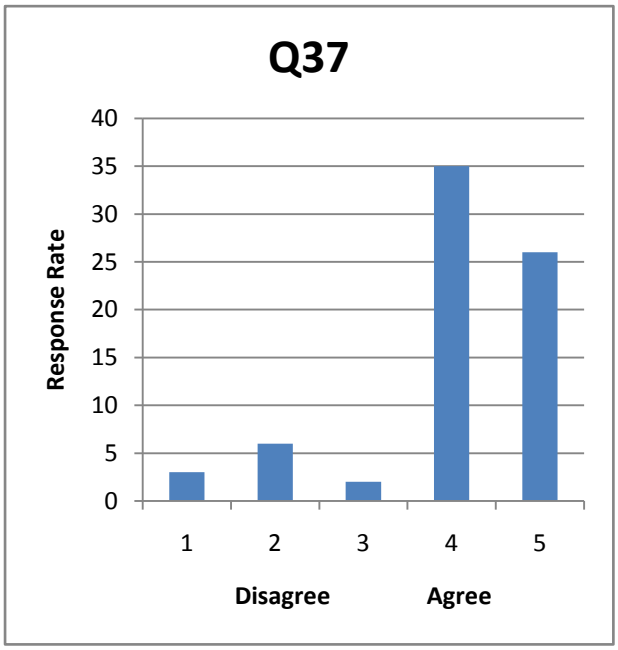

Figure 12: Response to "Residents are satisfied with the manner in which tourism development and planning is currently taking place"

After completing our research we found that ten of the 63 questionnaire statements had an average response of 4.0 or higher, indicating that there were some ideas with which the majority of our interviewees agreed or strongly agreed. The most important was that the Conservancy members agreed that "Residents are satisfied with the manner in which tourism development and planning is currently taking place" (Q37, see Figure 12). Since 84.7% of participants responded with a 4 or 5, it demonstrates that most individuals are happy with the progress the joint venture has made and with the direction that it is headed. In fact, 86.2% of the responses for "the number of tourists on community tours should increase significantly" (Q21, see 13) were 4 or 5, showing that the Conservancy members like having tourists in the area enough to feel that there should be more. The Conservancy members feel positively about the joint venture, and feel that having tourists around benefits them more than it inconveniences them. This indicates that the joint venture is achieving some of its goals,

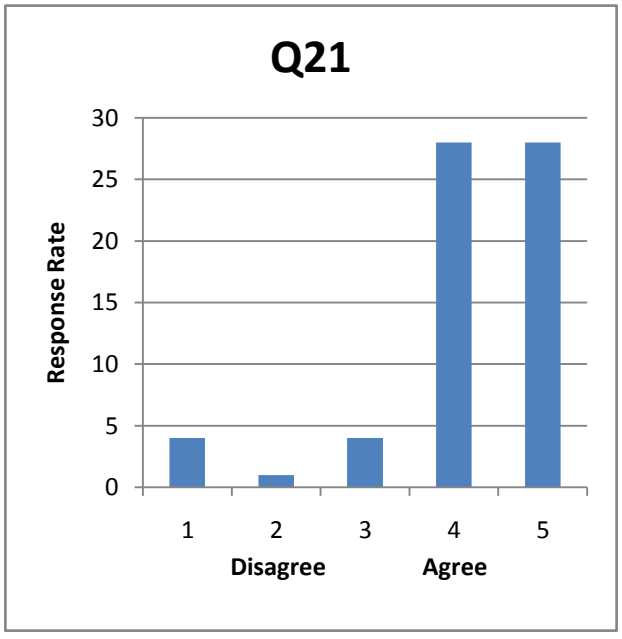

Figure 13: Response to "the number of tourists on community tours should increase significantly"

since the Conservancy members approve of its operations. The members' feelings towards an increase of tourists are also very positive. For tourism to help more individuals, the number of tourists may need to increase. One statement that the 74% of our respondents disagreed with, giving a response of either 2 or 1, was that "the government should restrict further development of tourism in the area" (Q28, see Figure 14). The Conservancy members feel that any government restriction would decrease the benefits they receive from tourism. The committee, however, feels differently about government involvement. According to the current leader of the TC, conservancies lack the power to protect their land against freelance users (Appendix O). For example, some tourists drive into the area on their own without tour or safari guides and pay nothing to the

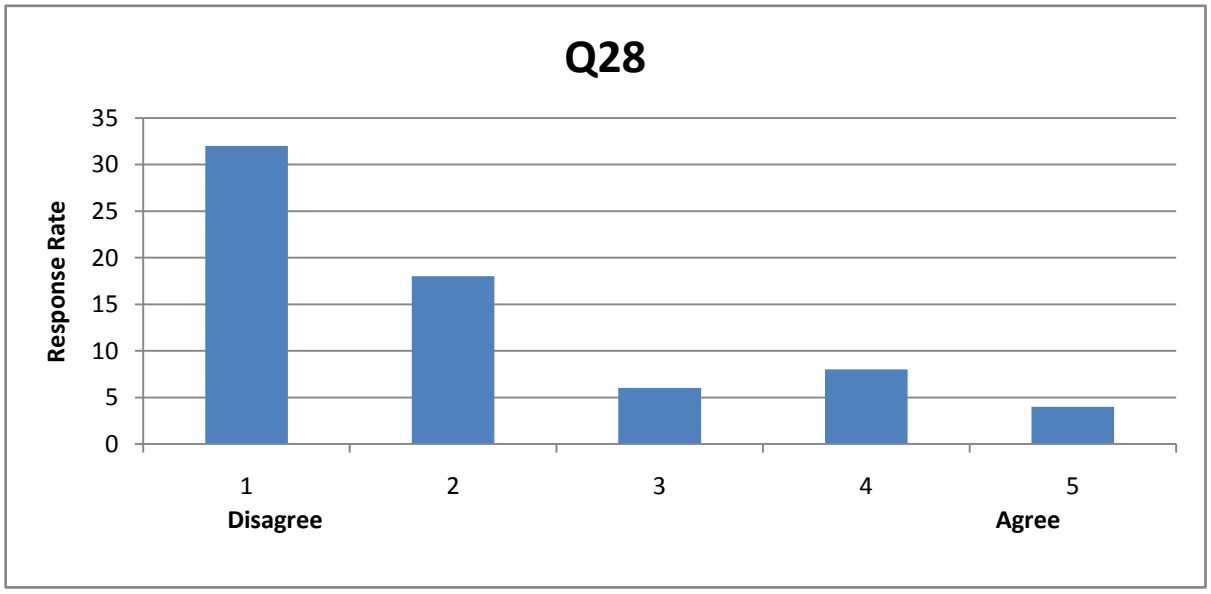

Figure 14: Response to "The government should restrict further development of tourism in the area"

Conservancy. The committee wants the Namibian government to give the Conservancy the right to restrict such activities.

An issue pertaining to Wilderness Safaris and one of the TC's neighboring conservancies was brought to our attention. Wilderness Safaris actually owns two camps on Torra Conservancy land; in addition to the Damaraland Camp, WS owns a camp in Palmwag. This second camp, however, is not a joint venture with the Torra Conservancy. It is a concession, which means that the government owns the land. Torra Conservancy, along with two other conservancies, currently has the rights to

use the government land. After gaining permission from the government, WS set up the Palmwag Camps and now pays each of the three conservancies – Sesfontein, Anabeb, and Torra – for land usage. In addition, WS employs people from the Otjimbgo, Sesfontein, Omusati, Anabeb, Torra, Omaheke, and #Khoadi-//Hôas conservancies to work at the Palmwag Camp. As a result, the TC members receive very limited direct economic benefits from this Camp. Several of the TC residents dislike the Palmwag Camp, and think that WS should pay the Conservancy more for it (Appendix R).

WS also owns a camp on the Dora !Nawas Conservancy which borders the TC. While this Camp could be irrelevant to the TC's members, WS takes tourists on game drives that leave Dora !Nawas and enter the TC. Again, WS makes a profit because of the tourists, but the TC sees no benefit. The manager of the TC referred to the Dora !Nawas situation as a "trick" by WS (Appendix N). According to Bruce Salt from WS, game drives from the TC also drive through Dora !Nawas because the wildlife does not respect the boundaries of the conservancies (Appendix S). Despite this fact, the Conservancy members feel that they should benefit from anything that utilizes their land or the resources, such as game, that is found on their land.

The last economic benefit from the Camp comes from the 10% levy agreement. As explained before, this agreement says that 10% of all revenue from the Damaraland Camp goes directly to the Torra Conservancy. This money goes to the Conservancy's Executive Committee, which then distributes the benefits. These benefits range from a one-time distribution of cash to each Conservancy member, to the building of a school in Bergsig, to savings against years with poor tourism revenue (Appendix N, O). Some of the money that goes to the Conservancy is used to hire game guards and other staff members (Appendix P). Thus, the levy agreement has led to job creation. Because the committee decides where this money goes, the levy's economic effectiveness is directly tied to the effectiveness of the Conservancy committee and staff members.

In one of the personal interviews, the current manager of the Conservancy said "Building a new camp is a better option than running an existing camp" (Appendix N). He believes that it would take the TC too long to learn how to fully run the Damaraland Camp. He then highlighted the

problem that even if they tried to open a new camp that they alone owned, WS still controls training. Without trained individuals the camp would not succeed, so the TC would still be relying on WS. One solution that the manager offered to the problem was having 40-60 percent ownership of the Damaraland Camp. That way the TC would have more control over training and could begin to train members for their new camp.

Our observations revealed several aspects about the TC and its members. Despite the fact that many of our interviewees stated that the presence of tourism has encouraged them to keep the area cleaner, there was still an evident issue with excess litter. In addition, we noted that the roads going to and through the Conservancy were in disrepair. None of the roads were paved, and the gravel in some areas was washed away or otherwise very difficult to traverse by car. Since the majority of the Conservancy members have donkey carts instead of cars, it would seem even more difficult for them to use the roads. Both of these issues may stem from a lack of Conservancy funds and of maintenance and sanitation employees in charge of maintaining the TC's appearance. Another notable observation of ours was that although most of the Conservancy members are all relatively poor, their housing and clothing conditions revealed an economic stratification. Some members, especially those living in Bergsig, could afford to have permanent houses. Other members could only afford structures made of sticks and tin sheets. Similarly, the members working for the TC wore nicer clothing and showed a greater level of cleanliness than members who did not work for the TC. This fact is probably due to the salary awarded to those who work for the TC office. Additionally, considering those working for the TC would be expected to interact with WS and tourists on a regular basis, they would be expected to have a better appearance than those unemployed individuals.

4.2 Socio –Cultural Impacts

In analyzing the survey responses and the notes taken during the interviews and listening groups, some cultural changes have been identified. One major cultural change that the people have observed is a reinvigoration of their traditional art forms such as dancing, singing, craftwork

and needlework. Eighty-six percent of the interviewees indicated they agreed with question 40 of the questionnaire, that "tourists interest in culture has resulted in a strengthening of traditional activities and cultural pride". The responses to various questionnaire statements indicated that before the joint venture with WS, certain aspects of the culture of the Conservancy members was not taking on an important role in their lives. This is supported by the seventy-one percent who agreed to question 43 which states "local culture is being renewed as a result of tourism". With the introduction of tourism to the area, some aspects of the cultures of the Conservancy members have become more important, as the tourists have a large interest in seeing and experiencing such cultural traditions. It was also apparent, however, that the cultures specific to some ethnic groups are being expressed and revived more than others. This inequality exists because some ethnic groups are demographically much larger than others on the Conservancy (Appendix R). The Damara group is the largest, so tourists see more of their culture. People whom we interviewed of a different ethnic group did not seem angry or spiteful about the inequality, but rather seemed disappointed that they did not have the capacity to represent their culture to tourists as effectively.

Another important change that was brought to our attention was how the local people viewed their culture. The Conservancy members did not always have the economic freedom to outwardly express their culture, and were more focused on day to day activities such as farming. Now, the Conservancy members have seen a revival in cultural pride along with financial help from the joint venture. They now recognize that their culture defines them, and their traditions are a large part of their lives. The culture has also been strengthened through their traditional festivals and other important events that were previously neglected. Eighty-six percent of the individuals we interviewed said

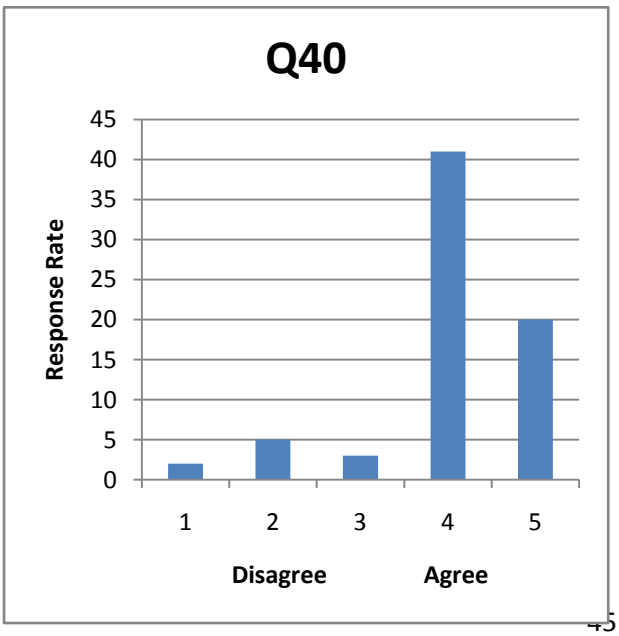

Figure 15: Response to "Tourist interest in culture has resulted in a strengthening of traditional activities and cultural pride"

that they are now proud of their culture (Q40, see Figure 15). They also made it clear that sharing their culture with tourists was very important to them. For example, the Conservancy holds traditional dances and dinners typically on Thursday nights, and they invite the tourists to come join their celebration. These dinners serve two purposes, one of which is to give the elderly members an opportunity to gather, and the other, as mentioned, is an opportunity to share their culture with tourists. Seventy-seven percent of the Conservancy members agreed with statement 51, that since the WS Camp has been bringing tourists to the region, there has been an increase in cultural exchange. The tourists are learning about the local culture, but the local people are also learning about world cultures by talking to and spending time with the tourists. Even during some of the interviews, the people being interviewed had questions about us and the major differences between our two cultures.

One negative issue that can potentially occur when tourism is introduced to a rural area is cultural commercialization. This can cause local people to adapt their cultures to suit the tourist market. In conducting the interviews, we addressed this problem and asked specifically if the people believed this was happening to their culture. The results we obtained indicated that the Conservancy members are neutral towards the question, as 40% agreed and 37% disagreed that this was happening to their culture, with the remaining 23% answering neutrally. Additionally, we did not witness any operational stands or shops where tourists could purchase cultural items from the local people, aside from a few roadside stands, so we were unable to determine through observation the extent of cultural commercialization.

The influx of tourists into the area has also stimulated an acceptance of outsiders and tourists within the Conservancy. Even through observations, we were able to see the level of hospitality offered by the people living in the Conservancy. Most people we passed would turn and wave, and we had few problems interviewing anyone because almost everyone we met was willing to participate. Every person we talked with was generally friendly and not opposed to talking to us. A good example of the people's hospitality towards others is the traditional meal that some group

members experienced while in Bergsig. With almost no introduction except small talk earlier in the day, three group members were invited to join a group of friends for an evening meal that was being prepared. The people hosting first asked if we would join them before they started cooking in order to cook enough for everyone. They seemed more than willing to share, and were excited to explain their traditional eating style. It showed the trust that they had in outsiders, and their willingness to share themselves with people not from the Conservancy. This may have been an isolated experience, but 82% agreed that tourists show respect for the cultural lifestyle (Q45, see Figure 16) of the people and 77% agree that meeting tourists promotes cross-cultural exchange.

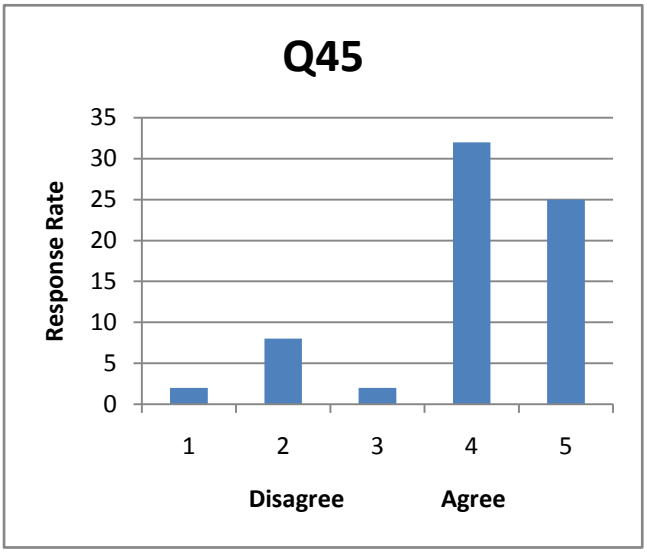

Figure 16: Response to "Tourists show respect for the cultural lifestyle of the local people"

The members are now more focused on conservation because they realize that the land is their greatest asset. There have been steps taken to ensure that wild animals and plant life are being protected and that the land itself is being maintained. For example, game guards have been hired to protect the animals from poaching. Another example of the people's mindset changing that was explained to us by a Conservancy member, informally after an interview, was that previously many farmers had fences to protect and corral their livestock that impeded on the wildlife's habitat. However, currently there is a system in place such that if a farmer loses livestock to a predator, and can prove it was a predator, the Conservancy will reimburse him or her for the loss. Farmers presently have less fencing and therefore less of an impact on the environment and the lives of the wildlife.

Other aspects of culture were not reported as being affected by the introduction of tourism. To our knowledge typical farming has stayed the same, as have marriage practices, diets, and family structure. Positions of power, such as community leaders and family leaders, have not changed and

are kept in their traditional fashion. We experienced this first hand when we tried a group listening session with a family that became a one-on-one interview with the patriarch (Appendix M). He led the discussion, and was the only one to speak; all of his family members remained silent. This demonstrated to us that the family structure has not been affected by tourism. Furthermore, 74% of our respondents agreed that the family life has not been disrupted (Q11, see Figure 17). Additionally, 76% said community life had also not been disrupted (Q12), but we did find that educated and trained individuals are leaving the Conservancy for more urban settings. This was expressed to be a problem by many of our interviewees, but it may not have been created by the joint venture, merely exasperated by it. The increase in entry-level positions, such as housekeeping, has led to an increase in the demand for more female labor. Forty-four percent of our respondents agreed with question 20 pertaining to female labor increases, but our interviewees state that it has not affected family life. Languages have also been unaffected by the tourists, as the local people have retained their home languages. This was supported by question 44, where 56% percent disagreed that tourists have lead to a deterioration of local languages. From the questionnaires the majority of people spoke Afrikaans with the second most spoken language being Damara. We asked the WS employees from the Conservancy, who interact most with the tourists, but they did not indicate that there had been a change in languages. This shows that the introduction of tourism to this area has not disrupted the lives of the local people in any significant way.

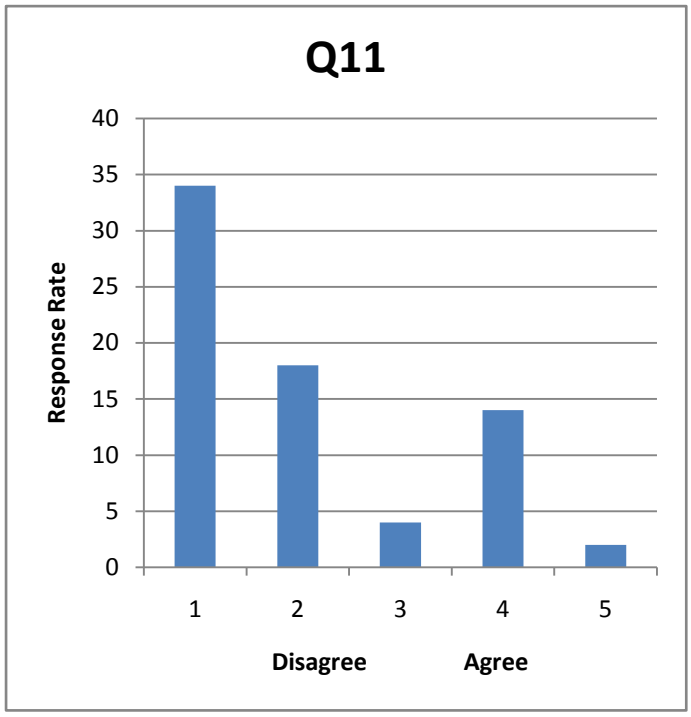

Figure 17: Responses to "The family live of local residents has been disrupted by the presence of tourists"

4.3 Dichotomies between Different Subgroups

After reviewing the responses from listening groups and interviews, and examining the questionnaire responses, we noted something unexpected. The different subgroups – men, women, young, old, and so forth – all responded very similarly. There were no major discrepancies between their comments or levels of agreement. When we did see differences, they were small. For example, in several cases the individuals who had not been on the Conservancy very long would feel neutrally, while residents who had been there a while agreed or disagreed to the statement. This can most likely be attributed to the fact that people who have lived on the Conservancy longer have experienced more changes and therefore they have a greater understanding of situations in the TC. Men and women agreed on 73% of the questions. Those under and over 30 years of age agreed on 98% of questions, indicating that age is not a relevant factor when considering the Conservancy members' thoughts on tourism in the area. Additionally, those who receive some income from tourism only differed from those who do not on 7.2% of the questions. Those who have at least a high school education agreed with those who do not on 76% of the questions, and finally, those who have lived on the TC for over 10 years only differed from those who have not on 12% of the questions. The level of disagreement for those questions that they answered differently was minor (see Appendix V for full details).

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Observations

Based on the results from our research in Damaraland, we have arrived at several conclusions about the joint venture, the Conservancy, and the relationship between the two. Additionally, we have also made observations that may help the Conservancy benefit more from the arrangement with Wilderness Safaris. Our conclusions and observations all relate to and are based around to our main goal and objectives.

5.1 A Review of the Goal and Objectives

The goal of our project was to determine the socio-cultural and economic impacts of the Damaraland Camp on the members of the Torra Conservancy. We sought to determine if the Camp has improved the financial standing of the Conservancy members either directly through employment or indirectly through skills training and an increase in the demand for goods and services. We also sought to determine if anything was hindering the members' ability to benefit economically from the joint venture. Since the contractual agreement for the joint venture states that WS will provide training for the Conservancy members, one of our objectives was to determine if that was happening. In addition, we also examined to see if cultures of the Conservancy members

had undergone any cultural and social changes, either negative or positive, as a result of the DC. Lastly, we sought to determine how the members of the Conservancy feel about the joint venture, tourism, and the Damaraland Camp in general. After completing our research and analyzing the interview, listening group, and questionnaire responses, we have drawn several conclusions about the aforementioned impacts of the joint venture.

5.2 Conclusions about the Joint Venture

Overall, the Camp has been economically beneficial for members of the TC. Since the Camp employees are mostly members from the Conservancy, around 25 individuals and their family members have been able to benefit directly from the Camp. We concluded that more frequent maintenance on the roads and in Bergsig could be beneficial to the area as well. This in turn could employ more individuals from the Conservancy. In addition, although the Camp has been able to provide jobs for some of the members, it is not big enough to employ many individuals. As a result, some members have been able to benefit financially, while many have not. We have also concluded that indirect benefits are being lost due to the lack of entrepreneurial training. Our last economic conclusion was that WS is not taking advantage of the Conservancy members by having game drives leave Dora !Nawas to find wildlife on the TC. Since the location of the tours rely heavily upon the location of game, WS routinely drives tourists between the two Conservancies.

Culturally, we have concluded that the Damaraland Camp has positively affected the people of the TC. Most of the cultures have seen a revitalization since the Camp was established. The members of the Conservancy now take pride in their cultures instead of neglecting their traditional activities, as was clearly indicated by the questionnaire responses. Additionally, the day-to-day behavior of the Conservancy members has not seen much change. According to several of the individuals we surveyed, the only apparent negative cultural impact from the Camp is that not all cultures are experiencing the revival. The smaller cultural groups on the Conservancy, the Nama and

Riemvasmakers, have a more difficult time expressing themselves to the tourists, and thus are not experiencing the same revitalization as the Damara.

In terms of the training offered by WS, the company is living up to the joint venture contract. The Conservancy members do receive training, and the training has been beneficial for the Conservancy. Even if WS does not employ every trained individual, the skills learned from the training can be used to find employment elsewhere. We have noted, however, that many individuals feel that they do not have the opportunity to attend training, and some of those who do automatically assume that the Camp will employ them afterward. Considering the Camp does not have the ability to hire everyone, the trained Conservancy members who do not receive a job offer can begin to harbor feelings of resentment towards the Camp. We believe this highlights the lack of communication between WS and the members of the Conservancy.

After interviewing and surveying many members of the Conservancy, we have concluded that the Conservancy members approve of having tourism in the area. In addition, they view the joint venture positively and feel that the joint venture will be beneficial in the future. Even some of the individuals whom we interviewed who did not feel like they have benefitted from the Camp agreed that over time, the Camp will be able to help more individuals.

5.3 Suggestions for the Joint Venture

Based on these conclusions, we have identified several aspects of the DC, the TC, and WS that could be improved in order to better benefit the Conservancy members. As we have not experienced the changes that have been brought to our attention by the Conservancy members, we depended on their opinions and the problems they highlighted to construct our suggestions. We realize that some of the suggestions that we have proposed here may not be feasible immediately, but they stand as issues that the Conservancy and WS may want to address in the future.

The first aspect that the Conservancy members feel could be improved is the hiring policy of Wilderness Safaris. As explained before, it is difficult for Conservancy members to get jobs working

for the Damaraland Camp unless they are related to someone already working there. While at times the best candidate for a position may be related to another staff member, it would be best if the hiring process were done in a way that avoided giving preference based on family relations. This would help the community because more families would benefit from employment, rather than only a select few.

Since the training offered by Wilderness Safaris is highly beneficial to the community, we propose that more Conservancy members should be trained. However, it should be made clear to those receiving training that they are not guaranteed a job. It would also be best if those who received training first were given a higher priority for any jobs that become available than those who are trained later. This will help to ensure that the people are able to apply their training while it is still familiar to them. It might even be in the best interest of WS to require a number of years of employment from each trainee to cover the cost of training if there are positions available at the Camp. Furthermore, in order to enable the Conservancy to eventually assume ownership of the Camp, WS should offer managerial and marketing training, as these were the two areas that the members identified as most important and not yet offered to many people. However, the transition does not depend entirely on managers. Since almost all of the tourists at the Damaraland Camp are of international origin, it follows that those working for the Damaraland Camp will need to be able to market to international tourists. At the moment, they are completely dependent on WS for this. To eliminate this obstacle to the Conservancy's acquisition of the Camp, we propose that WS should train some community members in international marketing so that they can gain experience working in a marketing capacity before the transition of ownership is complete. Since we did not have adequate time to research WS's other joint ventures, we suggest that the Conservancy members research the business relationships of these other ventures in order to determine if any other training arrangements would be more beneficial to the TC.

While the jobs provided by WS are helping the Conservancy members to support themselves, there simply are not enough available positions to allow all members of the

Conservancy to benefit. We feel, as do the majority of interviewees, that if WS expanded its Camp and hired more staff members, it would greatly improve the economy of the area. Hiring more people is not the only issue, however, as salaries need to remain appropriate for the cost of living. Because there is a trade-off between the salary of an employee and the number of employees hired, WS must work to optimize this ratio so that the greatest number of people can benefit from the presence of the Damaraland Camp. As DC only achieved a 42% occupancy rate for the 2008 fiscal year, we do not believe an expansion can be realized in the immediate future. Similarly, if the TC could build a new camp, independent of WS, more Conservancy members could benefit. However, without knowledge of the commercial potential of the area and the benefits of having a new camp, it is unknown if this would be an economically viable solution.

The existing number of TC game guards is insufficient to protect the entire Conservancy since there are only six for the TC's 352,200 hectares. As game is the primary resource for tourism, protecting it is of high importance to the success of the Conservancy. Hiring additional guards will both protect the interests of the Conservancy and provide the people with more jobs. It would also be beneficial if the Conservancy office hired more members for different positions in general. For example, if the Conservancy has the financial ability to hire groundskeepers to maintain the deteriorating Conservancy roads and keep the land clean, more members could be employed. Employing extra members could cause a strain on the TC finances, so it would be necessary for them to find a balance between creating jobs and saving money for other purposes.

Though the community members are able to find work with the Damaraland Camp and as game guards for the TC office, a problem remains that people in the Conservancy are not properly trained on how to pursue entrepreneurial opportunities provided by the presence of tourists. We suggest that the Conservancy could hold training sessions or seminars on how to start and manage businesses and conduct sales in order to allow more of the Conservancy members to be self-employed. Once trained, community members could better market wares or services to tourists and take full advantage of their presence in the Conservancy. Prior to establishing any new business, a

market analysis would need to be completed by the TC to determine its economic viability and target market.

Because of the resurgence of local culture brought about by tourism, some Conservancy members could make money by selling cultural products to tourists. This holds great potential to simultaneously enrich culture and improve the local economy. One way that TC can take advantage of the cultural pride present in the Conservancy is by providing a place where members can work on arts and crafts. With a dedicated place to work on these projects, we feel that the people will be able to create goods to sell to visiting tourists, which will bring money into the Conservancy. This is especially good for the people because of the high amount of unemployment in the area. Though creating crafts is not a conventional job such as farming, it allows those who do not have jobs to make money and improve their standard of living. With the introduction of a craft center, the local people should be conscious not to change their culture to suit the needs of tourists. As this is not yet happening, it is not a problem that we feel needs to be fixed, but rather kept in mind. Highlighting the potential problem will help the people keep it from happening in the future. Since cultural pride is strengthening in the Conservancy, this problem will be less likely to occur as more time passes. As these changes will not be noticed by any tourists or WS, the people themselves need to be aware of any potential problem so that they can identify and stop the problems before irreparable damage is done.

Since tourism has helped the people of the TC to be proud of their culture, we believe they should attempt to express it more often. The TC can express their culture more frequently by holding more traditional meals and dances with tourists. Instead of having one traditional meal on Thursday night, we believe holding more traditional meals over the course of each week would help express all cultures, and increase attendance by tourists. Each culture could have an assigned day each week so that they would have the option of holding an event on a guaranteed night. This would assure each cultural group the same opportunity to express themselves. However, we do not know the feasibility of having these events more than once a week. One problem with this plan is

the way in which tourists move throughout the Conservancy. At night the roads are very dangerous due to wildlife and low visibility, and the locations where guests stay is far removed from Bergsig where these events would probably be held. As the Conservancy has only one truck, there is no way currently to transport the tourists back and forth from these events. WS could help by marketing these cultural events to their guests, and possibly providing them with transportation. Another potential problem would be the cost of holding these events. The tourists could be asked to either pay for their meals or donate money to help cover the cost of the entire event.

One of the issues hurting the Conservancy members' ability to benefit financially from the joint venture is the poor definition of Conservancy membership. The members may want to devise a more structured definition of Conservancy membership. It may be necessary to change the bylaws of the Conservancy so that they can limit an outsider's ability to take advantage of the benefits given to Conservancy members. Although we have identified this problem, the current manager of the TC is already working to solve it, but we wanted to stress the issue as this is directly hurting the members' ability to benefit economically.

Another issue that we feel the Conservancy may want to address is how the committee functions. While some form of governance is necessary to keep the Conservancy running, the current arrangement seems to hinder the Conservancy's progress. The fast turnover of committee members is the most detrimental issue. By the time one committee fully understands the relationship and agreements the Conservancy has with WS, a new committee has taken the position and the process starts again. Bruce Salt of WS also stated that this was a problem from the viewpoint of WS, as they need to relearn how each committee operates. One way the Conservancy members may want to deal with this issue is by arranging to have a period of several months during which the current committee members brief the incoming committee members about the important issues, and the direction the current committee is moving. This period would serve as a pseudo-apprenticeship and would allow for a smoother transition of both personnel and ideas. By the time the new committee is assembled, they should know all about the joint venture, have

established friendships with the members of WS, and should be fully prepared to continue with the Conservancy's progress. Another adaptation that may help the Conservancy is to have staggered elections. Instead of having one election that replaces the entire committee, one or two members could be replaced at a time. This would allow for continuity of ideas and policies as the more experienced members could help to mentor and train the new members.

As the former director of the DRFN stressed during our interview with her, financial transparency is essential. The Conservancy members should be aware of how much money is earned from the joint venture, and where it is spent. Though many of our interviewees are aware that some of the money has been used for a school, most cannot say exactly where the rest has gone. They do agree, however, that the committee has been setting aside more money for future projects each year. The former director of the DRFN said that this lack of communication is a common problem on conservancies. It is beneficial that the committee keeps money for future projects, but the Conservancy members should be made aware of the plans for spending the saved money, and perhaps be given an opportunity to have input on how it is spent. Communication between the committee and the Conservancy members may need to be improved so that everyone is aware of how TC money is spent.

Another issue brought to our attention in the interview with the manager of the TC and the game guard was the other WS camps in the area, Dora !Nawas and Palmwag. Neither camp is an economic problem for the TC. Despite this, the TC members are still upset by the presence of the camps, and the fact that the camps routinely use TC land for their game drives. The best solution to this problem is improving communication between the conservancies that are represented by the three camps. Bruce Salt expressed that the communication among the conservancies is very poor, so the members do not fully understand the relationships among them. In addition, as self-drive tourists are considered a problem in the TC, they are presumably an issue in other conservancies as well. Solving this problem would require the participation of all conservancies in the region.

The last issue we identified was that the current manager and the Conservancy committee want the TC to derive its income solely from tourism. Though many of the members still rely on farming, the current TC manager explained to us that the committee wants to move away from all activities not related to tourism. If the international tourism market does not continue to thrive, the Conservancy would risk a financial crisis that could seriously hurt its members. The former DRFN director also stated that relying on one type of activity for income is never a good idea, particularly when it depends on international markets. We suggest that the Conservancy encourages the members to continue with their normal activities like farming and other sustainable ventures, while perhaps adding new tourism related businesses. One suggestion that the former Conservancy chair gave during his interview was the possibility of introducing mining in the TC. We do not know exactly what would be mined, as information on the resources of the area is limited, but we feel that this conflicts with the ecotourism vision the Conservancy currently holds. We recognize, however, that finding other viable economic activities may be difficult.

5.4 Summary

We have concluded that the Damaraland Camp has economically benefitted the Torra Conservancy, and has encouraged a cultural revitalization among the Conservancy members. The Conservancy members feel however, that there are several cultural, economic, and legislative aspects of both WS and the TC that could be improved in order to fully realize all potential benefits that the Damaraland Camp has to offer. These aspects include building a craft center, hiring more Conservancy members, and restructuring the bylaws of the Conservancy.

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Appendix A: Sponsor Background

The Damaraland Ecotourism project is being sponsored by the Polytechnic of Namibia's Department of Tourism. The following is a compilation of our knowledge regarding our sponsor, related information, and competitors. Most of this information is taken directly from the Polytechnic of Namibia's website. This appendix concludes with a graphical representation of the university's levels of governance.

The Polytechnic of Namibia describes its mission as meeting the needs of industry, the driving force of the Namibian economy (Polytechnic of Namibia, 2009b). It achieves this mission through teaching values, skills and technical knowledge. In addition, one of its goals includes acting as a repository for the preservation, development, and articulation of Namibian values and culture. It also aims to encourage the advancement of science, technology and development in both urban and rural communities.

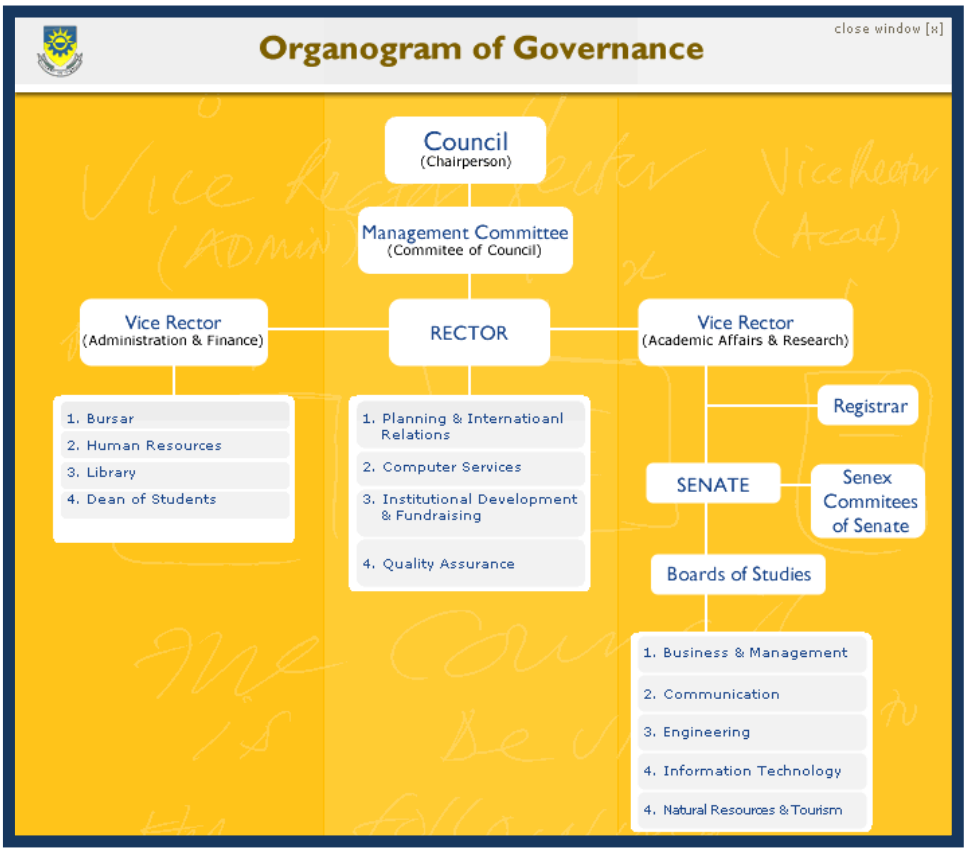

Figure 18: Polytechnic of Namibia Government Structure (Polytechnic of Namibia, 2009b).

The head of the institution is the Rector, Dr. Tjama Tjivikua. He reports to the Management Committee, which in turn reports to the Council (see Figure 18). He is supported by the vice-rector of Finance and Administration, and the Vice-Rector of Academic Affairs and Research. Dr. G. Guenzel is

the former, while the latter position is currently vacant. Falling under the Rector are the offices of Planning and International Relations, Computer Services, Institutional Development and Fundraising, and Quality Assurance. Falling under the office of the Vice-Rector Finance and Administration are the following departments: Bursar, Human Resources Department, Library, and Dean of Students. Falling under the office of the Vice-Rector Academic Affairs and Research are the following departments: Office of the Registrar, Senate, and the Boards of Studies. The Senex, Executive Committee of the Senate, is included in the Senate. The Boards of Studies are the boards of Business Management, Engineering and Information Technology, Communication, Legal and Secretarial Studies, Natural Resources and Tourism.

The dean of the School of Natural Resources and Tourism is more likely to be one of our contacts. His name is Mr. L. Mwewa. This school under the university provides a necessary role in accomplishing the goal set by Namibia's Second National Development Plan of "Sustainable and equitable improvement in the quality of life of all the people of Namibia" (Polytechnic of Namibia, 2008, School of Tourism and Natural Resources). Within the school they have departments such as Agriculture, Land Management, Nature Conservation, Hospitality, and Tourism. Many of the School's main objectives fall in line with those from our project, such as land reform, poverty alleviation and environmental and ecological sustainability.

We will be working mostly with the School of Natural Resources and Tourism. We expect them to be a partner and resource to our work. The man we will be working most closely with will be Erling Kavita. Other than working with the Polytechnic of Namibia, we will also be working with the Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET), which is a governmental agency. Non-governmental organizations we will be working with include the Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC), Wilderness Safaris, and the Torra Conservancy. Wilderness Safaris and the Torra Conservancy are particularly vital to us, and we will be working with them directly for much of our time in Namibia. These organizations are not tightly connected, instead being a collection of similarly interested groups that are attempting to accomplish a joint goal.

Though the Polytechnic is one of only a half-dozen tertiary education centers in the country, it is a private organization and is not funded by the government. Because of this, money is provided by tuition, alumni, and organizations which pay for their employees to attend. As the school has only been completely autonomous since 1996, there is not a large alumni base to draw on for support.

Although information regarding the capacities of the Polytechnic of Namibia is quite limited, the school will undoubtedly be able to provide an extensive amount of valuable resources. The students and faculty of the school will have a much more thorough understanding of Damara culture than we do. In this respect, any staff member or student could easily educate us in the local customs and values, thus preparing us for our interviews. They will be able to provide us with a more concrete, first-hand description of Namibian lifestyles than we could ever learn from other sources such as journals and books. Some of the individuals attending the Polytechnic may have even witnessed ecotourism ventures similar to the Damaraland Camp during their lives, providing us with yet another opinion on the value of companies like the Wilderness Safaris to indigenous communities. Our enhanced understanding of the local culture is likely to result in an enriched and more detailed report.

The individuals from Polytechnic of Namibia will serve as beneficial resources in another fashion. According to the Damaraland Camp project description written by Professor Erling Kavita, we will be working directly with students from the university. With more minds dedicated to this project, its scale can be magnified; much more can be accomplished with their aid than we would be able to do on our own. The students' knowledge of local customs and traditional behavior will expedite our interactions with other Namibian residents, thus allowing our group to work more efficiently.

Campus libraries are often a major resource for university students, and the Polytechnic of Namibia's library will be no different for us. The library's website boasts of an extensive collection titled the Namibiana Collection (Polytechnic of Namibia, 2009a). This collection contains over three thousand books and other resources on Namibia, published in Namibia, and written by Namibians.

Though we do have access to resources about Namibia while at WPI, we unfortunately do not have access to such a degree of pertinent information. This will help to provide us with even more background information and further develop our understanding of the situation of focus. In addition to the Namibiana Collection, the library is also home to a hard-copy collection of publications by the Namibia Development Information Center and has workstations for accessing the center's online materials. Undoubtedly, this collection contains studies on the commercial development of regions like Damaraland, and will provide Namibian opinions on subjects of relevance. The final collection which will probably prove to be an excellent resource for our project is the World Tourism Organization collection. With this resource we will be able to access a plethora of information about the impacts of tourism worldwide, thus allowing us to draw conclusions from other studies about possible outcomes for the Damaraland Camp. Finally, the Polytechnic's library also belongs to WorldCat and participates in Inter-library loan. As a result, we will be able to access even more information that we could not otherwise.

Appendix B: Land Policy and Distribution

The issue of land redistribution and resettlement has been at the forefront of many rural farmers and displaced people's minds since Namibia gained independence in 1990. Frequently referred to as the "land question" (Werner, 1997), the South African People's Organization (SWAPO) strongly urged congress and the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement, and Rehabilitation (MLRR) to move quickly in addressing the matter. Before Namibia's independence, white colonists from both Germany and South Africa expelled the native people from their land in order to turn it into commercial farms. Many of these people are now living in areas less suitable for agricultural purposes lacking economic stimulus. This is considered one of the main reasons for much of the rural poverty experienced by dispossessed people. However, some Namibians have a cynical view of the land redistribution process due to the slow progress in the seven years after their independence.

Land redistribution was addressed very soon after Namibia's independence at the first independent National Assembly, and was supported whole-heartedly by the Prime Minister, who convened a special Land Conference on Land Reform. The purpose of this conference was to "seek a better understanding of the issues through research data and findings as well as experiences on land reform from other African countries" (Werner, 1997), and to listen to any other related concerns from all parts of the country. The conference, however, was not provided with the power to actually make any essential decisions or redistribute any land. Topics such as ownership and utilization of commercial farms, gender inequalities, and restitution of ancestral land were discussed there. They agreed that abandoned, under-utilized, and unused land needed to be restored by expropriating as needed. The conference also discussed finding ways to curb foreigners from buying up large amounts of land, in addition to balancing the need for foreign investment under specific terms and conditions.

Land was not redistributed and the recommendations proposed by the Land Conference on Land Reform were not enacted until 1995, when the National Assembly passed the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act. Later, a Regulations Board was implemented along with a system to

allocate rights to the people with respect to suitable communal lands. The government has also been working with the controversial willing seller, willing buyer principal. Those opposing the principle feel that the land was originally stolen, and therefore does not merit compensation for so called 'sellers'. Best verbalized by a former Minister of Information and Broadcasting Ben Amathila, a common sentiment among most Namibians was, "We feel as long as land remains with the white people we are not independent" (Werner 2007). This sentiment is still echoed throughout Namibia.

The process of land redistribution still continues with questions about who specifically should be the beneficiaries, and what land should be appropriated, as well as at what cost. The government is facing other higher priority budget demands such as education, healthcare, and agriculture, which are slowing the process of land reform. One of the largest issues is that only about 10% of the entire population is suffering from the dispossession, thus they lack the political power to exert pressure on politicians.

Appendix C: Interview with a Clark University Professor

February 17, 2009, 3:00PM

IDCE House, Clark University

Present:

Kelly Butler

Gregory Kinneman

Stacey Morin

Anthony Scaccia

(All interviewed and all took notes)

I work with a group in Lake Victoria region of Kenya trying to understand the prevalence of malaria, contraction frequency, and mortality rates. In addition, I have done community based work in Africa and Latin America, as well as a great deal of work in the Worcester area focusing on how people change the environment, and how those changes affect the community health.

Ecotourism projects are more or less sustainable. "The jury is still out" concerning the ventures that claim to be community-based, so approach the subject with skepticism. The idea is to generate revenue, so there is a natural reluctance to share profits. How does one establish a joint venture where sharing is ensured?

In theory, ecotourism should be the way to go, but it should be accountable and well managed. There still really isn't much literature about it. You should also be weary of how stuff is reported. There are always biases. Some over-report the positive, others, the negative.

I teach a class on sustainability, and how one chooses amongst alternative development strategies. You must evaluate the alternatives and figure out the tradeoffs, and you must continuously monitor performance. Your group may want to take an Impact Assessment Approach. With sustainable development, you want to increase equity for the stakeholders. Both groups should e included in how you measure positives and negatives. Study employment; look at numbers and types of employment. Be sure to look at ecological implications.

Look at a variety of indicators. Biodiversity will benefit both groups. Social impacts, ask if there have been displace peoples, some kind of social change, have people been moving into or out of the region? Notice potential health concerns.

How does one measure culture change? Loss of integrity of particular cultures, do several groups morph into one? Perform interviews, notice things like if language is passing between the generations. Do a literature review on cultural impacts.

Your most precious resource is time, sifting through stuff in the library will be hard. Gleam potential indicators from the impacts of ecotourism.

Political impacts, notice changes in policy, practices, or decision-making. Has the power structure changed? What about the way decisions are made? A lot of your interactions with people will be a reflection of power dynamics. Pay attention to the order in which people are introduced to us. The most powerful will come first.

Be sure to speak to a variety of different community groups. Which groups are not represented, which are marginalized. For example, women or people of low income are most vulnerable.

Be sure to hold some listening sessions. They are similar to focus groups, but I prefer the term listening groups as your roll is really to listen rather than interview. They will be quick to jump for negatives, so be sure to probe for the positives. You need a spectrum of ideas for how things are going. Listen to the Camp owners.

You need to find a way to identify a representative sample, minimize bias, and get a sense of who the community is. Are there ethnic subgroups? Minorities? If you're biased, you'll miss an entire spectrum. Literacy will be a barrier.

Bring a tape recorder, but be sure to get their approval. You need some acknowledgement/oral acceptance. Translate the recordings later.

Use a variety of tools, make sure you observe! Listen for people complaining about stuff, and take photos. They will be great documentation. Pay attention to boundaries. How is the boundary between the Camp and the people established? Have the people changed their farming techniques? That would be an indirect affect of the Camp. There may be competition for land usage.

How do you discuss income with the people? You need to be sensitized to the community first. There may also be different ways of measuring productivity; perhaps by bushels or number of cattle. What helps a pastoralist? You don't need to look at money. Has the Camp impacted the productivity of the pasturalism?

Individual interviews are not the best source. You should really use listening sessions. You can steer them in the direction you want them to go. Just let them talk. This will help capture a wider range. Also, get indication from the translator if the group is on topic.

Building trust is also extremely important. There needs to be a level of trusts. Use theatre, dance, or music. Do a skit for the local people to share something about your culture. It will be an ice breaker. Amuse them; you don't need to use words. They will appreciate it, don't worry.

Appendix D: Interview with Bruce Salt and Basilia Shivute from the Windhoek office of Wilderness Safaris

March 18, 2009, 2:15PM

Wilderness Safaris' Windhoek office

Present: Kelly Butler, Gregory Kinneman, Stacey Morin, Anthony Scaccia, Ebson Ngondo, Joyce, Onesmus Sagaria, Professor Erling Kavita

(All WPI students interviewed and took notes)

Bruce Salt:

Wilderness Safaris has been in operation for 26 years and started in Botswana. Originally, there were concessions instead of conservancies. They were high yield-low impact because they consisted of tents that were set up, taken down, and moved to a different location. Eventually, we decided to leave the camps up, and we developed lodges.

Each country of operation has a main office. The main headquarters of Wilderness Safaris in general is in Johannesburg, South Africa.

The main goal of Wilderness Safaris is really the environment. We want to promote conservation through tourism. We are also community-oriented. There are several ways that we develop relationships with the communities. We can own the property, lease it from the community, pay the government for the land, or have a partnership with the community.

We are really most famous for the Torra Conservancy. It's one of the most well known joint-ventures in the world. It was established 12 years ago. We had a 15-year contract. Wilderness Safaris had a loan to build and manage the lodge. For the first 10 years, we were to pay the community a monthly levy of 10%. After 10 years, the levy went up to 15%, and we thought the community would be self-sustainable. That was not the case, however, so we're currently reworking

the contract. We've begun to look at equity partnerships where assets would increase, and the community would receive a monthly levy. We also employ from within the community. We find people willing to do each job from housekeeping to managing. We always include 2 or 3 spots during training for community members.

We have 25 staff working at the Torra Conservancy, with 75 community members working as well. Many of our community members start in positions like housekeeping, and as they work for us and receive training, they can move up. Rosie started in housekeeping and is now managing. As people move up, we also move them around to all of our various camps.

The most difficult issue we have to deal with is the lack of continuity. Every 3 to 5 years, the people elect a new committee. Sometimes it's a clean sweep, and an entirely new group of people become the authorities of the community. That means that it's a new start. We need to work out our agreements with another set of individuals, and we have all new relationships to build.

The people of the Torra Conservancy understand the benefits of the joint venture and seem to use their money wisely. Instead of just dividing the money amongst the community members, they use it to invest in projects and such. They have had some failed projects, but also some successful ones. For example, they invested in their schools and created a kindergarten. They now also have money for an operations office with phones, computers, and fax machines.

We have no say over what happens to the money once we give it to the community. They have total freedom with what they do with it. It would be extremely complicated and difficult if we were able to dictate where the money goes.

We have three different levels of camps. The high-end camps give the illusion of complete isolation. Most guests are fly-in. They fly from one of our camps in Namibia to another, so they get a full exploration of Namibia. We do offer self-drive.

Trucks bring goods once a week to the camps. We also grow our own vegetables so that our patrons can have some fresh vegetables.

Most tourists, about 60%, tend to be from the US. The other 40% are primarily from Europe, particularly from the UK.

When we look for areas to establish camps, we look for areas with no roads, no lights at night, and no power lines. We like to have a far distance from a main road. These types of details determine how high-end the camp will be.

Our employee training varies from two to 14 days. It varies depending on the position. Obviously, housekeeping would require less time to train than management. We have many different types of training: housekeeping, electricity, tour guide, environmental awareness, management, driver's licensing, and computer and technical skills. All of our training is in-house.

"How do you choose which community members will be trained?"

The managers recommend people from the community. They give names to the community office. Names are then submitted when training comes up. We look for determined individuals with a desire to learn. Training is a free of charge for community members.

The community has enough funds so that if any wildlife destroys or harms the property or livestock of an individual member, that member can be reimbursed for their lost. The Camp helps to keep people close to home. They do not need to travel to find work.

Basilia Shivute:

My role is environmental officer. We do environmental audits in all of the camps. We engage with staff members about conservation, waste management, and other environmental concerns. We also do research, like vegetation and soil studies. Our ethics are based on minimizing the environmental effects of the camp.

The Torra Conservancy does road counts by different non-government organizations of the animals. This helps to determine the quota for consumptive activities.

We determine what education about the environment the community needs. We also host Children in the Wilderness where children come for a week and have a follow up program.

Appendix E: Interview with two people from the Torra Conservancy Branch of Wilderness Safaris

March 19, 2009

Present: Kelly Butler, Gregory Kinneman, Stacey Morin, Anthony Scaccia, Onesmus Sagaria, Ebson Ngondo, Joyce Newman, Erling Kavita, Professor H. Ault, Professor C. Peet

(All WPI students interviewed and took notes)

Polytechnic of Namibia

J.: Social /area manager for four camps in the south and Community Liaisons Officer

I work on community engagement strategies for WS. I work with NGOs, advising communities to encourage them to participate in joint ventures, partnerships, so forth. I devise the best engagement model by the company tourism operation with the communities. Normally, I advise the business agreements and within that lies the social strategy. Out of that strategy, we branch into various social responsibility issues. Out of the arrangements come the agreements for neighboring conservancies to benefit from joint ventures in which WS interacts with the communities. From a wilderness perspective, we want to change people's lives and have a positive impact by engaging in smaller projects. Education, where we target schools and introduce various sorts of support like environmental concerns, HIV/AIDS, and provide awareness on important issues. Environmental concerns from part of the social strategy; we try to identify initiatives within the communities we become part of the initiative. For example, dealing with alien species, training youth to look after the environment. We do research projects from that aspect that look into specific areas. We also have projects that work with business enterprise. We outsource certain functions to the communities for empowerment. Ownership lies within the community, WS outsources the responsibilities.

L.: I'm based in and was born in Torra Conservancy (TC), grew up and went to school there, and have been working in the Camp for last 12 years. The Camp is a joint venture between the local people

and WS. The joint venture works perfectly because it changes our lives in the community. Before the joint venture, there was nothing for the local people. I was a goat herder before because there was no work. During the beginning operations, it was done fairly so everyone would benefit. One member from each family was involved. We worked up through the ranks. Locals requested me, and I became the manager over time. The entire Camp, the employees there, are from the Torra Conservancy. WS trains everyone up from the grass roots level. They knew nothing about tourism before then. WS trained them for everything. The TC is family based, more than 800 members, and everyone knows each other well. The school kids see tourists driving through villages, and ask them how they are doing. 10 years ago, the TC didn't have the privilege to have beds, electricity, but now the kids get beds. Now, they can afford to buy things. Great job creation for us. In the TC, we have the community office. 10% of what the guests are paying goes back to the TC. We have a committee that runs the community. These people take care of them in the community. No hunting, community game guards paid by income from the joint venture. Most people have been working for the last 12 years. No one wants to move out of DL because it's their home. Hard for them to leave. Certain operations at the lodge hired out to the local people. For example, some woman look after the parked cars, some do laundry. Guests from camps do village visits. The local people guide the people around and tell them about the community. Hosting a special group of guests that's visiting the boarding school, going to the classrooms, sit with the children, go to traditional, local lunches, have traditional dancing with the local people. Tourism in this area is one of the biggest resources. Selling crafts to the people who visit is another form of job creation, as is having the ladies cook for the guests.

Appendix F: Questions for the Listening Groups

1. What is your livelihood? Has the Camp helped you better your livelihood? For example, if you herd cattle, has money from the Camp helped you to feed/give drink to your cattle in times of poor natural production?

2. Do you feel that you cannot buy the things you want? Are you able to save your money against bad times?

3. How do you feel about the job and skill training offered by Wilderness Safaris?

4. Have you received any training?

   Yes-> Has it had an impact on your income? Has it improved your standard of living? Has it changed how you feel about yourself? Do you feel that it has increased your value as a potential employee?

   No-> Were you not offered the chance to be trained? Would you participate in training if you could? Was it your choice not to receive training?

5. Do you think that the training has had any impact on the community in any way? Could you please explain the impact?

6. Would having an increased number of individuals in the community trained affect how you feel towards the community? Is it a source of pride or happiness?

7. Has training affected the overall attitude of community members?

8. Do you feel that the Camp has lived up to its end of the agreements you have set?

9. Do more community members speak other languages such as English since the Camp has come? Is English a useful skill to have in finding employment?

Appendix G: Listening group with Three Male Members of the Torra Conservancy Community

Present: Gregory Kinneman (interviewed) and Ebson Ngondo (scribed)

1. The men are all farmers. One of them gets nothing from the Damaraland Camp. The other two think that they benefit very little.
2. Long term jobs can be beneficial, but they can really only get short term work with fewer benefits. It is difficult for the men to save money because the money they earn is not enough to cover their basic needs. The men receive little money from the Conservancy and/or the Damaraland Camp. They feel that people who live closer to the Camp benefit more. `
3. One of the men attended the training but failed. Only a few people are trained, and the men feel that training is conducted in an unfair manner. They would like to be trained if the training was done fairly.
4. Those who receive training complain about their salaries. They have to travel too far to their jobs for that little pay, but those who receive training are likely to be hired by the Damaraland Camp.
5. Training creates stratification/discrimination within the community.
6. Training is beneficial to the community.
7. It did change quite a bit (i.e. there is now less pollution)
8. Wilderness Safaris does live up to its agreement because more people are employed, but it is not empowering the community. If Wilderness Safaris leaves, the community cannot run the Camp.
9. Language plays a huge role in employment. People who can speak more languages are more likely to get jobs.
10. The men think that Wilderness Safaris needs to build more camps in order to create more job opportunities. The community must also branch out beyond tourism and start supporting other practices such as farming and mining. The community brought the aforementioned idea before the Conservancy member meeting, but nothing came of it. The Conservancy committee changes every fifth year. In the past, the committee gave more money to the local people, but now the committee keeps the money.
11. The men have no leisure activities to keep themselves busy.
12. They think the Conservancy committee should spend money on new projects such as computer courses.
13. They also think that the current committee is incompetent and should be out-voted.
14. There is no gender balance; there are more men in the committee and more women working at the Damaraland Camp.

One man thinks that the Damaraland Camp should be enlarged in order to employ more people.

Appendix H: Listening Group for Women under 30

A. Interviewer (Gregory Kinneman, Joyce Newman)
   Also Present: Kelly Butler (both WPI students took notes)
B. Listening Group

A: What is your livelihood? Does the Camp help you to better your livelihood?

B: None of us work. One here used to work for the Camp as a waitress. However, there was very little pay, so it wasn't a good job

A: Do you feel that you cannot buy the things you want?

B: Because we don't work, there is no real money to spend or save. There are no good opportunities in the area for work. Families work at WS, but if you don't have a relative working there, you won't be able to get a job. Also, if you have a family member in the government you can get a job, but otherwise you cannot.

A: How do you feel about the skill and job training offered by WS?

B: Two of us received training as waiters and housekeepers in 2007, but Wilderness Safaris has yet to offer us a job. Some people who receive training have jobs, but others do not. Training helps improve one's ability to get hired, but it doesn't always result in a job.

A: Did the training have any impact on your standard of living?

B: Even with a job from WS there was no better standard of living. One here has a job waitressing with another company that pays better than WS.

A: What about those of you who haven't received training; do you want to be trained? Why haven't you gone for training yet?

B: Many of us tried to get trained, but have not been selected. We definitely want the training because it will help us to find jobs. It also depends on where you are trained.

A: Do you think that the training is impacting the community? Could you please explain this impact?

B: The community has changes as a result of the training we have done. It is beneficial to the individuals and the community. There are more skilled workers in the area now. However, more people need to be trained.

A: Do you feel that people with training see the community differently? Are they distancing themselves?

B: The people who are trained are not separating or distancing themselves from us. Training leads to pride and happiness, but it doesn't lead people to feel superior to their community. Training also helps because then you have papers to show potential employers.

A: Do you feel that the attitudes in the Conservancy have changed at all due to the joint venture with Wilderness Safaris?

B: Attitudes in the Conservancy have changed. We are more nature conscious now, and our attitudes towards tourists have improved as well.

A: Is Wilderness Safaris living up to its end of the agreement? Are they empowering the community?

B: Yes, WS is definitely living up to the agreement. They are empowering people through training. The problem is that not enough people are getting trained. The money is distributed equally to all registered members over 18 years old. We used to get foodstuffs like meat.

A: Is speaking English a useful skill to have when looking for jobs?

B: English is a useful skill to have. It's hard to get a job without English. However, even those who speak fluent English don't necessarily have work because of the problem of family influence. Family discrimination is a very big problem.

A: Do you practice other skills to make money?

B: Some of the women do needlework or other crafts to supplement their income. Most want to study but don't have the finances to do so. Also, we want AIDS awareness programs to help the community.

A: What could WS do to improve how it is working here?

B: Providing more training is important. Getting money for a youth hall and library is important too. Language courses could help also.

A: Do you feel that if WS left, D Camp could survive?

B: Absolutely not. It would become a white elephant. We need more management structure and training.

A: Are there other solutions available to you?

B: It would be good if other companies besides WS invest here, since WS doesn't pay enough. They provide lots of work, but not enough for everyone. They provide more training than work, but still not enough. Working is better than being unemployed, even for low pay. We appreciate WS, but we need them to contribute more. Much remains to be done before TC is ready to take on more responsibility in D Camp.

A: Would expanding D Camp help? What about building another Camp?

B: Yes, more tourism would definitely benefit the community. But people don't accurately describe the situation. Mostly we need training. We want to diversify our skills, maybe by working elsewhere besides this region.

Appendix I: Listening Group for Women over 30

A. Interviewer: Kelly Butler (scribe), Joyce Newman

B. Listening Group

A: What is your livelihood? Does the Camp help you to better your livelihood?

B: A few of them were institution workers, another woman worked for Savanna Safari Trophy Hunting and another woman was an NDC worker.

A: Do you feel that you cannot buy the things you want?

B: No, they said they can't by the things they want because they do not even have daily necessities. Yes, they try to save because they feel that the Torra Conservancy doesn't.

A: How do you feel about the skill and job training offered by WS?

B: They would really appreciate being trained. They would also like to have training in all different areas. They are concerned though because they do not even have basic first aid training and they are afraid they could not even help someone who could be dying.

A: Have you received any training?

B: No they have not received any training. They just try to train themselves.

A: Were you not offered the chance to be trained? Would you participate in training if you could? Was it your choice not to receive training?

B: No they were not offered any training but if it were offered to them they would take it.

A: Does/would having an increased number of individuals in the community trained affect how you feel towards the community?

B: Yes they do think that it would affect how they feel towards the community but since they don't have the training it hasn't changed them.

A: Do you know about the agreements between Wilderness Safaris and your community? If so, do you feel that the Camp has lived up to its end of the agreements you have set?

B: None/ NA

A: If so, do you feel that the Camp has lived up to its end of the agreements you have set?

B: Yes because the head people help them overcome their problems.

A: What about language? Can more community members now speak another language other than your native tongue?

B: No other languages than Afrikaans.

A: Are there any general problems in the community that you would like to see addressed?

B: Favoritism is a large problem since they only look for people to train that they like. Another problem is that unemployment is very high which leave a lot of people home without much to do. They also feel that education is a large problem, and they need better, more qualified teachers. They said that some of the students are not learning the proper things they should be for their grade level. They would like to see extra classes offered for both students and parents. The women would even like opportunities for parents with different specialties to volunteer to conduct classes.

They also described problems with transportation and a lack there of. The women said that favoritism persists with the Conservancy vehicles too because they will only take some families into town but not others.

They said that since there is only one store they have very high prices and the salaries are too low. They would like to have more stores to create competition to keep the prices more reasonable.

They said accommodations are a problem too for the school children. There are problems like not enough desks or places to sit and eat and broken furniture. They say it is about $40 Namib/ quarter but the hostile where they stay is not that nice.

A: How do you feel about having tourists around?

B: They have no problems with the tourists being there.

A: Do you feel that it has helped the economy?

B: Yes, they think they have brought a lot of money and attention to the community. They said they like to visit the school, clinic, and government buildings.

A: What about crime?

B: The women said that crime is very high amongst the youth because they lack a sense of ownership.

B: As a last comment they also added that life is very hard for them because they must wash cook outside and do all the wash by hand.

Appendix J: Questionnaire

LIKERT SCALE INSTRUMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

PART A

For statistical purposes only. Place a tick where appropriate.

1. Respondent number:
2. Gender: Male[ ] Female [ ]
3. Age of Respondent: [<20] [20-29] [30-39] [40-49] [50-59] [60+]
4. Acquired level of education: [No Schooling] [Primary School]

   [High School] [Technikon/University]

5. Is your household income derived in any way from community-based tourism?
   [Yes] [No]

6. Home Language:
7. What is your approximate household income per month in Namibian dollars? _____
8. Years of residence in the Torra Conservancy area. ____Years

PART B

For each of the statements below, please describe the extent of your agreement or disagreement by placing a tick in the appropriate box.

The response scale is as follows:

1. **Strongly Disagree**
2. **Disagree**
3. **Undecided or Neutral**
4. **Agree**
5. **Strongly Agree**

CATEGORY: SOCIAL IMPACTS

9. Tourism will encourage an increase in street inhabitants along the tourist route.

1	2	3	4	5

10. The current level of tourism has significantly improved the standard of living of local residents.

1	2	3	4	5

11. The family life of local residents has been disrupted by the presence of tourists.

1	2	3	4	5

12. The community life has become disrupted by the development of tourism in the area.

1	2	3	4	5

13. Local residents have become disrupted by the presence of tourism.

1	2	3	4	5

14. Local people are being exploited because of the growth of tourism.

1	2	3	4	5

15. Further growth in tourism will result in overcrowding of amenities by tourists.

1	2	3	4	5

16. An increase in tourists will lead to resentment between residents and tourists.

1	2	3	4	5

17. The community should take steps to restrict tourism development.

1	2	3	4	5

18. Local resentment is generated because of the inflated prices for the tourist market.

1	2	3	4	5

19. Contact with tourists may introduce health risks to the host community.

1	2	3	4	5

20. Community and/or ecotourism has resulted in a greater demand for female labor.

1	2	3	4	5

21. The number of tourists on community tours should increase significantly.

1	2	3	4	5

22. Tourism will gradually result in an increase in land rates and taxes.

1	2	3	4	5

23. Residents have been consulted and made aware of the tourism development plan for the area.

1	2	3	4	5

24. The current level of tourism has significantly improved the local community's hospitality towards strangers

1	2	3	4	5

25. Local residents oppose the presence of tourists in the area

1	2	3	4	5

26. The benefits of tourism outweigh the negatives.

1	2	3	4	5

27. Tourism increases the rate of organized crime in the community

1	2	3	4	5

28. The government should restrict further development of tourism in the area.

1	2	3	4	5

29. Tourism has increased pollution problems in the area.

1	2	3	4	5

30. Tourists taking photographs of local people can cause great offence to locals.

1	2	3	4	5

31. Locals are barred from using tourist facilities in the area.

1	2	3	4	5

32. Tourism development increases the development of recreational facilities and amenities for residents.

1	2	3	4	5

33. Local residents are the ones who really suffer from living in an area popular with tourists.

1	2	3	4	5

34. Local people are treated equally, rather than as inferiors by tourists.

1	2	3	4	5

CATEGORY: PHYSICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

35. Tourism has made residents more conscious of the need to maintain and improve the appearance of the area.

1	2	3	4	5

36. There is better infrastructure due to tourism development.

1	2	3	4	5

37. Residents are satisfied with the manner in which tourism development and planning is currently taking place.

1	2	3	4	5

38. The development of tourism has generally improved the appearance of the area.

1	2	3	4	5

39. Tourism in the area has lead to more litter in the area.

1	2	3	4	5

CATEGORY: CULTURAL IMPACTS

40. Tourist interest in culture has resulted in a strengthening of traditional activities and cultural pride.

1	2	3	4	5

41. Local people alter their behavior in an attempt to copy the style of tourists.

1	2	3	4	5

42. Tourism has stimulated the locals' interest in participating in traditional art forms.

1	2	3	4	5

43. Local culture is being renewed as a result of tourism.

1	2	3	4	5

44. Interaction with tourists has lead to a deterioration of local languages.

1	2	3	4	5

45. Tourists show respect for the cultural lifestyle of the local people.

1	2	3	4	5

46. Traditional African culture in the area is being commercialized (sold) for the sake of tourists.

1	2	3	4	5

47. Tourism encourages a variety of cultural activities by the local population.

1	2	3	4	5

48. Tourism helps to conserve the cultural identity and heritage of the population.

1	2	3	4	5

49. Local people often respond to tourist needs by adapting traditional practices to enhance their commercial value.

1	2	3	4	5

50. Tourism causes changes in the traditional cultures of local residents.

1	2	3	4	5

51. Meeting tourists promotes cross-cultural exchange (greater mutual understanding and respect of one another's culture).

1	2	3	4	5

CATEGORY: SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS

52. Only a small minority of residents benefits economically from tourism.

1	2	3	4	5

53. Income generating opportunities created by tourism are evenly distributed across the community.

1	2	3	4	5

54. Tourism promotes an increase in the social wellbeing of residents.

1	2	3	4	5

55. Tourism has led to more people leaving their former jobs for new opportunities in tourism.

1	2	3	4	5

56. In addition to payment of tour operators for tour costs, tourists should be encouraged to make donations for the benefit of the local community.

1	2	3	4	5

57. Tourism provides many worthwhile employment opportunities for residents.

1	2	3	4	5

58. Tourism holds great promise for residents' economic future.

1	2	3	4	5

59. Tourism has already improved the economy of the area.

1	2	3	4	5

60. The development of tourism in the area benefits visitors more than locals.

1	2	3	4	5

61. Residents have been adequately consulted in practicing entrepreneurial initiatives in tourism.

1	2	3	4	5

62. Tourism in the area is in the control of a few operators only.

1	2	3	4	5

63. It is easier for young people to benefit from tourism.

1	2	3	4	5

Appendix K: Questionnaire Responses

Gender

Women:	40
Men:	32

Home Languages

Afrikaans:	34
Damara:	25
Khoe-Khoe:	3
Herero:	3
Oshiwambo:	2
Unknown:	2
Shilozi:	1
Subia:	1
Nama:	1

Schooling

No Schooling:	4
Primary School:	12
High School:	46
University:	8
Unknown:	2

Ages

<20:	4
20-29	36
30-39	12
40-49	10
50-59	5
60+	5

Income from tourism

Yes:	20
No:	50
Unknown:	2

Time in Torra Conservancy

< 1 year	4
1-5 years	19
6-10 years	9
11-20	11
21-30	9
31-40	13
41-50	2
50-60	1
Unknown	2

Appendix L: Revised Questionnaire

For statistical purposes only. Place a tick where appropriate.

1. Respondent number:
2. Gender: Male[ ] Female [ ]
3. Age of Respondent: [<20] [20-29] [30-39] [40-49] [50-59] [60+]
4. Acquired level of education: [No Schooling] [Primary School]

   [High School] [Technikon/University]

5. Is your household income derived in any way from community-based tourism?
   [Yes] [No]

6. Home Language:
7. Years of residence in the Torra Conservancy area. ____Years

PART B

For each of the statements below, please describe the extent of your agreement or disagreement by placing a tick in the appropriate box.

The response scale is as follows:

1. **Strongly Disagree**
2. **Disagree**
3. **Undecided or Neutral**
4. **Agree**
5. **Strongly Agree**

8. The current level of tourism has significantly improved the standard of living of local residents.

1	2	3	4	5

9. Local residents have become disrupted by the presence of tourism.

1	2	3	4	5

10. Local people are being exploited because of the growth of tourism.

1	2	3	4	5

11. An increase in tourists will lead to resentment between residents and tourists.

1	2	3	4	5

12. The community should take steps to restrict tourism development.

1	2	3	4	5

13. Local resentment is generated because of the inflated prices for the tourist market.

1	2	3	4	5

14. Residents have been consulted and made aware of the tourism development plan for the area.

1	2	3	4	5

15. The benefits of tourism outweigh the negatives.

1	2	3	4	5

16. Tourism increases the rate of organized crime in the community

1	2	3	4	5

17. The government should restrict further development of tourism in the area.

1	2	3	4	5

18. Tourists taking photographs of local people can cause great offence to locals.

1	2	3	4	5

19. Locals are barred from using tourist facilities in the area.

1	2	3	4	5

20. Tourism development increases the development of recreational facilities and amenities for residents.

1	2	3	4	5

21. Tourism has made residents more conscious of the need to maintain and improve the appearance of the area.

1	2	3	4	5

22. Because of tourism, the infrastructure of the conservancy has been improved

1	2	3	4	5

23. Residents are satisfied with the manner in which tourism development and planning is currently taking place.

1	2	3	4	5

24. Tourist interest in culture has resulted in a strengthening of traditional activities and cultural pride.

1	2	3	4	5

25. Local people alter their behavior in an attempt to copy the style of tourists.

1	2	3	4	5

26. Tourism has stimulated the locals' interest in participating in traditional art forms.

1	2	3	4	5

27. Interaction with tourists has lead to a deterioration of local languages.

1	2	3	4	5

28. Traditional African culture in the area is being commercialized (sold) for the sake of tourists.

1	2	3	4	5

29. Tourism causes changes in the traditional cultures of local residents.

1	2	3	4	5

30. Only a small minority of residents benefits economically from tourism.

1	2	3	4	5

31. Tourism promotes an increase in the social wellbeing of residents.

1	2	3	4	5

32. In addition to payment of tour operators for tour costs, tourists should be encouraged to make donations for the benefit of the local community.

1	2	3	4	5

33. Tourism provides many worthwhile employment opportunities for residents.

1	2	3	4	5

34. Tourism holds great promise for residents' economic future.

1	2	3	4	5

35. Residents have been adequately consulted in practicing entrepreneurial initiatives in tourism.

1	2	3	4	5

36. It is easier for young people to benefit from tourism.

1	2	3	4	5

Appendix M: Interview with Patriarch (Previous Head of the Conservancy)

A: Interviewer (Greg Kinneman (scribe) and Erling Kavita)

B: Interviewee (Patriarch)

A: How has the Camp bettered your livelihood?

B: The primary goal of the joint venture is to improve everyone's living standards, not just those of a small group. Most of the community is farmers, but we are attempting to make ourselves and our lifestyle sustainable.

A: How do you make money from the Camp? Can you buy the things you need? Can you save money against bad times?

B: The Camp helps us. My wife works with the laundry and the kids do work for the Camp to supplement our income. We don't save money so much as we have livestock. We use this livestock as an investment. So in a way we are capable of saving money. However, the saving of money needs to be planned for it to be useful.

A: How do you feel about the training offered by WS?

B: We are happy with what WS has taught. The young people are getting trained, but not enough people are trained to make the Camp self-sustainable. Problem areas include management and marketing. We are not ready to market ourselves alone.

A: Have you or anyone you know received any training? Has the training improved your standard of living?

B: One person here received maintenance training and works at the maintenance office. Some others in the area are guides and chefs. Most of those who have been trained have left TC for other places.

A: Do you feel that the skills from training have impacted the community is any way? Could you please explain this impact?

B: The skills are very transferrable. A person trained as a chef can now cook for the community, and one who is a guide knows the local area very well. These skills help benefit everyone.

A: Do you feel that having an increased number of trained individuals in the community would affect the local area?

B: Our main goal in the Conservancy is to benefit and train everyone. As stated before, the skills benefit everyone.

A: Has the training affected the overall attitudes of the community members?

B: People have become more conservationist and more respectful towards nature as a result of the Camp. Our inspiration is looking at other viewpoints. We are striving to be broad-minded, and the Camp is contributing.

A: Do you feel that the Camp is living up to its responsibilities and the agreement you have made with them.

B: People in the community are getting preference for jobs, over outsiders. In general the Camp is living up to its agreement.

A: How is the power arrangement in the community?

B: The elected body and WS must agree before anything is done, and power is divided evenly. Because the goal is for everyone to benefit, our agreement is important.

A: Is there a power difference between people with training and language skills and those without?

B: Yes, and these skills let people help others, but we must prevent people from becoming arrogant and distancing themselves from their community.

A: How can the positive effects of the Damaraland Camp be improved?

B: As the population grows, the number of jobs needs to grow too. We should see more camps being built around the Conservancy to provide more jobs and benefit the community.

A: Are there any problems with the Camp as it is functioning right now?

B: People are leaving after they are trained. They are going to other places in Namibia, and leaving the TC behind. We should have people agree that if they are trained they will return to work here for about three years ideally. Their schooling is being paid for by their sponsor, so they should help the sponsor by working for them.

A: Are there other problems?

B: Our main problem in the community is that we can only finance a few ideas. We have lots of proposed ideas for how to improve the area, but we lack the funding to support more than one or two ideas at a time. Further, our efforts are split between agriculture, tourism and management so there is a lot of difficulty getting anything finished.

Appendix N: Interview with the manager for Torra Conservancy and the chief game guard

A: Interviewers (Gregory Kinneman, Erling Kavita)

Also present: Ebson Ngondo, Kelly Butler, Anthony Scaccia (all WPI students took notes)

B: TC manager

C: Game Guard Supervisor

A: What is your position here in the Torra Conservancy?

B: I am a manager for TC. I handle most of the day to day operations.

A: Could you please give us a brief description of your history with the region and the Torra Conservancy

B: I grew up and went to school in the area. I started school in 1978, and later moved to Swakopmund in 1984 and then Windhoek, where I graduated. I was working for the ministry of education. I organized long-distance races and helped school kids. My brother started the Conservancy. I then came back to TC. I was organizing youth meetings in Berger, such as coaching the soccer team and starting an AIDS/HIV awareness group named My Future is My Choice. In August 2006, I applied and became a manager for Torra Conservancy. I went to the University of Namibia to receive training. I took classes in communication and decision making, finance, and benefit distribution.

A: How effective was this training at preparing you for your work?

B: I used my membership and benefit distribution training to hold effective meetings with the community. I also learned to better ask the community for their input and learned how to effectively run workshops and draft documents.

I found that it was best to talk to a community rather than a committee.

A: What are some challenges that you are dealing with?

B: We have a constitution with certain clauses that are hard to work around and not very appropriate. We also have Conservancy members not contributing as much as possible to the joint venture. There is also no traditional authority in the region. They don't respect the authority of TC. Membership is also not well defined here. If a person is related to someone in the Conservancy, then he/she can become a member, even if he/she has never lived in the Conservancy. Membership should really be only for those who live here year round. It is difficult to distribute wealth between the people who live here and the people who just come here to work. There is also not enough contribution from the members. They only want money from being part of the Conservancy, but are not willing to work hard to make the Damaraland Camp successful.

A: What can you do to diversify your interests beyond tourism?

B: Our eventual goal is that people here will not be doing any farming, but rather that all local income will come from tourism. However, the people here value the life skill of farming. They see it as a natural and honored profession, so they are not always eager to leave it. Also, they make money from selling animal skins to tourists and the community. The primary income in the area comes from tourism in the form of trophy hunting, campsites, live capture and guided tours.

A: Are there initiatives for the youth?

B: There is a German group in Bergsig. I would like to see TC spend its money on a stadium and a multi-purpose youth complex. We need things to keep the youth busy here.

A: Can the Conservancy help alleviate poverty?

B: Our purpose is to conserve the natural environment while helping our members. We are not here with the goal of alleviating poverty. We want to help people, but if they take not initiative it is beyond our control. We can help people with their ideas, but we won't just give money to people who don't work. Handouts are a waste of money. People who contribute and bring something get aid from us. We are trying to improve the quality of life for people.

C: People want more income generating opportunities in the region.

A: Can you define ecotourism?

B: Ecotourism is where you look after the wildlife in the area and people pay to see the wildlife in its natural environment.

A: How do you feel the relationship between Torra Conservancy and Wilderness Safaris is? Are there problems with the arrangement?

B: The two groups have worked together smoothly for the last 14 years. Right now everything is going pretty smoothly. We are extending our contract with them, so we are clearly interested in continuing our relationship. With both sides having partial ownership, we each have a stake in the Camp. There is a lot of communication between people in WS and the community and we try to visit the offices frequently. We are partners on socio-environmental issues, tourism, and involvement with local people. We have projects in the schools and a project to have community gardens to help provide food for the community. We occasionally have our differences, but we resolve them professionally.

A: So both sides are equal?

B: Yes, we are 50/50. WS is still the operator of the Camp, but we share decision making power. We are making changes to do away with black lists of

A: In light of the extension, is the goal still for TC to have full ownership of the Damaraland Camp?

B: Yes, we are negotiating for the extension. WS built the Dora !Nawas Camp, which uses the same area for tourists. Little is being done by TC to determine how we would run the Camp. We still rely entirely on WS for that. Also, can TC do the marketing by itself? Will the Camp survive if WS left now? [Original plan and updated plans for the transfer of ownership listed as tables]

A: What must be done so that TC can take full ownership of the Camp?

B: Building a new camp is a better option than running an existing camp and adapting to what already happens there. Also, we are being encouraged by the government's black empowerment campaign to take ownership of businesses. But one issue is that WS training is still defined by WS, so we do not have control over who gets trained and what that training entails. That's why we want to move to having 40-60 ownership of the Camp.

A: Is there a problem as a result of the Dora !Nawas Camp?

B: It's a trick by WS. They build another camp outside of the Conservancy, but they come to TC for their trips to see wildlife. Because it's in another conservancy, it is beyond our control.

A: What is your position in Torra Conservancy?

C: I am the supervisor of the game guards. I also do all field jobs for the Camp.

A: Was the training you received for this job effective?

C: Yes, but even with lots of training you can only control your own conservancy. Nobody will pay a staff to protect two conservancies. Yet the wildlife doesn't respect the boundaries between one area and the next. So we cannot properly guard all the game since the animals travel from region to region. Similarly, the Save the Rhino Trust will move Rhinos either into or out of our Conservancy, but they do not inform us of their actions. The impact of the guards has been significant. We used to have only seven rhinos in TC, now we have about 50. Once we had 400 springbok, but now there are about 10,000

A: Do you feel that the Camp is helping the investors or the community more?

C: I would say that the two are equal.

A: What do you feel is the main difference between hunting and photo tourism?

C: Photo tourism benefits the community more. It is also more sustainable. Yet there is an advantage to hunting in that it helps to balance the resource use and control the population of wildlife. So in small amounts, hunting is good too. However, there is no government provision to limit self-drive tourism, so we cannot control that aspect.

A: What do you want to see improved by 2011?

B: Two main things. The first is training. We need youth leadership training so that they can come up with projects so that they can be self employed. We want more people to be trained, and the training to be improved. This includes the committee, so they don't overlap their jobs with the staff. Secondly, with so little for the youth to do, alcohol abuse is becoming a bigger problem.

A: If people leave for training, do they want to come back to TC?

B: It would be good if there was a trade/work agreement; so that once somebody was trained they were under contract to work for a few years in TC. The Conservancy helps those who help themselves, but if we help people and they don't come back it creates a problem.

A: What about the committee that makes decisions, are they properly trained?

B: They try hard, but there are problems. They don't know the roles and responsibilities, so they end up overlapping their work. Also, the people from WC help us run the Camp, but all the knowledge lies with them, so that once they leave we are without the necessary knowledge to keep things going. The biggest problem with the committee is that every five years the new representatives are elected and so they spend their time coming up with new plans instead of using those determined by the previous group. It would be better if they held the same term, but only a few were elected each year. That way there would not be so much disruption every five years.

Appendix O: Interview with the Conservancy Chairman

Present: Gregory Kinneman (interviewer and scribe), Creighton Peet

A- Gregory Kinneman
B- Conservancy Chairman

A: Do you think the family life of the Conservancy members has been disrupted by tourism?

B: Life is changing, but some of that is due to modernization. It is not all because of tourism.

A: What about the community life? Is that changing?

B: People come together for farming and decision making. The committee meets every month and the blocks meet every quarter. I don't think that the community has changed because of tourism.

A: Does tourism result in conflicts with the local people?

B: Operators of tourism can create conflict, but the conflict is not directly due to tourism in general.

A: Do you think further growth in tourism will lead to resentment between tourists and the local community?

B: We know that we want to expand, and we know the type of tourism that we want. We want to see nature tourism.

A; Should the number of tourists visiting the community increase?

B: It really depends on who the operators are. It isn't just a black and white issue of tourism.

A: Should the government restrict tourism in the area?

B: The Conservancy cannot do everything. We need the government to help us make legislation to protect our borders and our Conservancy. We cannot regulate self-drive tourism, but the government can.

A: Are the local people allowed to use tourist facilities? Are they barred from accessing them?

B: They are not barred from using them, but the price of the accommodations is an issue.

A: Is there better community infrastructure due to the tourism?

B: The government is the one who builds roads, so tourism has nothing to do with that.

A: Has tourist interest in culture resulted in a strengthening of cultural pride?

B: Yes. On Thursdays we hold cultural dances in Bergsig for the older people. We are trying to encourage people to recognize their culture.

A: Can only a small percentage of the residents benefit economically from tourism?

B: Only a few can benefit directly, but most people are benefitting in other ways from the presence of tourism.

A: Do you feel that residents have been adequately consulted in practicing entrepreneurial initiatives?

B: No, that is an area that we are working on. But we have yet to see a lot of initiative from the community, so it is difficult to see if training will be beneficial.

A: Is it easier for young people to benefit from tourism?

B: The young people have the benefit of schools. The old people have the benefit of the dances. It is the middle aged generation that is feeling left out.

A: What about the Palmwag Camp? What is going on with that Camp?

B: We need to negotiate with the government over concessions like Palmwag. We don't want to make our area a national park because of the restrictions it entails. We are also trying to develop our own tent/camp site for tourists, such as self-drive tourists. That way we can provide them with a place to stay where they will not damage the environment and we can collect income from them.

Appendix P: Interview with a Game Guard

April 18, 2009

Present: Creighton Peet (interviewer), Gregory Kinneman (scribe, interviewer)

A: What are the biggest changes you have seen in the area since independence?

B: There is a lot more control for local people. Before our land was in the hands of the government, but now we have control.

A: What about your job? Do you feel that you are able to accomplish your work effectively?

B: Torra is completely against poaching. However, people come from other places outside the Conservancy and poach our game. In order for these people to get guns, they must do a lot of illegal things since they are so difficult to acquire. Poaching is not a big step further for them. They usually kill our antelopes for food. This year we do not have a lot of springbok. There was more rain up north, so we think they are there. It is delaying our community hunt.

A: What is the community hunt?

B: It is after we do our game survey. Once we know how many animals we have, we decide how many we can kill for the community. We then hunt them and distribute the meat to the community. The only other time we get meat is when the trophy hunters come. Then they get their trophy and the community gets the meat.

A: How long have you been working here?

B: I have only started working since last year. There are only five game guards, plus the head of the game guards. I will soon receive training on how to guard the game more effectively.

A: What happens if you catch someone poaching?

B: Not much. We get them to leave for a while, but they should need to go to court. Currently the Conservancy is responsible for dispensing justice, which we are not prepared to do.

Appendix Q: Interview with the Former Director of the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia

Interviewers: Kelly Butler, Gregory Kinneman, Stacey Morin, Anthony Scaccia (all students took notes)

7 April 2009, DRFN Headquarters

Team: Could you tell us anything about ecotourism ventures in Namibia?

D: I don't know that much about anything specific except for Grootberg, up north. It is very dynamic. It's on the #Khoadi //Hoas Conservancy. B.G. is in charge. Our L.G. has livestock up in Grootberg and knows a lot about it. They have a lodge built up there that is becoming very successful. Being a little bit east of the TC, they have better grazing, so they have more livestock. They protect their water points from the elephants. There's also an interesting conservancy north of Etosha, talk to V. M.. They had big plans when they opened the northern gates of Etosha to have a lodge there. Namibia Wildlife Foundation stuck a resort right in the middle of where there would have been a private tour, so I'm not sure what's going on with that. What I know from people like you, you're sent to the people who are the boss and the chair, and they think everything is wonderful. If you stop of the first place along the way to the office, they don't know anything about it, where the money is going, and they think it must be stolen. You have to be a member to be part of the payout. Usually people who do the touring around don't have a list of people to interview. The people most interesting to interview would be the ones not on the committee and such. I've been in 3 or 4 reports and they either think the conservancy is terrible or wonderful. It all depends on who you talk to. If you talk to C.B., you'll hear about how much money comes in. If you talk to community members, they think it's horrible because they're getting nothing. When the CBM and community forests were starting, there was terrible competition between the forestry people and the wildlife people. I met with Joseph last week, and in the community forest, no one gets cash in their pocket. Some of them harvest wood and sell it to the Conservancy office and they get paid out. The tariff that the community forest charges goes to building schools and doing good for the community. If you talk to IRDNC, who are we to tell people what to do with the money. If you give people money and they want to spend it on booze, so be it. If you take the whole event book system, monitoring, that is all very nice and very useful in Windhoek because it tells you how many people are involved and such, and gets you more money. Min. of Agriculture, FIRM, local level monitoring, the farmers decide what they want to monitor, like rain, quality of livestock, rangeland; that information stays within the firms themselves and they use it for their own decision making to decide when to take their livestock to market. The Conservancy data is not used by people in the Conservancy to make their own decisions, but it's used by the people who want to push everything. I think everything is good. We need to keep comparing everything. Not one approach is good or bad. The agriculture approach is good for draughts. Water point committees do their own monitoring. At least three major, different approaches. The conservancy part has its good and bad parts.

You have the committee and the community, the income goes to the committee who then spends it. I don't know what the TC is spending it on, do you? Team: Yes, they use it to build kindergartens and infrastructure. D: How much are the other people using those things? Team: No one seems to be

withheld from using the stuff. D: Are they allowed to use the safari buildings? Team: They can use anything there provided they have the money. D: Are they getting cash? Team: One year, then they decided not to do it. D: Who were you talking too? Team: We talk to both people who worked for the Camp and random people, all Conservancy members. D: Were the ones who aren't part of the committee comfortable with using the different things? Very often people say that it's their crop that's destroyed by the elephants, but they don't get money to replace them. Team: On the TC, if you can prove that it was the wildlife that hurt your property, they should be reimbursed. D: That's often a big thing, that those who bear the brunt of the Conservancy don't get the same amount of funding out of it all. D: Is this driving a wedge between different parts of a community? Is that one of the issues? The transparency level may not be very good. That's a major issue. They need to internalize it. Everyone in the community should know where the money goes.

Q: What is a good way for wealth to be distributed through a community?

D: What is 500 bucks to each person? I don't think that you can say it'll be equally distributed unless the transparency is there, and everyone has access to those things, that's the closest you can get to distributing everything fairly, reimburse people for damage done by wildlife. To get everyone up to the same level of understanding is always difficult. Awareness is a major issue.

Q: On Culture.

One of the things on the Torra Conservancy side in the past was the issue of Damara vs. Hereros. The Hereros were originally dominant, and the Damara weren't able to get into everything. There is the cultural difference. Things on a day-to-day basis are being changed, what do you do? Do you break the whole system so that they go into the modern age (about the Himba)? Or do you leave them the way they are? A lot of the kids who get education don't want to stick around in the rural areas. Is that destroying the rural society? Riemvasmakers in the mix as well. I haven't been there in several years, but they were getting some of the benefits and the Damara (original people in the area) not getting as much. Team: We're not aware of any issues like that.

Team: How involved is the government in regulating and dealing with ecotourism?

There is a CBNRM section within the ministry. I'm not sure which directorate it's in. They have about four or five people focused on it. If you look at the history, CBNRM was totally NGO driven before independence, and for quite a while after independence. Only in 96 was there an adjustment that allowed everything to be formalized. I think it's one of the success stories of Namibia. It's only the last the couple of years that has allowed the government to realize that tourism is the second largest source of income for Namibia. It's taking a while for people to figure out.

Tourism is a very diffused industry so it's hard to control. It's a very bad idea for the communities to rely solely on any one thing, especially with the economy. We need to work on in-Namibia tourism, right now it's all international.

Team: Know any ways for communities to branch out away from tourism?

D: Is the tire repair place still there? There needs to be more entrepreneurship. There were some crafts, but it wasn't marketed very well. Go see the craft center here. They have crafts from all over Namibia. Back in 2002, we had a program that had communities receive international scientists as

visitors. It was quite an uphill struggle to get people to understand what tourists want. They don't want stuff just because some poor people in Namibia made it, they want quality. They need to be focused more on that. Need to take the craft market further. It isn't (TC) a good place for livestock, but if they're doing a good job with keeping them, that's another thing they need to be doing. How much produce goes from the community to the Damaraland Camp? Such as special goat meals or chicken, etc. Team: the local people set up traditional meals for the people staying there. It seems that they sell their livestock. The Camp still drives its stuff their every week. Most of the food wouldn't be local. D: Focus on that, get some vegetable gardens going to sell the veggies to the company. You have to put a huge effort into it. Team: one of the problems is that the committee is turned over every five years, so the goals are renewed every year. D: Can't there be any sort of private initiatives? Team: There was a man working on it, but he got sick or injured, so everything fell apart. In addition, it's hard to do vegetable gardens because of the elephants and such.

Appendix R: Interview with Maggie Vries, Wilderness Safaris Employee from the Torra Conservancy

April 30, 2009, 3:15PM at the Wilderness Safaris office in Windhoek

Present: Kelly Butler (interviewer) and Stacey Morin (scribe)

Kelly: Could you please tell us about the cultural breakdown in Damaraland?

Maggie: Well, there are probably around 200 Riemvasmakers at most. 95% of us moved back to South Africa after Independence. The Damara are definitely the largest group there. There are very few Herero, and basically no Nama. They all live in the south. It's very difficult to get exact numbers or percentages about how many of each live on the Torra Conservancy. We're trying to be politically correct, so you don't ask someone what culture they are. We're trying to unify. You can try to get around that by asking what language they speak, but I don't think anyone knows how many of each live on the Conservancy.

Appendix S: Meeting with Bruce Salt

April 30th, 2:45 PM at Wilderness Safaris Namibia

Present: Kelly Butler, Gregory Kinneman, Stacey Morin, Anthony Scaccia (all interviewed and scribed)

A- Interviewers
B- Bruce Salt

A: To begin with, we'd like to ask you for your permission to use your name in our research.

B: That is fine with me.

A: OK. So we have a few questions about the Damaraland Camp as well as the nearby camps at Palmwag and Dora !Nawas. First, how many tourists do you see annually?

B: I don't know the numbers off the top of my head, but I will be able to get those later.

A: That's fine. Also, what is the peak season for your camps?

B: Well, our season starts in May then slows down in June, and then goes from July to November.

A: Now Damaraland Camp is a joint venture with the Conservancy. What about Palmwag? Is that a joint venture or are there plans to make it a joint venture?

B: No, Palmwag is on a government concession. That means that there are three conservancies who share the Camp. They are Torra, Sesfontein and Anabeb conservancies. There is a whole process to get approval from the government to use the concession, and then it is only for a few years. For that reason, making a joint venture there is not possible because the conservancies don't actually control the land.

A: What about Dora !Nawas, that's not a joint venture is it?

B: It is a joint venture with the conservancy there. However, we are equity partners there, so that in addition to the monthly levy, they also own part of the Camp and if the value of the Camp increases, they will see that benefit. It is the first instance of this type of joint venture in Namibia.

A: What about the staff numbers at the camps? How many employees does each camp have, and how many of those are from the Torra Conservancy, or the local area?

B: Damaraland Camp has 26 staff of which 21 are from the Torra Conservancy. Palmwag has a lot of casual labor, so in addition to the normal staff they hire from the different conservancies if there is a project that requires workers. Palmwag is split into three different areas, the Palmwag Camp, Palmwag Lodge, and Palmwag Rhino Camp. Do you want one of those, or the overall numbers?

A: The overall numbers will be fine. Could you also explain the levy agreement with the Damaraland Camp?

B: Originally we had 10 years where they would receive a 10% levy. That is from the revenue, not the profit of the Camp. We planned that we would increase that to 20% at year 11, and then

continue by 20% every year so that by year 15 they would have complete control of the Camp. At that point we felt that we would leave the area. However, we recognized that they cannot control the marketing from their office. They lack the facilities to be completely independent. So we are in the process of renegotiating the contract we have with them.

A: Would you have any knowledge about the population of the Torra Conservancy. Specifically, we know there are three ethnic groups living there: the Nama, Damara and Riemvasmakers. Do you know the distribution of these groups?

B: No I would not. Maybe Basillia knows.

A: We also heard that tourists from Dora !Nawas often come to the Torra Conservancy to see elephants, but that they do not pay to visit the Conservancy. Is this true, and have steps been taken to resolve this?

B: Well, Torra Conservancy tourists also go to Dora !Nawas for the same reason. They both go where the elephants are, and the dividing line of the conservancies is the riverbed. Since the elephants don't discriminate between the borders of the conservancies, the tourists and guides don't discriminate either. So maybe the conservancies need to work something out.

A: Do the two conservancies talk to each other? Also, are they both set up in similar ways?

B: Yes, Dora !Nawas is almost identical to Torra in its arrangement. The two only talk to each other when it is necessary. Normally, they ignore the presence of the other.

A: We also heard that there is a problem with self-drive tourists not paying for their stay and damaging the environment by camping in riverbeds and such.

B: Yes, but there is little we can do. The Conservancy doesn't have the staff to police the whole area, and we lack the resources to do more than put up some signs saying go to the Conservancy office or please follow the roads.

A: That's all the questions we have

B: Alright. Then I will go get you those numbers that you want.

Appendix T: Torra Conservancy Meeting in Block A

Present:
Chairperson of TC
Vice Chairperson of TC
Asst. Treasurer
Chief Game Guard
11 Additional Women
7 Additional Men
Gregory Kinneman (scribe)
Ebson Ngondo
Creighton Peet

Agenda:
Wildlife
-Foot patrols ongoing
-Event books audited
Tourism
-Negotiation on poacher's camp
-D/Camp
Finances
-Monthly Book Keeping
Assets
~~-Truck out of order~~
Legal Issues
-Registration of members
-Trophy hunting contract signed
Staff
-Appointment of one CGG (Community Game Guard)
HIV/AIDS
-Policy drafted
Communications
-Women's public speaking
-Monthly management meetings
-Workshop with members (Wereldsend)

Summary of Events:

At the time of our arrival, the meeting had already been underway for about two hours.

There was a discussion of membership underway. Specifically, there is a division where some people believe that people born in the Conservancy should be members for life. Others believe that only those living in TC should be members, because they should be the only ones who deserve to receive benefits from the Conservancy. The committee wants to cancel the membership of those who move away from the Conservancy, so that only those living in the Conservancy receive benefits.

The conversation then moved to the topic of benefit distribution. People without houses were unable to receive benefits because the benefits were are distributed to houses, not to individuals. Similarly, if someone lives far away, such as in Windhoek, they are unable to get any of their benefits. The community feels like a member should be able to get his/her benefits no matter where they live. However, they feel that people should need to live in the TC for a few years before they become a member and are able to get benefits. This is to prevent people from neighboring conservancies moving a short distance to get benefits without helping the community. However, they worry that this might cause potential residents to consider other places since they would need to wait years for benefits.

Another problem with the benefit distribution is that it is currently done by house, not by family or number of residents. As such, a family with several houses will receive more benefits compared to a family that lives in one larger house. The community brought up the view that food should be distributed by family; where children must go to the parents' house in order to get their benefits.

The committee is considering going block to block to determine membership. This would allow them to ensure that the only registered members are those currently living in TC. They propose that they should not hold registration in the main office because of the possibility of cheating, where people could come to the office only for registration without living in the area.

Another proposed option was distributing meat and other benefits to a small group in each block, and making those individuals responsible for distribution within the block. The problem with this solution is that those people must be held accountable for being fair with the distribution.

Without proper registration of all members living in the blocks, unequal distribution of benefits is inevitable. It was proposed that the only people who can be registered are people who are 18, because they have homes and will be the ones looking for work. It is not worth registering people who are 60 or 70 years old.

Changing topics, the people want the committee to schedule some workshops on HIV/AIDS awareness and to come up with a policy. They also want the Conservancy to bring in people to provide counseling for those with HIV/AIDS. Torra Conservancy is telling people to be more conscious of the presence of AIDS and to make responsible decisions.

In order to improve communications, the committee is considering holding block meetings every month instead of every two months. They also stressed the necessity of taking attendance for these meetings so that if a decision is made, people can see who was present. Also, improved communications means providing workshops on crafts and skills so that the community can benefit more from tourism. The Conservancy would like to see women become more involved in decision making instead of simply waiting for the men to decide. It is also important to schedule the day of the meeting in advance so that everybody can participate. There should also be multi-block meetings with maybe ten representatives from each block.

Appendix U: Compiled Questionnaire Data

Number	Gender	Age	Schooling	Income?	Language	Time in TC	Q09	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q16
1	Male	60+	High School	No	Afrikaans	34	1	1	1	1	1	1		1
2	Female	20-29	High School	Yes	Damara	9	3	4	3	2	3	4	2	2
3	Female	20-29	High School	Yes	Damara	7	3	1	5	5	1	4	3	5
4	Female	20-29	High School	No	Damara	4	2	2	1	5	2	4	2	2
5	Female	20-29	High School	No	Afrikaans	22	2	4	1	1	1	3	3	3
6	Female	20-29	High School	No	Afrikaans	3	2	4	1	1	1	4	3	1
7	Female	20-29	High School	No	Afrikaans	22	1	2	1	1	1	3	3	2
8	Female	20-29	High School	No	Afrikaans	1	4	5	1	1	1	5	5	3
9	Male	20-29	High School		Afrikaans	14	3	5	1	1	1	4	4	4
10	Male	30-39	High School	Yes	Afrikaans	31	4	5	2	2		4	4	4
11	Female	30-39	High School	Yes	Oshiwambo	15	4	5	2	1		1	1	1
12	Female	30-39	High School	Yes	Afrikaans	3	4	5	4	1	2	2	2	4
13	Male	40-49	Primary School	Yes	Afrikaans	1	5	5	5	1	1	1	1	3
14	Female	40-49	No Schooling	No	Nama		1	2	4	5	3	5	5	5
15	Female	60+	Primary School		Afrikaans		2	2	1	1	1	1	5	2
16	Male	20-29	High School	Yes	Afrikaans	10	5	4	4	4	3	4	2	3
17	Male	20-29	High School	Yes	Afrikaans	2	5	3	4	4	4	4	5	4
18	Male	20-29	High School	No	Afrikaans	20	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	Male	20-29	Primary School	Yes	Afrikaans	28	3	4	2	4		2	2	2
20	Female	30-39		Yes	Damara	8	3	4	4	2	2	3	2	3
21	Female	40-49	High School	No	Afrikaans	35	2	5	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	Female	40-49	High School	No	Afrikaans	35	1	5	1	1	2	2	4	2
23	Male	50-59	University	No	Afrikaans	35	5	5	4	2	2	1	1	5
24	Female	20-29	No Schooling	No	Damara	25	4	5	2	3	1	4	2	4
25	Male	20-29	High School	Yes	Afrikaans	23	4	4	1	1	1	5	1	2
26	Male	30-39	Primary School	Yes	Damara	35	5	4	1	3				
27	Female	20-29	High School	Yes	Damara	20	4	4	1	1	2	4	1	2
28	Male	50-59	No Schooling	No	Damara	55	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	Male	20-29	University	No		0.25	2	2	1	2	3	2	3	2
30	Male	20-29	Primary School	No	Damara	3	4	4	3	4	5	5	4	3
31	Male	20-29	High School	Yes	Damara	5	4	4	1	1	1	4	1	2
32	Female	50-59	High School	No	Damara	11	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	Female	40-49	High School	No	Damara	11	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	Female	40-49	High School	No	Damara	4	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	Female	30-39	High School	No	Shilozi	9	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	2
36	Female	20-29	High School	No	Damara	23	2	4	1	1	1	1	2	2
37	Female	20-29	High School	No	Damara	4	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	2
38	Female	20-29	High School	No	Damara	27	2	4	1	2	2	2	2	1
39	Male	<20	Primary School	No	Damara	18	4	5	1	1	1	4	4	4
40	Female	40-49	High School	No	Damara	49	2	4	4	4	4	2	2	2
41	Female	40-49	High School	No	Damara	42	2	4	4	4	4	2	2	2
42	Female	20-29	University	No	Khoe-Khoe	0.08	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1
43	Male	50-59	University	No	Khoe-Khoe	1	2	4	1	2	1	2	1	2
44	Female	20-29	University	No	Subia	2	1	5	2	2	2	2	1	1
45	Female	20-29	University	No	Khoe-Khoe	0.33	5	4	3	4	3	3	2	3
46	Male	20-29	University	No	Afrikaans	2	5	3	1	1	2	3	3	3
47	Female	30-39	High School	Yes	Afrikaans and En	4	5	3	1	2	4	3	3	3
48	Male	20-29	University	No	Oshiwambo	0.33	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	Female	20-29	Primary School	No	Damara	28	4	4	3	2	2	4	4	3
50	Female	<20	High School	No	Afrikaans	5	4	4	2		2	2	4	2
51	Female	<20	High School	No	Afrikaans	3	3	3	4	4	3	3	4	5
52	Female	<20	High School	No	Damara	19	4	4	2	1	2	4	4	1
53	Female	20-29		No	Afrikaans	3	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
54	Male	30-39	High School	No	Afrikaans	12	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
55	Female	30-39	Primary School	No	Damara	35	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	1
56	Male	30-39	Primary School	No	Afrikaans	6	3	4	1	2	2	4	4	4
57	Male	20-29	Primary School	No	Damara	19	4	5	2	1				
58	Female	30-39	High School	No	Damara	13	2	5	1	2	2	2	4	3
59	Male	20-29	High School	Yes	Afrikaans	10	5	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
61	Male	60+	Primary School	Yes	Afrikaans	38	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	1
62	Female	20-29	High School	Yes	Afrikaans	15	2	5	4	5	5	5	5	4
63	Female	20-29	High School	No	Afrikaans	25	1	4	4	4	1	2	1	2
64	Male	20-29	Primary School	No	Herero	6	4	4	2	2	2	1	2	2
65	Male	20-29	High School	No	Herero	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
66	Male	20-29	No Schooling	No	Herero	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2
67	Female	60+	High School	No	Afrikaans	35	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	2
68	Male	40-49	High School	Yes	Afrikaans	36	4	4	2	2	2	4	4	2
69	Male	40-49	High School	No	Afrikaans	17	2	4	2	2	2	1	2	2
70	Female	60+	High School	No	Afrikaans	35	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	2
71	Male	50-59	High School	No	Afrikaans	36	2	5	1	1	1	2	1	1
72	Male	20-29	High School	Yes		8	2	5	2	2	1	4	4	1
73	Male	30-39	High School	No	Damara	35	5	4	1	1	1	4	1	1

Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25	Q26	Q27	Q28	Q29	Q30	Q31	Q32	Q33	Q34	Q35	Q36	Q37	Q38	Q39
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Q40	Q41	Q42	Q43	Q44	Q45	Q46	Q47	Q48	Q49	Q50	Q51	Q52	Q53	Q54	Q55	Q56	Q57	Q58	Q59	Q60	Q61	Q62	Q63
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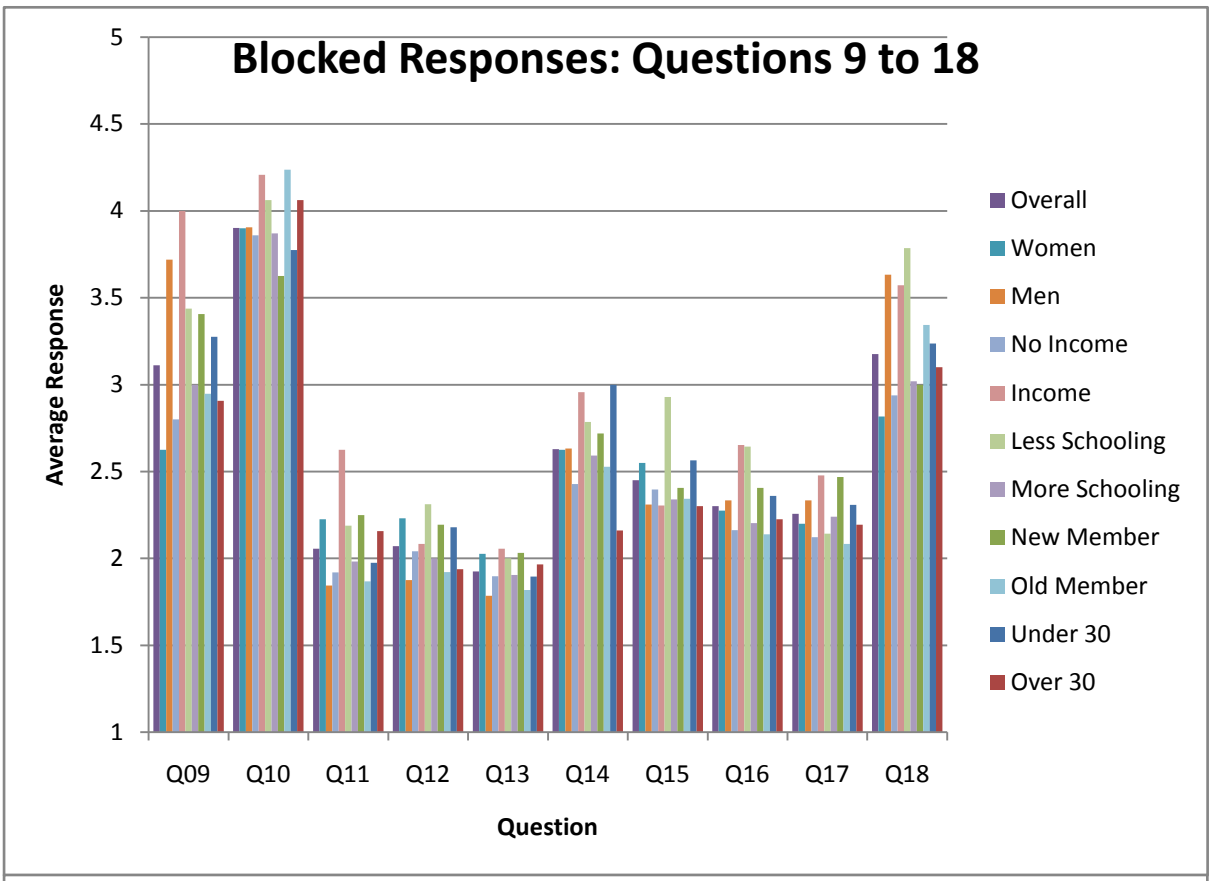
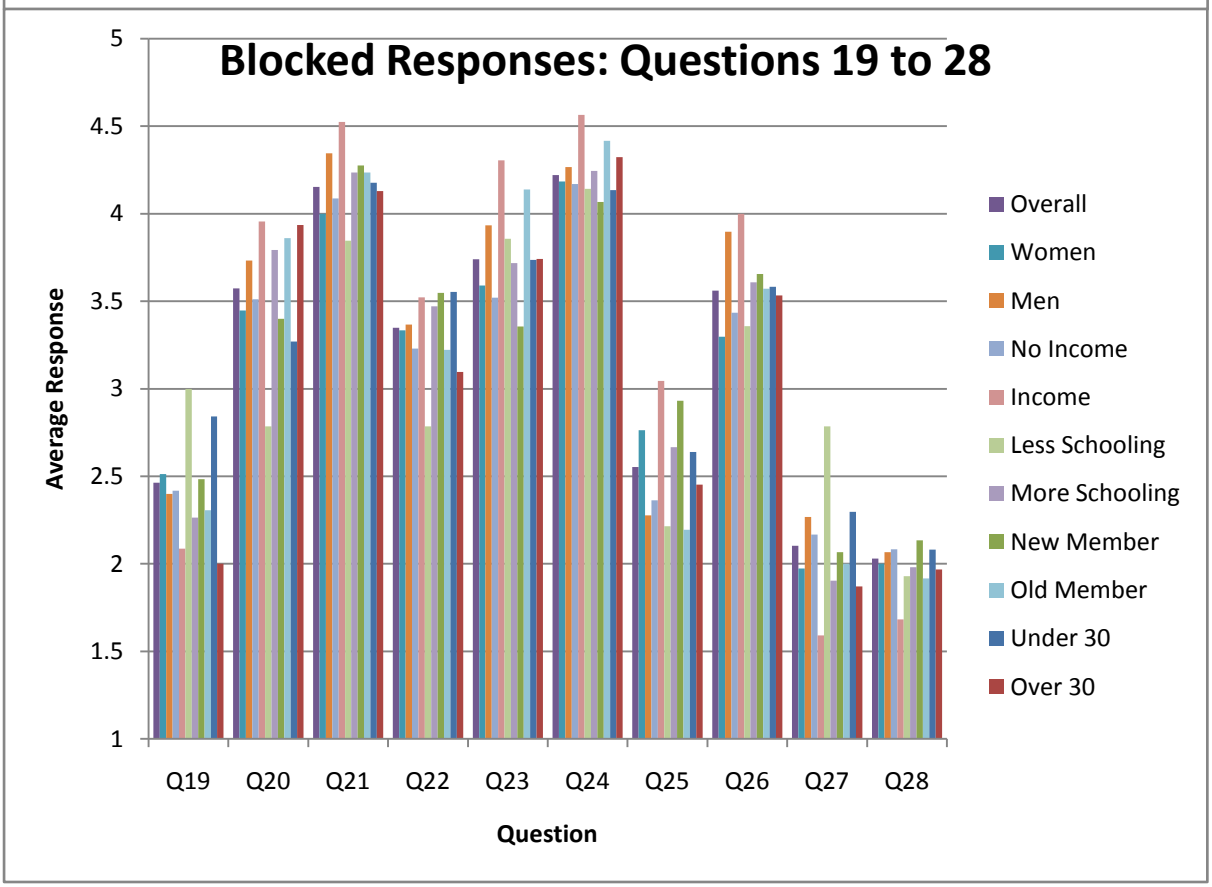
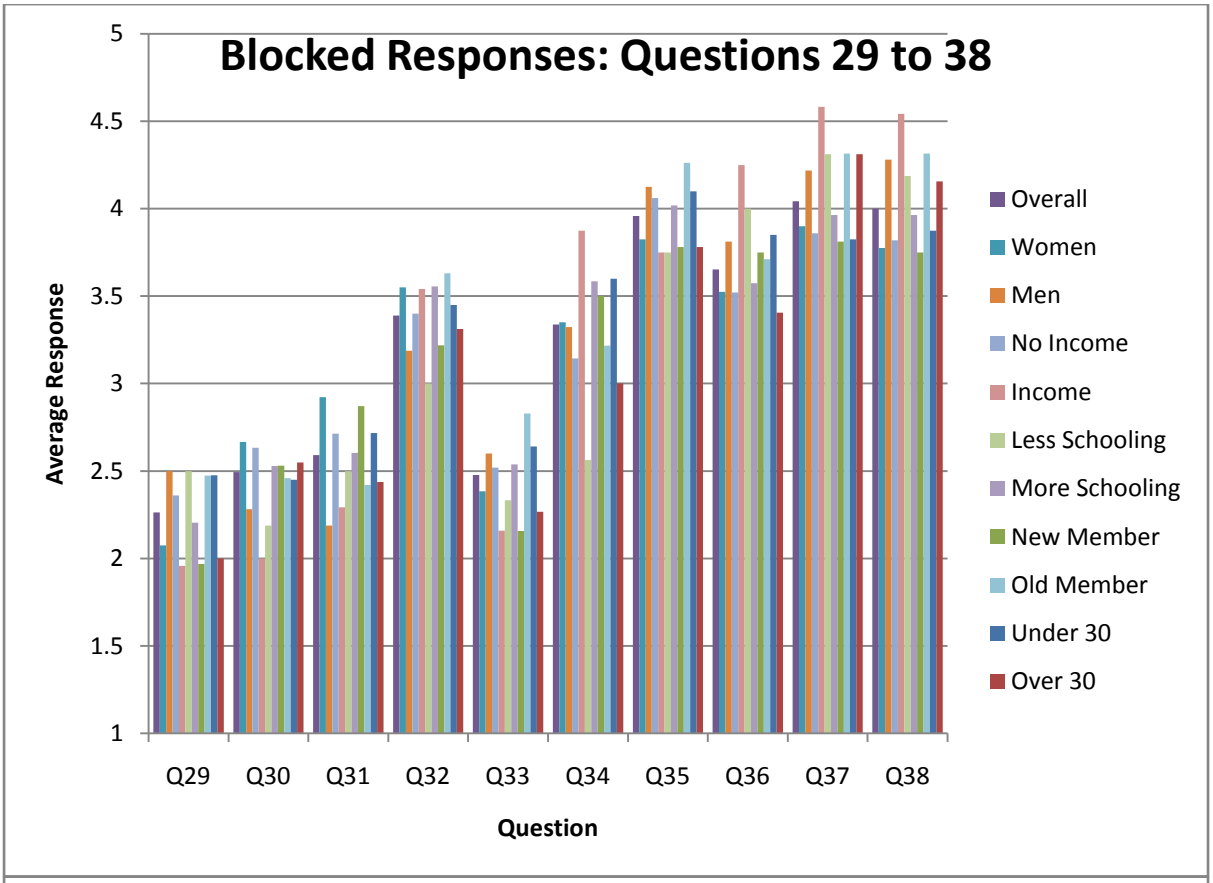
Appendix V: Questionnaire Graphs



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Average Response
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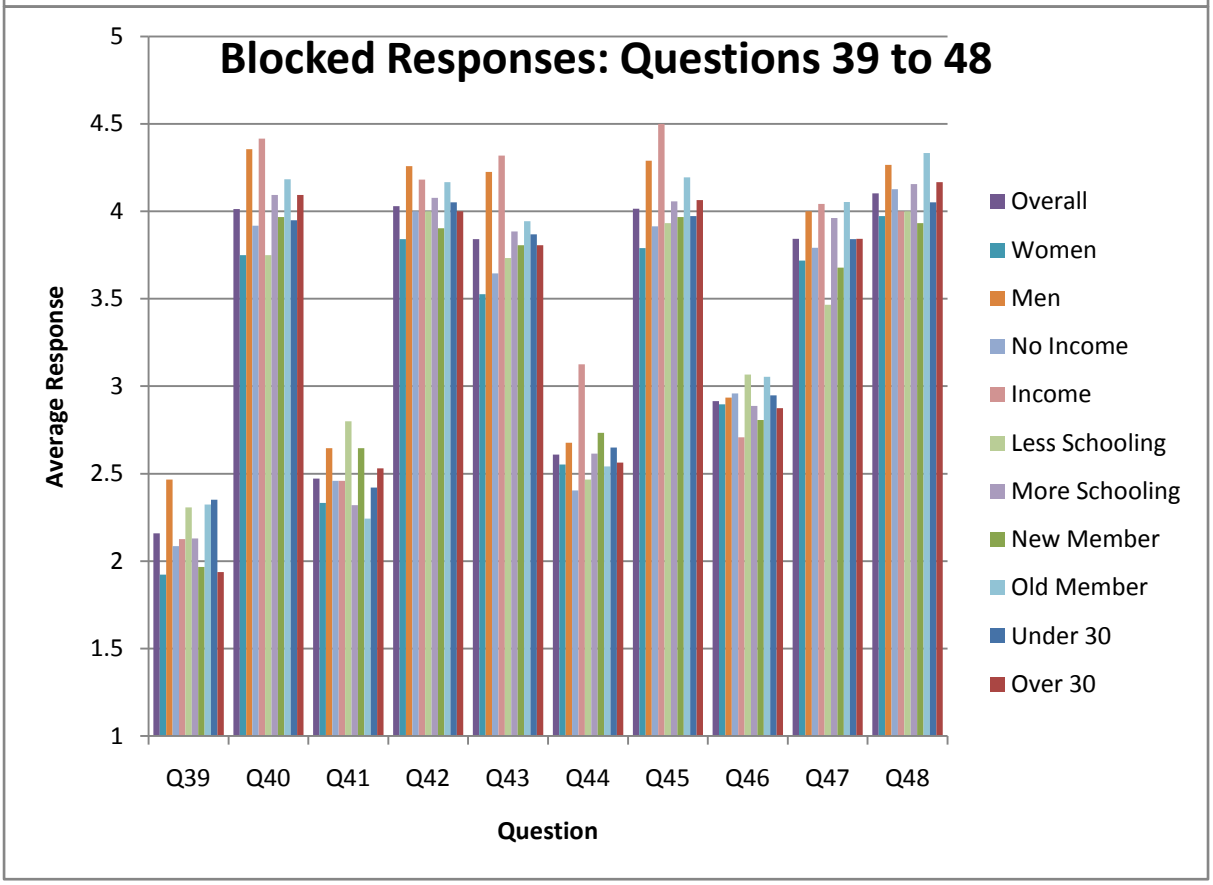
4.5
4
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
Q29
Q30
Q31
Q32
Q33
Q34
Q35
Q36
Q37
Q38
Question
Overall
Women
Men
No Income
Income
Less Schooling
More Schooling
New Member
Old Member
Under 30
Over 30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Average Response
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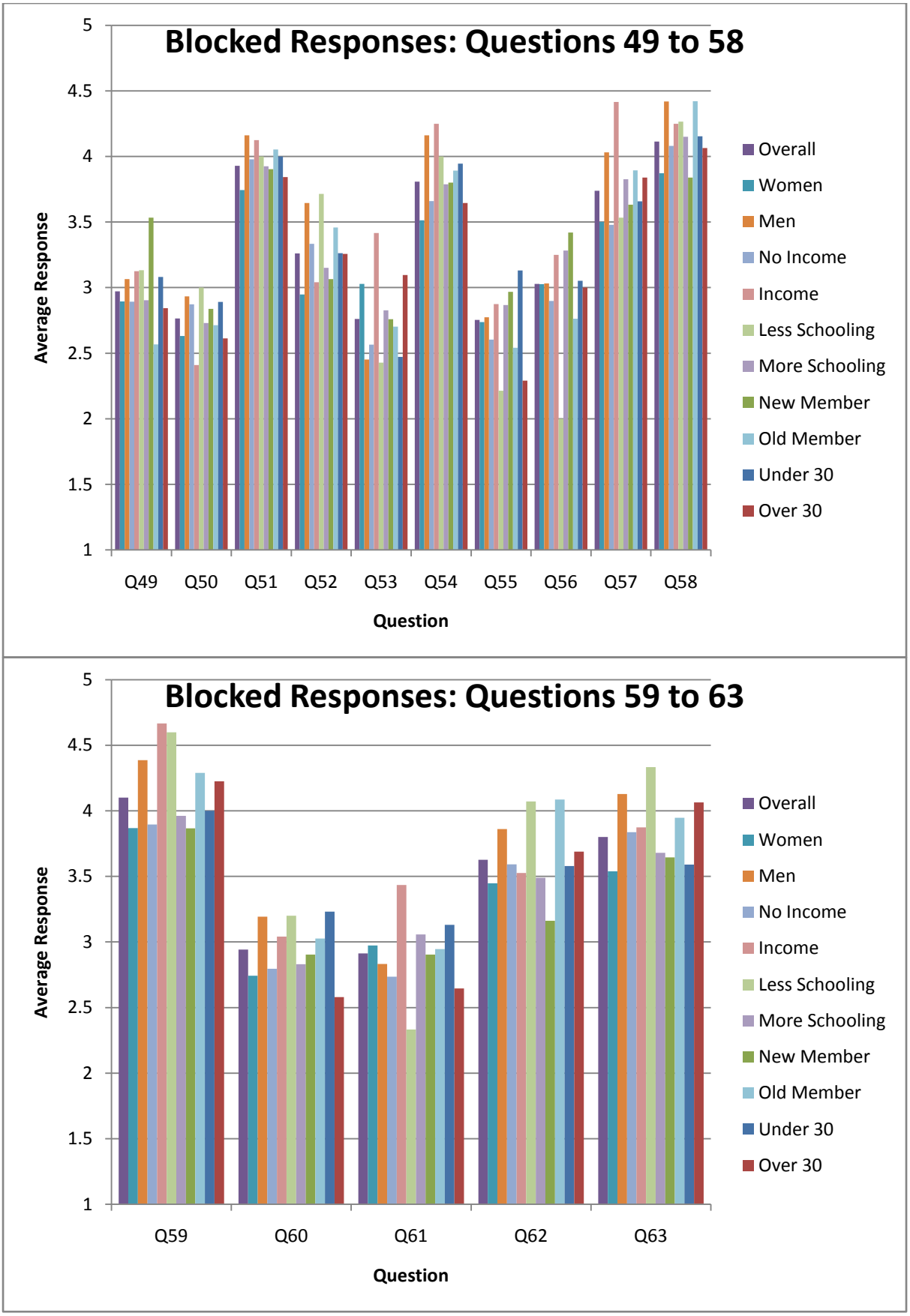
4.5
4
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
Q39
Q40
Q41
Q42
Q43
Q44
Q45
Q46
Q47
Q48
Question
Overall
Women
Men
No Income
Income
Less Schooling
More Schooling
New Member
Old Member
Under 30
Over 30


Blocked Responses: Questions 49 to 58
Average Response
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4
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
Q49
Q50
Q51
Q52
Q53
Q54
Q55
Q56
Q57
Q58
Question
Overall
Women
Men
No Income
Income
Less Schooling
More Schooling
New Member
Old Member
Under 30
Over 30
Blocked Responses: Questions 59 to 63
Average Response
5
4.5
4
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
Q59
Q60
Q61
Q62
Q63
Question
Overall
Women
Men
No Income
Income
Less Schooling
More Schooling
New Member
Old Member
Under 30
Over 30