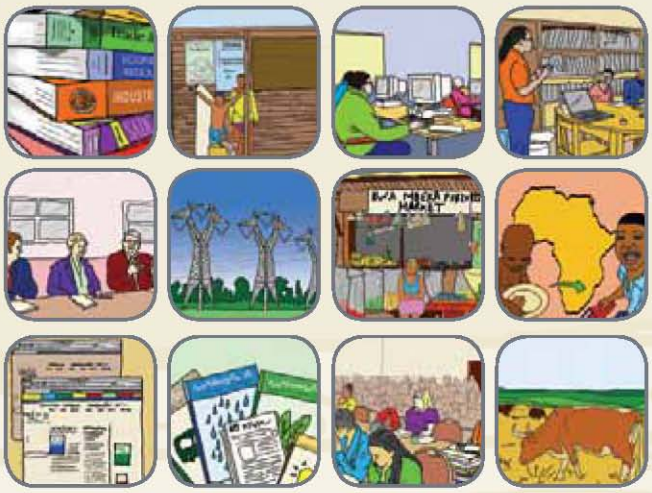
TRADE & INDUSTRIAL POLICY STRATEGIES



Trade and Pro-Poor Growth

Thematic Working Group

Poverty and Trade: Do Conservancies Help Alleviating Poverty?

Erwin Naimhwaka

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indigenous **growth**

Poverty and Trade

Do conservancies help alleviating poverty?

A case of the Torra Conservancy

By

Erwin Naimhwaka

Department of Economics

University of Namibia

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1. Introduction

Tourism is increasing becoming an important phenomena for developing countries and as such it affects the livelihood of many poor people. According to Yunis (2004), tourism is growing much faster in developing countries than in developed countries. However, its potential for poverty reduction has been insufficiently recognized and exploited in developing countries (PPT 2004). The increasing importance of the tourism sector in developing economies obliges a greater investigation to ensure that tourism becomes embedded in poverty reduction strategies. Tourism is generally viewed as an engine of economic growth rather than as a mechanism for delivering on poverty reduction. It is normally argued that tourism is driven by foreign and private sector interests, and is therefore not well placed to contribute to poverty alleviation (PPT 2004). Tourism can indeed exacerbate poverty through increased local costs, loss of access to resources and social and cultural disruptions. However, tourism has the potential to change lives of the poor in developing countries as well.

Tourism is one of the few industries in which many developing countries actually have a comparative advantage over developed countries in terms of cultural heritage, natural wildlife, climate etc. (Yunis 2004). Tourism is one of the sectors with growth potential for developing countries, which are generally vulnerable to environmental disasters, limited human resources, economic resources and security (Ashe 2005). Ashe (2005) advises for investment to be mobilized in developing countries in tourism as a priority in sustainable development and poverty reduction strategies.

In developing countries, the touristic resources are remote rural areas where the majority of the poor live. This makes tourism in point of fact central to the poverty reduction strategy in developing countries. Tourism can be realized through allowing rural communities to benefit from the incomes generated by tourism resources in their areas, but also through making the traditional activities of these communities part of the tourism package. The fact that tourism is labour intensive, gives it potential to provide jobs for women and young people and also the opportunity to establish new small businesses (Yunis 2004).

Tourism is very important to the Namibia economy and it is the third largest contributor to GDP after mining and agriculture (Libanda and Blignaut 2008). Namibia has indeed recognized the importance of tourism to poverty alleviation. Within two years of attaining independence, the Namibian government identified tourism as one of the sectors through which economic activities in rural areas could be diversified (Libanda and Blignaut 2008). Namibia's National Development Plans (NDP3) recognizes tourism as an important contributor to the national development strategy (NDP3 2007). It is seen as vital to enlivening and sustaining national growth, creating employment, reducing income inequalities and poverty reduction.

The framework for tourism as a poverty reduction instrument is founded in the Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996 together with its policy instrument Namibia's Communal Conservancy Program (CCP) introduced in 1998. It enabled the establishment of conservancies[1].

Communal conservancies are hailed to be central to the successes of Namibia's conservancies in achieving biodiversity conservation and poverty alleviation. The Torra Conservancy is such a communal conservancy. It is regarded as a successful case of community-based conservation and have received several awards and international recognitions (Hoole 2009). Despite its successes, the direct impact on the living standards of the residents of the conservancies has been questioned. Hoole (2009) observes that although training, employment and conservancy revenues has improved significantly, most households remain impoverished.

Conservancies are expected to help communities to improve their social, economic and environmental conditions, through benefiting from natural resources in their area. The idea is to give rights over natural resources and for them to benefit from such resources. The benefits from such resources will make people more inclined to conserve such resources. In addition, conservancies are expected to accrue other non financial benefits in terms of deepened sense of community, economic and political empowerment of previously marginalized and isolated people and elevated status and opportunity for women (USAID 2002).

The paper is structures as follows: In Section 2 we give a brief overview of tourism development and poverty in Namibia. Section 3 describes the Torra Conservancy. Section 4 provides the results of household survey in the Torra Conservancy area. And Section 5 is the Conclusion.

2. Tourism Development and poverty in Namibia

Tourism is one of the fastest growing economic sectors in Namibia. It is very important to the Namibia economy and it is the third largest contributor to GDP after mining and agriculture (Libanda and Blignaut 2008). In many developing countries, including Namibia, four different perspectives on tourism can be distinguished (Ashley 2000). These are:

- Economists generally see tourism as route to *macro-economic growth*, and particularly a means of generating foreign exchange;
- For the private sector, tourism is a commercial activity, so the main concerns are product development, competitiveness and commercial returns;
- Many conservationists now see tourism as a form of sustainable use of wild resources, and hence as a way to enhance incentives for conservation;

[1] Namibia has chosen conservancies as its model for CBNRM and defines 'conservancy' as consisting of a group commercial farmers or areas of communal land on which neighbouring land owners or members have pooled resources for the purpose of conserving and using wildlife sustainability. Members practice normal farming activities and operations in combination with wildlife use on a sustainable basis.`

- For rural people, and the development NGOs that support them, tourism is one component of rural development.

The Namibian government promotes community development involvement in tourism incorporating all the four perspectives above.

Namibia is a highly unequal society in terms of income, therefore at a macroeconomic growth level, the benefits of tourism are not necessarily biased towards poverty alleviation. The rural communities in Namibia can only obtain real benefit from tourism if they have a stake in the tourism sector. The Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) framework was introduced precisely for that reason. The aim is to make rural communities appreciate the tourism resources. It rests on the assumption that communities be made to benefit from these resources and as such increase the opportunity cost of losing such resources.

Conservancies in Namibia have been credited with contributing to the achievement of the broad conservation and poverty reduction and development goals in Namibia. For instance wildlife Numbers in North-west Namibia are said to have remarkably recovered since the establishment of a number of conservancies in the area (WILD 2004). There are now 44 registered communal conservancies in Namibia (WWF- Life 2008). Wildlife is one the main touristic attraction in Namibia. Prior to Namibia's independence in 1990, all wild game was declared protected state owned asset (Libanda and Blignaut 2008). This together with apartheid era created a non-caring and disparaging attitude towards the natural resources by the local communities (Ogbaharya 2006). As such local communities were excluded from most of the benefits from tourism apart from a few menial jobs (WWF-Life 2008).

In 1996 the Namibian government introduced legislation (the Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996) giving rights over wildlife and tourism to local communities that form management bodies called conservancies. Namibia's Communal Conservancy Policy (NCCP), which was formerly introduced in 1998 allows the transfer to locals of tangible rights and responsibilities for managing natural resources. The idea is for communities to benefit directly through employment and income generated by the conservancies. However, the idea is also to ensure that communities become stakeholders in tourism activities and benefit from the multiplier effects. The multiplier is also known as the "indirect gross domestic product", which includes goods and services such as catering, laundry services and etc (Peak 2007).

The indirect channel holds better potential for sustainability than the direct channel. The direct benefits to individuals become very small and as a result community members may not fully appreciate the benefits and may lose faith in the CBNRM. In 2003, the Torra conservancies distributed dividends to its members. The significant of around N$300 000 at the conservancy level amounted to a mere N$630 to individual members.

The tourism product in Namibia is mainly wildlife and wilderness in a dramatic scenery and lightly populated areas. The tourism enterprises are generally lodges, up market safari camps, campsites and associated service enterprises. Before the introduction of conservancies sport hunters and trophy hunters focused on farms in the commercial (freehold) areas. However a growing number are now visiting some of the more scenic communal areas, particularly Kunene, where the Torra Conservancy is situated (Ashley 2000).

The reduction of poverty and inequality in Namibia is high on the priority list of the Government of Namibia. Although the poverty incidence in Namibia is relatively low compared to other SADC members, government sentiments are that the current state of poverty and inequality endangers social harmony, peace, and democracy (NPC 2008). About 27.6 percent of the Namibian population is estimated to be poor and 13.8 percent severely poor (NPC 2008). The poor households were identified as those have monthly expenditures of less than N$262.45 and severely poor are those with expenditure of less than N$184.56. In terms of locality, the poverty incidence is much high in rural areas, with about 38.2 percent of households in rural areas being poor (NPC 2008). The poverty incidence for the Kunene region, where the Torra conservancy is situated, and 23 percent of the households are regarded as poor (Table 1). The region with the highest poverty incidence, the Kavango region has 56.5 percent of the household being poor.

Table 1 Regional Poverty Incidence in Namibia

Region	Poor	Severely Poor
Khomas	6.3%	2.4%
Erongo	10.3%	4.8%
Oshana	19.6%	7.8%
Karas	21.9%	12.5%
Kunene	23.0%	13.1%
Otjozondjupa	27.8%	15.8%
Caprivi	28..6%	12.5%
Omaheke	30.1%	17.5%
Omusati	31.0%	12.8%
Hardap	32.1%	21.9%
Oshikoto	40.8%	16.6%
Ohangwena	44.7%	19.3%
Kavango	56.5%	36.7%
Namibia	27.%	13.8%

Source: NPC (2008)

The poverty incidence by sex shows that women headed households are affected more by poverty. Among the households headed by women, 30.4 percent are poor and 15.1 percent are severely poor (NPC 2008).

A study by Ashley (2000) indicates agriculture (livestock keeping and/or crop production) is a core activity for virtually all rural households, but the sole activity for virtually none. It points out that the livelihood strategies of rural households vary enormously, and that a common strategy is for household members to undertake a range of activities which each in some way contributes to one or more of household needs. As a consequence, most households rely on a range of natural resource uses, and on off-farm income from employment or remittances. It further points out that because of the semi-arid to arid conditions in which even the highest rainfall areas are marginal for rain-fed crop growing and drought is a common occurrence, diversified strategies are essential in Namibia. As a result of these climatic conditions, livestock, in particular, contributes in some way to most households' needs, and is indeed a primary land-use in Namibia (Ashley 2000). The lack of perennial water means a greater dependence on livestock and natural resource harvesting in the Kunene region. Tourism is now the new activity, adopted through the conservancy concept adding to improving and diversifying of the livelihood strategies of this rural community.

3. The Torra Conservancy

The Torra Conservancy is located in North-west Namibia and covers 352 000 ha. It has a population of 1200 residents and 123 households of whom 450 are registered members of the conservancy. Its population consists mainly of Damara and Riemvasmakers and a few Herero and Owambo people, dispersed in small pastoral villages (Hoole 2009). The area was previously characterized by heavy poaching. The situation is said to have improved since the introduction of the community Based Game Guards and the CBNRM in 1998 (Wild 2004).

The Torra Conservancy was among the first conservancies to be registered in Namibia and the first communal area conservancy to be able to achieve operational self sufficiency (meet its own management costs) in 2002 following the initial support from international and local donors (Hoole 2009). The Torra Conservancy was also the first conservancy to pioneer the first joint venture between a community and private enterprise in Namibia, with its Damaraland Camp. The Damaraland Camp is a joint venture between the Torra Conservancy and Wilderness Safaris.

The area hosting the Torra Conservancy is characterized by semi desert and sparse savanna with variable but spectacular arid scenery with wide range wildlife. The wildlife includes the desert adapted Elephant, Black Rhino, Giraffe, Oryx, Mountain Zebra, Springbock, Kudu, and Ostrich. Predators include brown and spotted Hyena, Jackal, Cheetah, Leopold and Lion. The Area receives less than a 100mm of rainfall per year (Hoole 2009). The conservancy is managed by a committee of 7 who are elected by the by the conservancy membership for a term of two years. Two of the committee members are women. The conservancy employs 5 wildlife guards, a community activist, a field officer and receptionist and conducts annual wildlife counts and monitoring (Hoole 2009).

The principal livelihood activities in the conservancy area include small stock (goat and sheep) farming and large stock farming (cattle, donkey and horses). Gardening also takes place but due to water and unsuitable land, only at a very limited scale.

In general the benefits from conservancies have increased and diversified. The total income to conservancies in Namibia has increased from N$2 439 824 in 1999 to N$39 127 982 in 2007, an over 16 times increase (Mosimane et al 2008)[2]. The Torra Conservancy has seen similar increases in income. The Torra Conservancy earns revenue from the Damaraland Camp, wildlife based revenue from trophy hunting, live sales of game (mainly springboks), as well as hunting for own use by the conservancy members. The Damaraland Camp is a joint enterprise between the Torra Conservancy and Wilderness Safaris. The Camp is an up market, exclusive ecotourism resort is currently the main revenue earner for the conservancy. The camps annual income contributions has grown from approximately N$50 000 in 1997 to N$300 000 in 2005 with the conservancy earning in access of N$2 000 000, since its inception (Hoole 2009).

The Damaraland Camp have created 24 (8 men and 16 women) full time jobs for conservancy members (Spanceley 2008). A further 40 other benefited from training and skills development and are employed in the Wildness Safari Lodge network beyond the Torra Conservancy (Hoole 2009). Beyond direct employment and cash benefits, other benefits have also accrued from tourism revenues. Hoole (2009) identifies these as fencing to protect livestock and crops from wildlife predation and foraging, secure community boreholes, supplies of diesel fuel for community water pumps, secure grazing areas, water for livestock and upgrading of the local school.

4. Methodology

The main objective of this study is use to review whether the establishment of the Torra Conservancy has resulted in improvement in the living standards of households in the conservancy area. The Torra Conservancy is used as a case study to determine whether conservancies are helping in poverty reduction. The study aims to establish whether the standard of living of households in the area has improved and try to determine changes in indirect gross domestic activities in the area. Further, the study attempts to capture opinions of the household on the level of poverty in the conservancy area and whether the conservancy has brought about changes in their livings standards and on the potential of the conservancy in the future.

An assessment of tourism's impact on local people depends not only on its direct costs and benefits, such as profits and jobs generated, but on a range of indirect, positive and negative impacts. A simplified 'livelihoods framework' can be used to disentangle various components of

[2] For a detailed analysis of changes in the sources of income to conservancies in Namibia see Mosimane et al 2008 USAID Support to the Community-Based Management Program in Namibia: LIFE Program Review.

livelihoods (Hoole 2000). We this adopt this approach to evaluate the impacts of tourism on the households in the Torra Conservancy. The following elements will be evaluated

- Impact on the household employment
- Impacts on household assets
- Impacts on other household activities and strategies
- Impact on household perceptions

A questionnaire is used to capture data on the households in the Torra conservancy that will allow us to carryout the evaluation. A questionnaire captures household information and is partly modeled on the household income and expenditure survey questionnaire. However, this specific questionnaire focuses on capturing information on household characteristics in terms of the physical characteristic and household assets. The proxy measures captured include variables common in an asset index, such as bicycle, donkey/horse cart, refrigerator, TV, livestock, type of housing material, type of floor and roof, drinking water and sanitation, type of cooking and lighting fuel, etc. Since there is no reference data, the questionnaire asks for these characteristics before the establishment of the conservancy in 1998 and the current situation.

We intended to survey all the households in the conservancy area, however due to the difficult roads only a total of 94 out of around 123 households were able to be reached. 53.6 of the interviewed household indicated that they existed before the establishment of the conservancy in 1998. This shows that there has been some growth in terms of the household population in the conservancy area.

5. Results

5.1. Perception of poverty in the conservancy

Poverty in general is a relative term and for that reason we included questions to gauge the perception of the households of poverty in the conservancy. 19.1 percent of the households felt that there was no poverty in the area, while 63.8 percent feel that it is satisfactory. Only 7.4 percent of the households feel that poverty is severe in the conservancy and 9.6 percent did not know the state of poverty in the conservancy.

Similarly, only a small share of the households feels that their household did not improve after the establishment of the conservancy. 9.1 percent of the household said their household did not improve, while 3.6 percent feel they have become worse off after the establishment of the conservancy. The majority of the household 63.6 percent feel that their households have improved slightly, while 21.8 percent are of the opinion that their households have improved significantly.

A significant number of respondents were fairly to very satisfied, with the conservancy. 40.4 percent of the respondents were said they are very satisfied with the conservancy, while another

40.4 indicated that they were fairly satisfied with the conservancy. Only 9.6 percent of the respondents were dissatisfied and 3.2 were very dissatisfied with the conservancy. Overall, the residents in the conservancy are generally satisfies with conservancy and there is a sense of optimism about the future with 55.3 percent of respondents indicating that they feel the conservancy will lead to further improvements in the living standards in the future. Only 17 percent feel that their living standards will decline in the future.

The general positive perception of poverty appear to support the theory that people that have social capital will believe that they are better-off, than those without bonding social capital (Besser et al 2006)[3]. The conservancy has provided this social network and that sense of social belonging we believe contributed to the positive perception on poverty in the region. This should not be taken to undermine the actual contribution of the conservancy on poverty, but as demonstration of the how the establishment the conservancy has contributed to poverty from a social perspective. According to Ashley (2000) many of the positive social impacts are better ascribed to CBNRM in general, than to the tourism component in particular, however, the desire to develop tourism provides momentum for the broader process.

5.2. Impact on the household employment

Employment in the conservancy remains the most potential filled area for poverty alleviation in the conservancy through tourism. The lack of other activities inputting into tourism, means that most inputs and commodities and capital used in the area are imported. This means that tourism spending ends up paying for these imports (Wagner 1997). The consequence is that tourism end up generating a lesser impact than it potentially can contribute. The results suggest that the establishment of the conservancy has had noteworthy impact on employment in the conservancy.

In terms of the number of people employed in the household, significantly more households have indicated that at least there is a person working in their household. The results suggest that almost 77.3 percent of the interviewed households have at least one person working. This is a significant increase given that only 35.1 percent of the household that existed before the establishment of the conservancy indicated that they had at least a person working in their household then before the establishment of the conservancy.

In order to see whether these changes in employment are linked to improved employment opportunities in the conservancy, households were asked to indicate whether employment was in the conservancy or outside the conservancy. The results show that 18.09 percent of the households had people working inside the area before the establishment of the conservancy in 1998. The number of households that indicated that they have at least a person working in the conservancy area has now increased to 52.6 percent. It suggests that more residents of the conservancy are now working in the conservancy as well as outside the conservancy. The

[3] Social capital is defined as networks of relationships.

average household size is estimated at 5.57 and the mean employment per household improved from 1.30 to 1.5.

The results suggest improved employment opportunities in the conservancy area and therefore an improvement in the living standards of the residents of the Torra Conservancy. More households are now benefiting from wage incomes earned in activities in the conservancy. Further, the training and skills training provided through the arrangement with the Damaraland camp allows the residents of the conservancy to earn income outside the conservancy as well (Spanceley 2008).

5.3. Impact on the household assets

Poverty assessments and participatory work with poor people highlight the great importance of people's assets and not just their income, in securing their livelihoods (Ashley 2000). This importance has been reflected in rural residents' attitudes to tourism. Assets are the building blocks on which people develop their activities. In this section, the impact on household assets is analysed.

Table 2 shows the materials used by the households before the establishment of the conservancy in 1998 and after the establishment of the conservancy. The results shows that there is a slight improvement if we consider the cement blocks / bricks and stones as the appropriate building materials for the outer walls of a house that enjoys a good living standard. Using such a standard, the improvement is further demonstrated by the decline in the use of stick, mud, clay and cow-dung as outer wall building material for the household. There is also a slight improvement in the roofing material for the household. More households now use corrugated iron/zinc materials for roofing their houses.

Table 2 Percentage of household per household construction material of main dwelling

	Before		**Now**	
	Roof %	Outer Walls %	Roof %	Outer Walls %
Cement Blocks /bricks /stones	7.3	17.5	1.1	22.8
Burnt Bricks/Face Bricks	4.9	7.5	2.3	5.4
Corrugated iron/zinc	80.5	2.5	92.0	3.3
Wooden Poles, sticks and grass	-	-	3.4	9.8
Sticks, mud, clay and or cow-dung	7.3	70.0	-	58.7
Asbestos	-	2.5	-	-
Slate	-	-	1.1	-

Source: Survey Data

In terms of the materials used for making the floor of the households, there is also a slight increase (Table 3). Household that had floors made of concrete, increased from 47.6 percent before the establishment of the conservancy in 1998 to 58.1 percent at present. There is also a

decline in the household that had mud, clay or cow-dung as floor material form 23.8 percent to only 9.7 percent.

Table 3 Material constructing the floor

	Before Household %	Now Household %
Sand	28.6	31.2
Concrete	47.6	58.1
Mud, Clay / or Cow-dung	23.8	9.7
Other	-	1.1

Source: Survey Data

While we point out the changes in the materials used in the construction of the household, need to point out that people in the area are still traditionally or customary oriented and may take time before they are able to move away from long-established ways of building their houses. This may explain the fact that over 50 percent of the household still use stick, mud, clay and cow-dung as outer wall building material.

Therefore the observation by Hoole (2009) that most conservancy households remain impoverished is not necessarily accurate. In Table 4 we present the response of the household on how satisfied they were with their households. The majority of the households are indeed satisfied with their houses, with 67.4 percent of the households indicating that they were very satisfied with their houses and about 22 saying they were fairly satisfied. Thus 89 percent of the households are satisfied with the physical conditions of their dwellings.

Table 4 Percentage of household on satisfaction with house (physical property)

	% Household
Very satisfied	67.4
Fairly satisfied	21.7
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	5.4
Slightly dissatisfied	4.3
Very dissatisfied	1.1

Source: Survey Data

It was a common sight during the survey to see satellite dishes atop an impoverished looking cow-dung constructed dwellings. This resulted in one of the younger enumerators remarking that having a satellite television is no longer a status that one can boast go around boasting about. This demonstrates the point that many may still prefer to construct their houses the customary way or to retain some of the elements of their customs, which may hide standard of living of

such a household. Further, communities may be reluctant to build more modern structure as it will take away the touristic appeal of the area as well.

The ownership of household assets also clearly shows an improvement in living conditions of the households in the conservancy.

Table 5 ranks the improvement in the ownership of assets by the households after the establishment of the conservancy. Cell phone, radio, kitchen furniture, bedroom furniture, stoves, and donkey/ox/horse carts, have seen significant increases in ownership by the households. In general ownership of assets have seen an increase across all the assets accept for assets that are not relevant to the area such as motor boats, bicycles and tractors. Satellite television, which is generally regarded as luxury is owned by 29.8 percent of the households that were interviewed.

Table 5 Percentage of household per ownership of, and access to household assets

	Before			Now		
	Owns	Does not own, but has access	Neither Owns nor has access	Owns	Does not own, but has access	Neither Owns nor has access
Cell Telephone	5.3	1.1	93.6	75.5	5.3	19.1
Radio	27.7	1.1	71.3	53.2	7.4	38.3
Kitchen furniture	13.8	1.1	85.1	44.7		55.3
Bedroom furniture	9.7	2.2	88.2	43.6	1.1	55.3
Stove, gas, electric, paraffin	7.4	1.1	91.5	42.6	1.1	56.4
Donkey, ox, horse cart	19.1	4.3	76.6	39.4	11.7	48.9
Television	4.3	6.4	88.3	35.1	19.1	45.7
Stereo / HiFI	10.6	4.3	85.1	34.0	12.8	53.2
Refrigerator	2.1	2.1	95.7	29.8	4.3	66.0
Satellite TV, (e.g. DStv)	4.3	1.1	94.7	28.7	11.7	59.6
Wheelbarrow	10.6	8.5	80.9	27.7	13.8	58.5
Freezer	4.3	2.1	93.6	25.5	5.3	69.1
Dining room furniture	4.3	1.1	94.7	23.4	1.1	75.5
Video Cassette recorder/DVD	4.3	1.1	94.7	22.3	5.3	72.3
Tape Recorder	5.3	1.1	93.6	18.1	9.6	72.3
Camera	4.3	2.1	93.6	18.1	5.3	76.6
Motor vehicle	12.8	2.1	85.1	16.0	13.8	70.2
Microwave oven	3.2		96.8	12.8	2.1	85.1
Washing machine	3.2	1.1	95.7	12.8	6.4	80.9
Sewing Knitting machine	9.6	4.3	86.2	12.8	4.3	83.0
Telephone –Land line	1.1	7.4	91.5	8.5	3.2	88.3
Solar panel	3.2	2.1	94.7	7.4	1.1	91.5
Computer	2.1		97.9	5.3	4.3	90.4
Motor Cycle/scooter	1.1	1.1	97.9	4.3	3.2	92.6
Plough	2.1	2.1	95.7	3.2	1.1	95.7
Internet service	2.1		97.9	3.2	2.1	94.7
Generator	1.1	3.2	95.7	3.2	4.3	92.6
Tractor	1.1		98.9	2.1		97.9
Bicycle	2.1	1.1	96.8	2.1	3.2	94.7
Motor boat	3.2		96.8	2.1	2.1	95.7

Source: Survey Data

In terms of livestock ownership the results shows an increase in the number of household that now own livestock (Table 6). Only access to horses has declined, although the percentages of households that own horse remain the same before and after the establishment of the conservancy. Particularly goats have become a popular household livestock.

Table 6 Percentage of household per ownership of, and access to livestock

	Before			Now		
	Owns %	Does not own, but has access %	Neither Owns nor has access %	Owns %	Does not own, but has access %	Neither Owns nor has access %
Goat	36.2		63.8	67.0	1.1	31.9
Poultry	23.4	1.1	75.5	47.9	2.1	50.0
Donkey/Mule	22.3	2.1	75.5	45.7	3.2	51.1
Cattle	22.3	1.1	76.6	42.6	4.3	53.2
Sheep	8.5	1.1	90.4	20.2	1.1	78.7
Horse	5.3	4.3	90.4	5.3	2.1	92.6

Source: Survey Data

In terms of the total number and the average number of livestock**,** goats numbers have remained almost the same, while the cattle, sheep and horses has apparently declined (Table 7). Only the number of chickens and donkeys has increased. The increase in the number of donkey may be associated to the increase in ownership of donkey carts, while the declines in cattle, horses and sheep could be explained by drought. The goats are more adept to that area, but the predators in the area are understood to be discouraging the communities from increasing their livestock numbers.

Table 7 Number and average livestock per household

	Sum	Average / household	Sum	Average / household
Goat	3297	35.07	3278	35.63
Poultry	233	2.51	399	4.34
Donkey/Mule	152	1.67	179	1.99
Cattle	457	4.91	363	4.08
Sheep	546	5.87	283	3.08
Horse	31	0.34	17	0.18

Source: Survey Data

Apart from tourism and wilderness, livestock has potential in the area. Currently it appears that the development focus of the area is too much biased towards the tourism. In order to ensure sustainability in development in the area, efforts should also be directed to livestock farming. This is particularly important in view of the fact that performance in the tourism sector is

vulnerable to changes in World economic growth. According to Ashe (2005) when world economic growth exceeds 4%, the growth of tourism volume tends to be higher, and when GDP growth falls below 2%, tourism growth terns to be even lower.

5.4. Impact on the household activities and livelihood strategies

Tourism is a relatively new rural activity for local communities and is correctly perceived as risky and that it should been seen as supplementing the existing livelihood activities (Ashley 2000).

The results suggest an increase in salaries with almost 70 percent of the households indicating salaries as a source of income to the household (Table 8). Subsistence farming has also increased as a source income to the household. Subsistence farming here mainly refers to the sale of livestock when a need arise for the household. The results again confirm the direct benefits to the conservancy through employment. Although the conservancy has paid out dividends in 2003 to its member, only 13.8 percent of the household indicated that they have received dividend from the conservancy. During the interviews it was clear that a significant number were not satisfied that they had not received dividends since then. The dividend payment will not be sustainable and the conservancy should look for other ways through which they can reward the community.

Table 8 Percentage of household per sources of household income

	Before		Now	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Salaries and or wages	34.0	66.0	69.1	30.9
Subsistence farming	18.1	81.9	25.5	74.5
Commercial farming	1.1	98.9	2.1	97.9
Business Activities, non-farming	4.3	95.7	7.4	91.5
Pension from employment and / or annuity funds	2.1	97.9	9.6	89.4
Cash remittances	2.1	97.9	1.1	98.9
Rental Income	1.1	98.9		100.0
State old age pension	2.2	97.8	9.6	90.4
State Child Maintenance grant			3.2	96.8
Drought relief assistance			2.1	97.9
Dividend from conservancy			13.8	86.2
Other, specify:	1.1	98.9	2.1	97.9
No income	2.1	97.9	2.1	97.9

Source: Survey Data

It is also surprising that, despite the potential especially for small livestock, there appears to have been little efforts to commercial the activity. Similarly, there is only a slight increase in business activities. Despite the increasing buying power in the conservancy from employment, there is a general lack of basic goods in the area. Residents have to travel over 130 kilometers to the

nearest town for the purchases of basic goods. The establishment of the conservancy did not bring about significant diversification in the sources of income to the households. Although it has manage to allow for the state grants to the residents as evident in the increase in old age pension, state child maintenance and drought relief.

In terms of which source of income is the main source of income to the household, salaries are the main source of income (Table 9). The decline in the share of household that has listed income as mains source of income suggest the slight diversification away from the reliance on salaries. There has been a slight increase in the number of households that regard business activities as main source of income. There has been a decline in subsistence farming as a main source of household income. The decline is probably explained by the fact that the increases in other activities have substituted subsistence farming the main source of income to the households. There is also a fall in the number of household that had no income. Only 2 percent of the household indicated that they had no sources of income, compared to almost five percent before the establishment of the conservancy.

Table 9 Percentage of households per main source of household income

	Before %	Now %
Salaries and or wages	58.1	54.8
Subsistence farming	30.2	16.1
Commercial farming		1.1
Business Activities, non-farming	2.3	4.3
Pension from employment and / or annuity funds	2.3	7.5
Cash remittances	2.3	1.1
State old age pension		5.4
State Child Maintenance grant		2.2
Drought relief assistance		2.2
Dividend from conservancy		2.2
Other, specify:		1.1
No income	4.7	2.2

Source: Survey Data

While the overall impact on the livelihood strategy is positive, the impact is minimal. The minimal impact we believe is as a result of over focusing on tourism and neglect of the promotion of the other activities.

In terms of income, households were asked to indicate the categories of monthly income to the household. The majority of household still receive a monthly income that is less than a thousand Namibian dollars (Table 10). Although there is a decline in the share of households that receive less than a thousand dollar a month from 65 percent to about 61 percent. The decline may represent improved income after the establishment of the conservancy. For instance the Damaraland Camp has a minimum monthly wage of U$120 (Spanceley 2008). There were only

slight improvements in the shares of households that earn over a thousand Namibian dollars and above.

Table 10 Percentage of households per income categories per month

Income category	Before %	Now %
0 - 999	65.1	60.9
1000 - 4999	32.6	33.7
5000 - 9999	2.3	3.3
10 000 - 19 999		2.2

Sources: Survey Data

6. Conclusion

Traditionally, tourism was seen as contributing to development from a macroeconomic growth perspective and as a consequence it's potential to contribute to poverty reduction or alleviation has largely been ignored. Namibia is one of the countries that identified tourism as part of its poverty and conservation strategy. Through the CBNRM programmes in Namibia tourism is now contributing to the diversification of the rural activities. The Torra Conservancy is one such area where the community makes use of tourism resources (wildlife and scenery) to benefits the communities residing in the conservancy.

Conservancies are expected to achieve social, economic and environmental conditions. The environmental achievement has been largely achieved through improved wildlife stocks in the conservancy areas. However, social and economic achievements are not yet well document in the case of Namibia. This study intended to try and establish the impact of the Torra conservancy on the standard of living of the households in the conservancy area.

Indeed the result of the household survey we conducted in the conservancy area, suggests a positive impact on the standard of living of the household in the area. There is a general positive perception about the contribution of the conservancy to improvement of the living standards of the household in the conservancy. The establishment of the conservancy has had a positive impact on the social capital in the area, which we believe contributes to the positive perception on poverty in the conservancy and the general optimism about the potential of the conservancy in the future.

The establishment of the conservancy has resulted in directed employments that were as a result of establishment of the Damaraland Camp. Employment opportunities beyond the Torra Conservancy were also created through training and skill development through the Damaraland Camp. However, there appears to be little done in terms of exploiting other opportunities that could provide employment in the conservancy area through providing goods and services to

tourists. There are virtually no other business activities that could further generate income directly to the residents.

The results further suggest improvement in the living standards in terms of improvement in assets ownership by household in the conservancy area. The share of household that now own basic household assets show increases in ownership compared to before the establishment of the conservancy. However the results are less convincing in terms of diversification of livelihood activities in the conservancy area. Employment from camp that was established in the conservancy appears to be the only noteworthy additional activities in the area. We found that using materials used to construct households in the area my hide the changes in living standards as people combine customary ways of constructing their dwellings.

Other activities such as livestock rearing appear to have taken a back seat in the development agenda of the area. Although livestock rearing is common, especial small stock, little appears to have been done to encourage households to commercialize the activity. This does not auger well for the sustainable development in the area. The over reliance on tourism may pose a risk to the area. The conservancy should therefore broaden their development outlook for the area and adopt a diversified approach development in the area. The conservancy should not see tourism as the panacea to all their problems, but as a supplementing livelihood activity in addition to the other livelihood activities.

Further, the conservancy should desist trying to satisfy the short term desires of the members of the conservancy, through dividend payments. They should try to reinvest the revenues and income from the conservancy on projects that will yield long term benefits in terms of employments and also in projects that will make the community goods or service provider to the tourism and to the community. The dividend payouts may be unsustainable and yields less benefits compared to the potential that other projects may yield. These revenues could be for instance be used as loans to community members that are interested in engaging in feasible business activities. Further, the funds can be used to provide bursaries through an education fund, to promising students from the conservancy in specific skills that are necessary for the conservancy's long term survival.

All in all, the conservancy appears to have had a positive effect on the living conditions on the living standards of household in the conservancy. This we interpreted as having contributed to poverty reduction in the Torra Conservancy.

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Annex 1: Questionnaire

Part 1

A1. Indicate the relationship of the interviewee in the household

Head of house	
Spouse	
Son / Daughter of HH / Spouse	
Grand Child of HH/Spouse	
Parent of HH /Spouse	
Other relative	
Other non relative	
Domestic worker	

A2. How many people stay in this household?.....

A3 How many are male?.....

A4 How many are female?.....

A5 How many are between 0 – 10 years?.....

A6 How many are 11 – 15 years? ……..

A7 How many are 16 – 65 ……..

A8 How many are older than 65?.....

A9 What is the education level of each individual in the household? (state the number of persons for each education level.)

1 No formal education ……

2 Primary only ……

3 Secondary Education ……

4 Post Secondary Qualification (Certificates, Diploma, Bachelor degree) ……

5 Postgraduate education (Masters, Ph.D) …….

A10 How many members of the household are working?.....

A11 Where are they working? *(give number in each case)*

1. Conservancy	2. Outside conservancy	3. Part-time /Casual in the conservancy

A12 What type of work (activities) are they involved in? (State the activity for each working member of the household)

Individual 1……

Individual 2……

Individual 3……

Individual 4……

Individual 5……

Individual 6……

Individual 7……

A13 Indicate the type of main dwelling that the household occupies…….

1 = Detached house

2=Semi-detached house

3=Apartment

4=Guest flat

5=Part Commercial Building

6=Mobile home (Caravan / Tent)

7=Single Quarters

8=Traditional Dwelling

9=Improvised housing unit
10 = Other, Specify……

A14 What is the main material used for the roof and outer walls of the main housing unit?

	Mark in each column.	Roof	Outer walls
1.	Cement Blocks /bricks /stones		
2.	Burnt Bricks/Face Bricks		
3.	Corrugated iron/zinc		
4.	Wooden Poles, sticks and grass		
5.	Sticks, mud, clay and or cow-dung	.	
6.	Asbestos		
7.	Brick tiles		
8.	Slate		
9.	Thatch, grass		
10.	Other, Specify		

A15 What is the main material used for the floor of the main dwelling?

1.	Sand	
2.	Concrete	
3.	Mud, Clay/ or Cow dung	
4.	Wood	
5.	Other ,	

A16 What is the main source of energy for this household?

		Cooking	Heating	Lighting
1.	Electricity from main grid			
2.	Electricity from generator			
3.	Gas			
4.	Paraffin			
5.	Wood or wood charcoal			
6.	Coal			
7.	Animal Dung			
8.	Candles			
9.	Solar energy			
10.	Other, Specify……			
11.	None			

A17 What is the household's main source of drinking water?

Mark one only		
1.	Piped (Tap) water in dwelling	
2.	Piped (Tap) water on site or in yard	
3.	Neighbour's tap	
4.	Public Tap	
5.	Borehole, private	
6.	Rain water tank on site	
7.	Water carrier / tanker	
8.	Borehole communal	
9.	Flowing water/stream/river/canal	
10.	Dam/pool/stagnant water	
11.	Well (protected)	
12.	Well (unprotected)	
13.	Spring	
14.	Other , Specify	

A18 What is the one way walking distance in kilometers or how long does it take to walk to the following:

	Kms	Minutes

1. Drinking water		
2. Hospital/ clinic		
3. Public transport		
4. Local shop		
5. Primary School		
6. High School		
7. Combined School		
8. Pension pay point		
9. Police station		
10. Post office		
11. Magistrate court		

A19 Does the household own or have access to any of the following?

	Owns	Does not own,	Neither owns
1. Radio	1	2	3
2. Stereo / HiFI	1	2	3
3. Tape Recorder	1	2	3
4. Television	1	2	3
5. Satellite TV, (e.g. DStv)	1	2	3
6. Video Cassette recorder/DVD	1	2	3
7. Telephone –Land line	1	2	3
8. Cell Telephone	1	2	3
9. Refrigerator	1	2	3
10. Stove, gas, electric, paraffin	1	2	3
11. Microwave oven	1	2	3
12. Freezer	1	2	3
13. Washing machine	1	2	3
14. Motor vehicle	1	2	3
15. Motor Cycle/scooter	1	2	3
16. Sewing Knitting machine	1	2	3
17. Donkey, ox, horse cart	1	2	3
18. Plough	1	2	3
19. Tractor	1	2	3
20. Wheelbarrow	1	2	3
21. Grinding mill	1	2	3
22. Bicycle	1	2	3
23. Computer	1	2	3
24. Internet service	1	2	3
25. Motor boat	1	2	3
26. Camera	1	2	3
27. Generator	1	2	3
28. Solar panel	1	2	3
29. Bedroom furniture	1	2	3
30. Dining room furniture	1	2	3
31. Kitchen furniture	1	2	3

A20 Does the household own or have access to any of the following?

	Owns	Does not own, but	Neither owns, nor	Number if owns
1. Cattle	1	2	3	
2. Sheep	1	2	3	
3. Pig	1	2	3	
4. Goat	1	2	3	
5. Donkey/Mule	1	2	3	
6. Horse	1	2	3	
7. Game	1	2	3	
8. Poultry	1	2	3	
9. Ostrich	1	2	3	

10.	Grazing land	1	2	3	
11.	Field for crops	1	2	3	

A21 Does any member of the household own a business? 1= Yes, 2 = No

A22 If yes in A22, describe the type of business(es)……
……

A23 What are the sources of income for this household? Note: more than one source is possible.

1.	Salaries and or wages	
2.	Subsistence farming	
3.	Commercial farming	
4.	Business Activities, non-farming	
5.	Pension from employment and / or annuity funds	
6.	Cash remittances	
7.	Rental Income	
8.	Interest from savings and investments	
9.	State old age pension	
10.	War veterans/ex-combatant grant	
11.	Disability grant for adults (adults 16yrs)	
12.	State Special maintenance grants (Disabled under 16 yrs)	
13.	State Child Maintenance grant	
14.	State foster care grant	
15.	Drought relief assistance	
16.	In kind receipts	
17.	Dividend from conservancy	
18.	Other, specify:	
19.	No income	

A24 What is the MAIN source of income for this household?

1.	Salaries and or wages	
2.	Subsistence farming	
3.	Commercial farming	
4.	Business Activities, non-farming	
5.	Pension from employment and / or annuity funds	
6.	Cash remittances	
7.	Rental Income	
8.	Interest from savings and investments	
9.	State old age pension	
10.	War veterans/ex-combatant grant	
11.	Disability grant for adults (adults 16yrs)	
12.	State Special maintenance grants (Disabled under 16 yrs)	
13.	State Child Maintenance grant	
14.	State foster care grant	
15.	Drought relief assistance	
16.	In kind receipts	
17.	Dividend from conservancy	
18.	Other, specify:	
19.	No income	

A25 What is the total monthly income for the household?

	N$	
1.	0 - 999	
2.	1000 -4999	
3.	5000 - 9999	
4.	10 000 – 19 999	
5.	20 000 – 49 000	
6.	50 000 – 10 000	

7. > 100 000	

A26 Does your household receive support from the conservancy?..... 1 = Yes, 2 = No

A27 What type of support?..... 1. Money
2. Food
3. Meat
4. Other,

Specify…….

Part 2
Before the establishment of conservancy in 1998

B1 Did this household exist before 1998?..... 1 = Yes 2 = No
Continue if B1 is yes.

B2 How many members of the household were working before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998?.....

B3 Where were they working?.....
1 = In the conservancy
2 = Outside the conservancy

B4 What type of work (activities) were they involved in, before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998? *(State the activity for each member of the household that was working.)*

B5 Indicate the type of main dwelling that your household occupied before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998?
1 = Detached house
2=Semi-detached house
3=Apartment
4=Guest flat
5=Part Commercial Building
6=Mobile home (Caravan / Tent)
7=Single Quarters
8=Traditional Dwelling
9=Improvised housing unit
10 = Other, Specify……

B6 What was the main material used for the roof and out walls of the housing before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998?

	Mark the in each column.	Roof	Outer
1.	Cement Blocks /bricks /stones		
2.	Burnt Bricks/Face Bricks		
3.	Corrugated iron/zinc		
4.	Wooden Poles, sticks and grass		
5.	Sticks, mud, clay and or cow-dung	.	
6.	Asbestos		
7.	Brick tiles		
8.	Slate		
9.	Thatch, grass		
10.	Other, Specify		

B7 What was the main material used for the floor of the main dwelling before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998?

1.	Sand	
2.	Concrete	
3.	Mud, Clay/ or Cow dung	
4.	Wood	
5.	Other ,	

B8 What was the main source of energy for this household before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998?

		Cooking	Heating	Lighting
1.	Electricity form main grid			
2.	Electricity from generator			

3. Gas			
4. Paraffin			
5. Wood or wood charcoal			
6. Coal			
7. Animal Dung			
8. Candles			
9. Solar energy			
10. Other, Specify……			
11. None			

B9 What was the household's main source of drinking water before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998?

Mark one only	
1. Piped (Tap) water in dwelling	
2. Piped (Tap) water on site or in yard	
3. Neighbour's tap	
4. Public Tap	
5. Borehole, private	
6. Rain water tank on site	
7. Water carrier / tanker	
8. Borehole communal	
9. Flowing water/stream/river/canal	
10. Dam/pool/stagnant water	
11. Well (protected)	
12. Well (unprotected)	
13. Spring	
14. Other , Specify	

B10 What was the one way walking distance in kilometers or how long does it take to walk to the following, before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998?

	Kms	Minutes
1. Drinking water		
2. Hospital/ clinic		
3. Public transport		
4. Local shop		
5. Primary School		
6. High School		
7. Combined School		
8. Pension pay point		
9. Police station		
10. Post office		
11. Magistrate court		

B11 Did the household own or had access to any of the following, before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998?

	Owns	Does not own, but has	Neither owns or has
1. Radio	1	2	3
2. Stereo / HiFI	1	2	3
3. Tape Recorder	1	2	3
4. Television	1	2	3
5. Satellite TV, (e.g. DStv)	1	2	3
6. Video Cassette recorder/DVD	1	2	3
7. Telephone –Land line	1	2	3
8. Cell Telephone	1	2	3
9. Refrigerator	1	2	3
10. Stove, gas, electric, paraffin	1	2	3
11. Microwave oven	1	2	3
12. Freezer	1	2	3
13. Washing machine	1	2	3

14. Motor vehicle	1	2	3	
15. Motor Cycle/scooter	1	2	3	
16. Sewing Knitting machine	1	2	3	
17. Donkey, ox, horse cart	1	2	3	
18. Plough	1	2	3	
19. Tractor	1	2	3	
20. Wheelbarrow	1	2	3	
21. Grinding mill	1	2	3	
22. Bicycle	1	2	3	
23. Computer	1	2	3	
24. Internet service	1	2	3	
25. Motor boat	1	2	3	
26. Camera	1	2	3	
27. Generator	1	2	3	
28. Solar panel	1	2	3	
29. Bedroom furniture	1	2	3	
30. Dining room furniture	1	2	3	
31. Kitchen furniture	1	2	3	

B12 Did the household own or had access to any of the following, before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998?

	Owns	Does not own, but	Neither owns, nor	Number if owns
1. Cattle	1	2	3	
2. Sheep	1	2	3	
3. Pig	1	2	3	
4. Goat	1	2	3	
5. Donkey/Mule	1	2	3	
6. Horse	1	2	3	
7. Game	1	2	3	
8. Poultry	1	2	3	
9. Ostrich	1	2	3	
10. Grazing land	1	2	3	
11. Field for crops	1	2	3	

B13 Did any member of the household own a business, before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998?.....
1= Yes, 2 = No

B14 If yes in A22, describe the type of business(es)……
……

B15 What were the sources of income for this household before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998? Note: more than one source is possible.

1. Salaries and or wages	
2. Subsistence farming	
3. Commercial farming	
4. Business Activities, non-farming	
5. Pension from employment and / or annuity funds	
6. Cash remittances	
7. Rental Income	
8. Interest from savings and investments	
9. State old age pension	
10. War veterans/ex-combatant grant	
11. Disability grant for adults (adults 16yrs)	
12. State Special maintenance grants (Disabled under 16 yrs)	
13. State Child Maintenance grant	
14. State foster care grant	
15. Drought relief assistance	
16. In kind receipts	
17. Dividend from conservancy	

18. Other, specify:	
19. No income	

B16 What was the MAIN source of income for this household before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998?

1. Salaries and or wages	
2. Subsistence farming	
3. Commercial farming	
4. Business Activities, non-farming	
5. Pension from employment and / or annuity funds	
6. Cash remittances	
7. Rental Income	
8. Interest from savings and investments	
9. State old age pension	
10. War veterans/ex-combatant grant	
11. Disability grant for adults (adults 16yrs)	
12. State Special maintenance grants (Disabled under 16 yrs)	
13. State Child Maintenance grant	
14. State foster care grant	
15. Drought relief assistance	
16. In kind receipts	
17. Dividend from conservancy	
18. Other, specify:	
19. No income	

B17 What was the total monthly income for the household?

N$	
1. 0 - 999	
2. 1000 -4999	
3. 5000 - 9999	
4. 10 000 – 19 999	
5. 20 000 – 49 000	
6. 50 000 – 10 000	
7. > 100 000	

Part 3

Perception of Poverty

C1 How will you rank the level of poverty of the conservancy residents?

1. No poverty	
2. Satisfactory	
3. Severe	
4. Do not know	

C2 Do you think your household is better off than it was before the establishment of the Conservancy in 1998?

1. Did not improve	
2. Became worse off	
3. Improved slightly	
4. Improved significantly	
5. Do not Know	

C3 Do you think the poverty situation in the Conservancy area will

1. increase	
2. decrease	
3. Stay the same level	
4. Do not Know	

C4 How satisfied are you with the Conservancy?

1. Very satisfied	

2. Fairly satisfied	
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	
4. Slightly dissatisfied	
5. Very dissatisfied	

C5 Would you say the establishment of the conservancy has:

1. Improved your standard of living	
2. Reduced your standard of living	
3. Increased your income	
4. Reduced your income	
5. None of these	

C6 Would you say the Conservancy will in the future:

1. Improve your standard of living	
2. Reduce your standard of living	
3. Increase your income	
4. Reduce your income	
5. Don't know	

C7 How satisfied are you with house?

1. Very satisfied	
2. Fairly satisfied	
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	
4. Slightly dissatisfied	
5. Very dissatisfied	