



'JUST WILDLIFE?' OR A SOURCE OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT?

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This paper examines whether and how wildlife¹ is a source of rural growth and development in East Africa, and whether its potential could be tapped more fully. It focuses particularly on the wildlife tourism industry, pulling together issues from a range of work and comparisons from Southern Africa, rather than presenting conclusive results based on detailed research specific to this topic. As such, it raises many questions, and is intended to stimulate further debate.

Policy conclusions

Although wildlife-based tourism is a thriving industry in some well-established tourism destinations in East Africa, evidence suggests that the wider potential of wildlife enterprise in other rural areas is not being harnessed to the full. To exploit the potential for growth and rural development requires decision-makers to:

- *Ensure greater coherence between different national policies and instruments:* particularly community-based wildlife management, tourism development, rural growth strategies, investment regulations or incentives, and poverty reduction strategies.
- *Acknowledge and build Africa's international comparative advantage in wildlife tourism:* integrate this comparative advantage into economic and poverty reduction strategies.
- *Integrate opportunities for pro-poor tourism into tourism strategies:* where appropriate, seek to develop a rural and diversified tourism product, and set objectives in terms of development impacts not just numbers of tourists or foreign exchange earnings.
- *Exploit wildlife-based enterprise development opportunities:* integrate wildlife-related products and markets and upstream/downstream linkages into enterprise development initiatives.
- *Encourage attitudinal change towards wildlife at policy level:* as an asset for rural development and poverty reduction rather than as something only looked after by conservationists, and for entrepreneurship.
- *Shift emphasis within many community wildlife approaches:* to a renewed focus on creating and seizing enterprise opportunities, particularly in terms of impact at household level.

Background: poverty, growth and wildlife

An estimated 43% of the population (and more than 70% of the rural population) of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) live in poverty, where poverty is defined as having less than the equivalent of one dollar a day. Poverty reduction strategies tend to focus on social sectors and public spending. But it is clear that ambitious poverty reduction targets cannot be achieved without significant and steady economic growth.

GDP per capita in Africa is lower now than it was 30 years ago, and economic growth of at least 7% p.a. is needed to meet the UN DAC Millenium Development Goals in Africa. But there are few areas in which SSA has a comparative advantage, and it is crucial to identify and exploit these to the full. In particular, it is important to identify means to 'pro-poor growth', broadly meaning economic growth that increasingly involves the poor and less skilled.

For most of the rural poor, survival depends on combining agriculture with a diverse range of other livelihood activities. An important challenge is to identify and stimulate sources of growth in the non-farm economy, while also helping farmers to adapt to opportunities within more globalised commercial agriculture. Yet effective strategies for achieving diversified rural growth in poor parts of Africa are still proving elusive to governments and donors alike.

In parts of SSA there is a tradition of wildlife conservation, stemming largely from the colonial era. Since the 1980s, programmes of Community Wildlife Management (CWM) have been promoted as a primary means of delivering wildlife conservation. CWM emerged from the conservation agenda as a means of increasing flows of benefits to local people in order to reduce hostility to conservation. CWM initiatives seek increasingly to combine conservation and development goals, though as yet there are few examples of cost effective impact of CWM on development objectives.

Tourism is a key economic sector in many African countries, including East Africa where the international and local wildlife tourism² industry makes vital contributions to GDP, foreign exchange earnings, employment and the

creation of related local business opportunities. Tanzania is experiencing some of the fastest tourism growth in the world. In Kenya both coastal and wildlife tourism have now nearly recovered from the security-related collapse in late 1997. In Uganda the tourism industry is still a fraction of its size in earlier decades, but has been identified as a key growth sector. However, tourism is not currently recognised as a priority development sector in the respective Poverty Reduction Strategies, nor in most donor country strategies.

This paper focuses on tourism as the sector offering the greatest wildlife-related growth opportunities. In Kenya for example, wildlife tourism is estimated to generate more than 100 times the revenue of all non-tourism wildlife businesses put together (Elliott and Young, 1999). Non-tourism wildlife-based industries have flourished in some parts of Africa, including the capture and trade of live animals (e.g. in South Africa), trade in bushmeat, skins and other products such as biltong, and farming of specific wildlife species such as crocodile, ostrich, butterflies and guinea fowl. Any of these products offer potential growth opportunities where the markets, production opportunities and appropriate policy frameworks exist. However, experience in how to make these industries more accessible to the poor is limited.

Table 1 Earnings from tourism in East Africa

Country	International arrivals (in '000)	Tourism contribution to GDP	'Export' earnings from tourism (US\$ million)	Travel & tourism % of export earnings (est. 2002)
Kenya	943*	4%	527.1	19.2%
Tanzania	501	7%	581.6	45.5%
Uganda	151	3%	168.2	22.3%

*1998

Sources: World Tourism Organisation, online statistical database, accessed November 2002; World Travel and Tourism Council, statistical database, accessed January 2003.



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Given the anticipated growth of tourism and its considerable wildlife assets, it is clear that, so long as costs can be kept down, East Africa will have significant long-term comparative advantage in wildlife-based tourism. A major challenge is to harness this potential for the development agenda. This paper questions whether this is being done, explores why not, and considers what is needed.

The local development impact of wildlife tourism

Various indicators are used to measure tourism's contribution to macro-economic growth, such as its contribution to GDP and foreign exchange earnings, as well as growth in number of visitors, the number of formal sector jobs in tourism and foreign direct investment in tourism (WTO, 2000).

There have been few assessments of the actual impact on local or 'destination' level economic development (but see Rogerson, 2002). Yet this is the level at which poverty impacts should be seen and measured – above the micro detail of a few households and businesses, but below the national level where it may make little dent (except in small island states). Real potential for shaping tourism as a leading agent of local economic development comes from effective destination level management, where state, private sector and local interests work together to ensure that all the pieces of the puzzle (i.e. excellent 'product', marketing, infrastructure and labour, as well as the facilities and services represented by individual businesses) fit together.

Measuring tourism's contribution to local economic development does not just mean taking key macro growth indicators, such as output and employment, down to a destination level. Local multiplier impacts are also important, and include both formal and informal sector employment, as well as indirect impacts such as improved infrastructure and public services, and more abstract benefits such as participation, empowerment and improved governance.

Box 1 The need to address tourism and development at 'destination' level

A recently agreed €22 million EC programme to support tourism development in Kenya recognises the need to focus at destination level. The programme's main focus will be on improving destination marketing and improving the business environment for tourism development. To maximise pro poor benefits, the opportunities for tourism to strengthen other aspects of local development will also be exploited.

Box 2 Local development impacts of tourism affecting the poor

Tourism can have many different types of impact on poor people in a destination and the relative importance of these will vary enormously from place to place and between different poor people. Broadly, impacts can be:

- *financial*: the poor may earn cash from (i) waged jobs, (ii) sales of goods and services by entrepreneurs or informal sector traders, (iii) shares of collective community income;
- *non-financial livelihood impacts* such as improved or decreased access to infrastructure, communications, water supplies, health, education, security services;
- *empowerment impacts*, including opportunities for institutional development and participation in local economic decision making.

Even where immediate cash injection into poor households is limited, development of roads and transferable skills can have long-term effects throughout the local economy. But where tourism is planned and implemented in isolation, such complementary local impacts are unlikely to be maximised. (see www.propoortourism.org.uk/tourism_issue_affecting_the_poor.pdf)

So what destination-level evidence is there of the impact of wildlife tourism on local development? While there is some anecdotal evidence (e.g. Boxes 3 and 4), there are few sound, empirical studies.

In destinations such as the Maasai Mara and Serengeti, as well as the unique mountain gorilla tourism in the Virungas, it is clear that wildlife is being successfully exploited as a basis for enterprise. Though the carrying capacity for tourism has been reached in some of the top destinations, the potential for improving the local development impact of tourism in these areas is still thought to be significant.

In some wildlife-rich areas that are not yet well developed as integrated destinations, such as Laikipia District in Kenya and the community-owned Conservancies in northern Namibia, the scope for viable wildlife-based enterprise is clear – mosaics of landholdings can be made economically viable by mixing wildlife tourism and livestock. Although some positive development impacts are evident, so are limitations, such as high leakage out of the local economy in Laikipia (Box 3), and little sign of spin-offs and complementary investment in Namibia (Box 4).

In emerging destinations such as the southern circuit in Tanzania (Selous, Eastern Arc Mountains, Ruaha) tourism is growing rapidly from a small base, with scope for substantial impact on local economic development. In South Africa state institutions have taken a pro-active role in encouraging local development impacts, e.g. by supporting community-public-private sector partnerships.

We conclude that, while there are major concerns over inequitable access to land and wildlife assets, and known trade-offs between wildlife and other livelihoods, wildlife is clearly seen as an entrepreneurial asset by poor people. The challenge is to enable them to access a greater share of wildlife's potential development benefits. However, we cannot yet say what this potentially greater share might be, within a range of, say, 10% to 30%.

Large parts of East Africa do not immediately present themselves as attractive tourism destinations, whether because of insecurity, a limited wildlife asset or other product, and poor infrastructure. However, there are many areas in East Africa where some kind of community based wildlife management programme exists (e.g. the USAID

Box 3 Limited data regarding wildlife-based local development in East Africa

- It is estimated that 40% of the 400,000 population of Narok District of Kenya rely on tourism in one way or the other as the main source of livelihood (Kareithi, 2003).
- In the Mara-Serengeti ecosystem, the number of households earning any income from tourism varies from 86% in Talek (near Kya gate to Maasai Mara Reserve) to 12% and 3% at Ngorongoro Conservation Area and Loliondo Game Controlled Area on the Tanzanian side. Tourism is rarely the principal source of income, and the amounts earned are highly skewed towards the elite (Homewood et al, 2001).
- In the villages on the east side of Ruaha National Park in Tanzania, the pilot wildlife management area has generated income from hunting quotas sufficient to treble village level communal income, enabling villages to pay district-level taxes that would otherwise be levied on households, as well as to carry out specific inter-village investments such as the building of a secondary school and road improvements (Ashley et al, 2001).
- In Laikipia District of Kenya, a wildlife-rich area under private and communal land ownership, it is estimated that of the \$2.8 million of tourism revenues earned within the District in 1996 some two-thirds remained in Kenya, but only 10% remained within Laikipia, and there is little evidence of significant impact on local jobs, income or infrastructure (Elliott and Mwangi, 1998).

CORE project in Kenya, the GTZ-supported project around the Selous, the DFID-supported project adjacent to Ruaha, and CARE- sponsored work with communities close to mountain gorilla habitats). Millions of poor people count wildlife among their livelihood assets (DFID, 2002), yet there are only limited signs of real wildlife-based local economic development. Is this just a matter of time?

Certainly it takes time for the foundations of local wildlife management to be laid (e.g. in Tanzania, regulations for Wildlife Management Areas were recently passed after several years' delay), and for institutions and capacities to develop that can then turn to enterprise issues. It also takes time for tourism companies to invest in new areas and new destinations, and for tourists to come.

However, it is not just a matter of time. Our hypothesis is that wildlife has not been delivering its potential local economic impact in many places for several reasons – sometimes because it is not appropriate given local conditions, sometimes because it has simply not been tried, but often because the policy environment is not conducive.

Constraints to maximising the development impact of wildlife

There are many factors in the policy environment that either discourage investment in wildlife-based enterprise, or impose obstacles in realising such investment. Drawing on varied experience, though a lack of specific empirical studies, we hypothesise that the three main ones are:

- **Isolated and incoherent policies**, in particular that: (i) Community Wildlife Management (CWM) has had limited enterprise focus; (ii) Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS) and related processes tend to exclude tourism and wildlife; and (iii) there is limited application of pro-poor tourism approaches within tourism-based growth strategies.
- **Attitudes**: wildlife is generally not seen as an economic asset to develop, but more as an international public good to be conserved.

Box 4 Local development impact of wildlife? Evidence from Namibia

In Namibia, tourism and hunting are developing in the communal areas, particularly inside community-run 'conservancies' where communities have rights over wildlife use. Analysis of local livelihood impacts suggest *reasons to be cautious about tourism potential*:

- communal income from tourism is limited, concentrated in few conservancies and still largely unspent;
- evidence for significant impact on spin-off businesses and job creation is unclear;
- there is little new investment in infrastructure or public services to support diversified rural livelihoods leveraged through tourism;
- there is a lack of private sector confidence in investing in communal areas, in part because of perceptions of high entry and maintenance costs;
- high-end market operations require land to be set aside for wildlife, and therefore impinge on alternative livelihood strategies such as livestock, in areas where people face uncertainty about livestock markets, grazing and water management as well as large household cash deficits.

...and reasons to be hopeful:

- there are signs of local level institutional strengthening, capacity building and improved governance;
- tourist arrivals and expenditure in communal areas appear to be growing steadily;
- small scale non-tourism enterprises based on wild resources are having success, including devil's claw, *narra* melons and *marula* fruit, though more support is needed for market access, marketing, and scaling up production.

Source: adapted from Long, A., pers.comm.

- **Barriers to entry** inherent in the structure of the tourism and wildlife industries
These are discussed in turn below.

Need for Policy Coherence

CWM and lack of entrepreneurship

To date, CWM has been the main mechanism by which poor local people have been given rights to access their wildlife assets. However, the impacts of CWM have been variable, and the relative neglect of wildlife as a productive asset in many cases has important ramifications.

The development goals of CWM initiatives range from tangible household level benefits (cash, game meat), to objectives such as institutional development and empowerment. Since the early days of handing out cash or meat from parks, there is a growing emphasis on devolving *rights* to local residents – e.g. over the use of wildlife within defined community areas, as in the proposed Wildlife Management Areas in Tanzania. In very general terms, CWM in East Africa is seen as more focused on distribution of benefits and creation of conservation incentives than in southern Africa, where there has been a stronger emphasis on empowerment of communities, though this varies across countries and programmes. In both regions, there have been a growing number of initiatives seeking to develop enterprises based on wildlife, either through small and micro business, or in partnership with mainstream operators.

CWM initiatives can be classified by several criteria, such as the balance between development and conservation goals, between household and institutional levels of impact, and between cash and empowerment objectives. Figure 1 provides a slightly different categorisation, illustrating the different means by which CWM seeks to achieve development benefits: via direct individual gains, institutional gains, enterprise development or policy reform. These development benefits may be fundamentally a means of creating conservation incentives or directly reducing poverty. Investment in enterprise building can focus at either household or institutional level, depending on what type of enterprise is envisaged.

There are some examples of CWM where little attention is being paid to enterprise and others where it is part of the programme, but encountering obstacles. It is worth learning the lessons from both.

A recent case study in Tanzania assessed the livelihood and enterprise impacts of a CWM programme (the Selous Conservation Programme, SCP) in villages along the northern boundary of Selous Game Reserve (Ashley et al, 2002). It found that most benefits to date accrued to local institutions. In terms of cash earnings, the 19-village society set up to manage wildlife, plus the District Council and village governments had earned approximately twice as much in total as individuals received in wages or allowances. Furthermore, the main focus to date has been on *distributing* benefits from wildlife – whether meat from legalised culling, or revenue shares from trophy hunting. Less evident are attempts to create enterprise *opportunities*, or build capacity to manage problems and opportunities. In fact the case study finds that there is a noticeable absence of cross-referencing to tourism or rural development in SCP documents, to wildlife or tourism in rural development documents, and to CWM in tourism documents.

Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE programme, so renowned in the nineties, provides a comparable example. CAMPFIRE aimed to increase local benefits from trophy hunting. In practice, this meant passing the right to earn revenue from trophy hunting to District Councils (by granting them 'Appropriate Authority' over hunting quotas). In fact, most benefits accrued to institutions rather than households, and the number of

spin-off opportunities created was very limited.

A contrasting example from Tanzania is the Mbomipa project, working with communities adjacent to Ruaha National Park. Here, institutions have also been a major focus of project activity, but significant sums earned through devolved revenue rights have been combined with institutional capacity building, particularly at village and inter-village levels. More recently, negotiations have been initiated with private tourism developers. The project is trying to help the community to screen proposals and so retain some control over the negotiation process.

A CWM organisation that has prioritised the local enterprise side of community wildlife is the African Wildlife Foundation. Its Conservation Service Centre programme has assessed the impacts of, and constraints to, wildlife enterprise development, and has set up enterprise support centres for local wildlife-based businesses in Kenya, Tanzania and southern Africa. Enterprise support teams, comprising professional African lawyers, business people and community development workers, work directly with communities and the private sector to establish successful local businesses, from small-scale honey-processing to large joint venture lodges. Nevertheless, this attempt to prioritise enterprise has not been without obstacles, notably challenges thrown up by the policy environment, by weak community governance and institutions, by the realities of private sector decision-making, and by the challenges of providing cost-effective support to vastly diverse communities and businesses.

In general, the focus on local development within CWM has been weak, variable and focused on institutions and distribution of benefits rather than enterprise opportunities at household level.

Two key challenges emerge. First, how to enable local entrepreneurship when the CWM convention is one of 'equity'? CWM initiatives have tended to promote the accrual of communal rather than individual benefits, and where these benefits are shared out this tends to be done equally. Where common property resources are being used, it is important that the benefits be widely and equitably distributed. On the other hand, fears over inequity are partly what has led to the relative neglect of entrepreneurship in CWM, particularly in Tanzania, reflecting a persistent and much broader philosophical bias against private enterprise. There seems to be a need to find a pragmatic approach, avoiding the extremes of freedom for élites to capture all benefits, and that of dampening any market-related activity because not all are *equal* entrepreneurs.

Second, how to balance the goals of the conservation organisations championing CWM with the need for a strong, clear focus on local development if poverty-reduction goals are to be met? Instead of development benefits being designed to serve as conservation incentives, the mindset should be to identify strategies for achieving optimum development impact. These can then be negotiated with the somewhat different conservation interests.

PRS and related processes exclude wildlife and tourism

Although sectoral strategies for tourism or wildlife generally assume that both play an important role in national development, this is not echoed in poverty and development strategies. PRS papers have so far focused mainly on social sectors and public expenditure plans, with relatively little attention to sources of growth or making growth pro-poor (Coyle, 2002). Relative to the significance of the tourism sector in East Africa, and the large percentage of land that is under wildlife, attention to tourism or wildlife in these papers is also low (DFID, 2002).

Nor are wildlife and tourism prominent in rural development strategies. For example, Tanzania's 2001 Rural Development Strategy highlights the need for growth in rural areas, including the non-farm economy, but scarcely mentions tourism. Furthermore, decision-makers generally lack information as to the comparative advantage of wildlife and tourism in their areas.

However, contrasting examples from South Africa illustrate the risks to the poor of over-emphasising tourism as a route to local economic transformation. Various southern African initiatives for transboundary conservation areas and Spatial Development Initiatives are heavily promoting wildlife and tourism. But many of these initiatives are top down, and driven so fast by national and international political agendas that any rhetoric about community benefits is rarely addressed in practice.

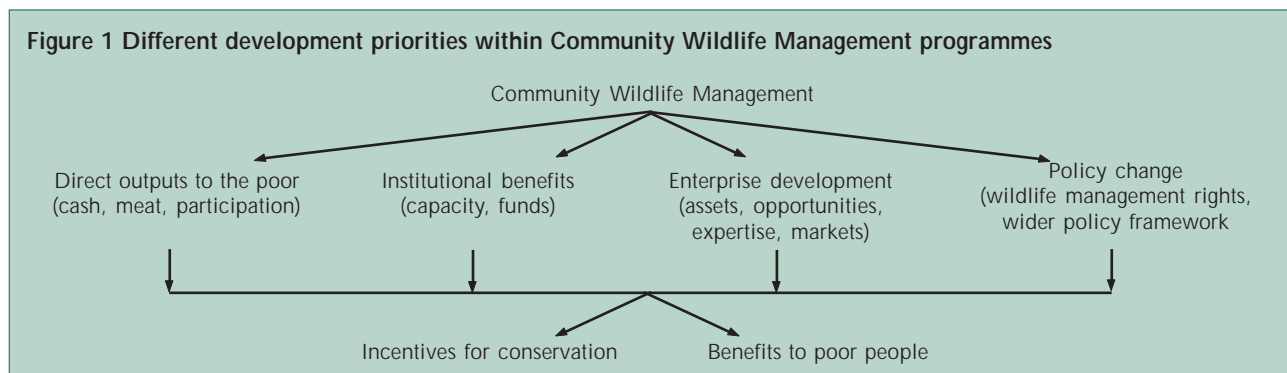
Tourism for growth vs Pro-Poor Tourism

In Africa, tourism policies have tended to focus on tourism as a potential motor of macro-economic growth and employment, and a contributor to foreign exchange earnings. It is often easier to encourage a few large operations in well established resorts, bringing in foreign investment, rather than investing in diversifying the product, providing infrastructure and incentives for tourism development in new areas, and having to train, regulate and license a much more diverse industry with special attention to the needs of small and micro producers. Wildlife policies, on the other hand, have been primarily focused on conservation not utilisation.

Current tourism plans in East Africa do not entirely ignore local development objectives. For example, the Uganda Tourism Board supports 'Heritage Trails' in the Buganda Kingdom and the new Sustainable Tourism Development Programme explicitly emphasises support for community-based tourism to promote community-level benefits (enterprise, local employment, and involvement of women). However, maximising the pro poor impact of the mainstream industry goes well beyond supporting the small community-run element of a nation's tourism and requires attention to, for example, company practices, destination management, infrastructure development, procurement patterns, national training and regulation.

The contrast with Europe is noteworthy, where tourism generally falls within the Ministry of Industry, or Economic

Figure 1 Different development priorities within Community Wildlife Management programmes



Development, or under regional administrations, and is therefore planned in the context of broad economic objectives, often specifically in relation to rural regeneration. Rural tourism has boomed in many countries, including Spain, France and Hungary. In African countries, tourism has more often been part of a natural resources or conservation ministry, and so more remote from the nerve centre of economic decision-making (though in Uganda, tourism has now been moved in with trade and industry).

Tourism can be both a motor of macro growth and a means of delivering pro-poor local growth. It is not necessarily a case of choosing between the two – indeed PPT works best where tourism as a sector is growing, and there is private sector competition and new investment. But PPT requires a balancing of priorities and attention, and a willingness to address trade-offs when they arise (for example between maximising government revenue from a licence or concession, and requiring pro-poor operating practices).

Attitudes to tourism, wildlife and entrepreneurship

At the risk of making too broad a generalisation, current attitudes to both wildlife and tourism in East Africa do not seem conducive to enhanced local investment. Because wildlife has some international public good characteristics, it brings considerable donor interest and conservation-oriented funding in many developing countries, and particularly in Kenya and Tanzania. This has a distorting impact on policy-makers' perceptions of wildlife and on the political economy of how wildlife is treated. Yet, in general, too little conservation money reaches the household or village level to cover the opportunity cost of conservation for those who suffer the costs of living with wildlife and lost access to productive land.

Tourism is often a subject of knee-jerk reactions, because it is a white- or foreign-dominated industry and seen as catering to the needs of an élite (foreign tourists, foreign companies). Its products seem less real and substantial than, for example, goods produced at a factory. Yet tourism is a fast developing and fast-growing international industry that can offer unique potential 'fit' with local economic development priorities, particularly when supported by long-term programmes that promote local training and entrepreneurship.

Attitudes to entrepreneurship in general can be seen as obstructive to local development. For instance, despite 15 years of economic liberalisation in Tanzania, attitudes are still geared towards public control over private action. While the socialist legacy does not apply across the region, the blurring of public and private office, and the massive economic importance of public sector regulation of enterprise rights, are not unique to Tanzania.

Barriers to Entry

Commercial success in mainstream hunting and tourism businesses requires large up-front investment, commercial experience and substantial risk-taking capacity. These often present major barriers to entry for a local entrepreneur or community-level organisation. Rural credit is scarce, familiarity with the international tourism sector weak, and hospitality skills low. This does not mean that local business development is impossible but it does mean that:

- Where local entrepreneurs have little experience, partnership of some kind with an experienced firm may be appropriate. Community-private sector partnerships work best where communities bring tangible assets to the table, particularly land, but also use-rights, and where external facilitation skills are available. Operator commitments to local recruitment, training and procurement can be negotiated as part of the deal.

- Investments in training are likely to be needed. Case studies show the important role that returning migrants play in using their skills and exposure gained in the formal sector to set up new enterprises.
- The long payback periods and high risks in many tourism ventures may prove a barrier. Access to credit and business support services helps lower this hurdle.
- A wide range of enterprises should be recognised and encouraged, with linkages promoted between them. These range from small scale, and often informal, service providers (e.g. laundry, food, petrol, handicrafts), to large commercial businesses (e.g. lodges, hotels, car hire, tour operators) with varying degrees of local participation (in ownership, management, employment) and spin-off business (e.g. banks, air charter, local sights and attractions).

Apart from tourism, other wildlife-based enterprises are an option in some areas, as identified earlier, including live animal capture and trade, sale of bushmeat, skins and other products, and game ranching and farming. These may complement the tourism industry, or, depending on the views of tourists and the timing of the tourism season, may be incompatible (e.g. tourists are kept well away from hunting areas in Tanzania and from wildlife cropping activities in Kenya). As with all businesses, success depends on competitive production costs and accessible markets – game farming in Machakos has these advantages and has succeeded where others have failed. However, the over-riding precondition for the successful development of these industries is the existence of a favourable policy and investment climate, which is not currently the case in East Africa. In some African countries, notably South Africa, many businesses are flourishing but distance from markets and lack of local business skills can still be massive barriers to viability.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Wildlife tourism is a growing industry across East Africa. It has the potential for further expansion, and can be an important mechanism for local economic development and poverty reduction. The investments made in CWM in the region, the growing commitment to strengthening policy coherence, the current period of reflection on PRS approaches and process, and the emerging range of new pro-poor tourism planning approaches are all good reasons to hope for a clearer and more useful role for wildlife tourism in local economic development in the future.

But several challenges need to be addressed:

Within CWM there is a need for a move towards development-led initiatives and renewed focus on the promotion of local enterprises, entrepreneurship and effective measurement and monitoring of local poverty reduction impacts.

Policy coherence at national and district level is vital: National policies should ensure coherence between conservation and the opportunities for wildlife-based poverty reduction. Tourism should be seen as an opportunity for both growth and development, and incorporate pro-poor tourism approaches wherever appropriate and possible (see Box 5). Responsibility for tourism planning and regulation should lie with agencies able to maximise its contribution to local economic development.

Donors should be required to clarify, and make more coherent, their policies for wildlife as an international public good. Wildlife should be recognised as a productive asset, like any other common property resource, with a similar need for locally rooted rights and mechanisms for its sustainable use. Measures to conserve the asset base and ensure sustainability should not conflict with approaches that build on those assets for local development.

Box 5 Creating policy coherence between wildlife tourism and local economic development

For government to maximise the local development impact of wildlife and tourism in East Africa would involve several levers of power:

- tourism development objectives that include the goal of stimulating local economic development;
- product development plans that include rural/ cultural/ adventure/ community tourism, or other products suitable to development in poorer areas and by small scale entrepreneurs;
- consultative tourism planning procedures that increase access by the poor to tourism markets, infrastructure and services;
- concession or licensing procedures that include pro poor criteria in the allocation of bids/sites;
- commercial regulations that (i) do not discourage development unnecessarily; (ii) are not biased against poorer (and less well-connected) entrepreneurs; and (iii) encourage pro poor measures in business practices;
- land tenure and resource rights that give the poor an asset base of commercial value;
- regional economic policies, rural regeneration policies, and local land-use planning that assess the potential for tourism and identify ways to develop it at priority sites;
- devolution of rights and revenues across levels of government that provide incentives, not discouragement, for councils and local bodies to invest in tourism;
- a national economic policy framework that includes realistic assessment of comparative advantage in tourism;
- effective linkages between tourism and economic development departments, and poverty reduction strategies and processes that set out how to make economic growth more pro poor;
- approaches to conservation and CWM that exploit the economic potential of wildlife in sustainable ways;
- linkages between national protected areas and nearby entrepreneurs – in terms of transport, infrastructure, procurement of local supplies for services within park boundaries, providing marketing and/or operational sites for local businesses (taxis, crafts), 2-way flow of information, and shared expectations of how park staff and any private concessionaires operate;
- national strategies that harness the international conservation agenda and flow of funds for international public goods, rather than let it dominate the agenda for wildlife use; analysis of the trade-offs between meeting conservation commitments (huge protected areas and restrictions on wildlife use) and poverty goals, and of how tourism revenue can help balance the trade-off.

¹ Terrestrial vertebrates, for the purposes of this paper.

² Embracing photographic and/or hunting trips.

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