

Culture and Environment in Africa Series 15

David Greven

**Conservancies and their Impact on
Livelihood and Environment: The
Example of Impalila Conservancy**

Edited by the Cologne
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Preface

In den vergangenen zwanzig Jahren hat sich die Ethnologie verstärkt mit den Konsequenzen und Praktiken des Umweltschutzes und Artenschutzes im Globalen Süden, insbesondere in Afrika, auseinandersetzt. Nach dem Weltgipfel von Rio 1992 haben sich Maßnahmen des Umweltschutzes deutlich gestärkt. Neben einer Erweiterung von Nationalparks und anderen Schutzgebieten, in denen menschliche Nutzung ausgeschlossen wird, nahmen besonders Gebiete zu, die entweder in gemeinschaftsbasierten Ansätzen oder auf privater Basis neue Formen des Naturschutzes implementierten. Namibia ist in dieser Hinsicht ein paradigmatischer Fall. Mittlerweile sind dort knapp 50 Prozent der Staatsfläche in Schutzmaßnahmen einbezogen. Insbesondere gemeinschaftsbasierte Ansätze haben in den vergangenen 20 Jahren rasch an Raum gewonnen. 1996 schuf die namibische Regierung ein neues Rechtsstatut, das hier in vielerlei Hinsicht eine neue Basis schuf. Das zuständige Ministerium konzidierte, dass unter bestimmten Bedingungen, Wild durch lokale Gemeinschaften genutzt werden könne. Dafür mussten folgende Maßnahmen ergriffen werden. Eine Gemeinschaft musste ein „Managementgebiet“ mit klaren Grenzziehungen definieren und die soziale Gruppe klar umreißen (eingetragene, formalisierte Mitgliedschaft), die dieses Gebiet bewirtschaftet. Zusätzlich musste ein Managementplan erstellt werden, der deutlich machte, wie Wild in den Grenzen dieser *Conservancy*, so der namibische *terminus technicus*, bewirtschaftet werden sollte. Dazu mussten interne Schutzzonen ausgewiesen werden, sogenannte *Core Conservation Areas*. Das verbleibende Gebiet der *Conservancy* wurde in verschiedene Nutzungszonen geteilt. Meist wurde eine weitere Zone für touristische Zwecke ausgewiesen. Nachdem der Managementplan durch das zuständige Ministerium abgenommen und die *Conservancy* offiziell ausgewiesen war, wurden durch das Ministerium jährliche Wildtierquoten zur eigenen Nutzung angegeben. Diese konnten dann prinzipiell selber abgejagt werden, oder an kommerzielle Jagdunternehmer gewinnbringend weiterverkauft werden. In Namibia wurde vornehmlich letztere Möglichkeit genutzt. Die Jagdunternehmer verkauften die Quoten dann per Tier weiter an touristische Trophäenjäger. Die Einkommen aus der kommerzialisierten Jagd sind insbesondere in den letzten zehn Jahren deutlich gestiegen. Zusätzlich zum Recht der kontrollierten Wildtiernutzung erwarb eine *Conservancy* das Recht, Flächen an Privatunternehmer, hier meist Tourismusunternehmer, zu verpachten. Auf den verpachteten Flächen konnten dann Hotels oder mitunter auch Campingplätze entstehen. In Verträgen wurde festgelegt, dass Teile der Belegschaft lokal rekrutiert werden mussten.

Abstract

This present study examines the impact of conservancies on community livelihoods and the environment by the example of Impalila Conservancy, a conservancy located in the most north-eastern part of Namibia. The data is based on a literature research, informal interviews, unstructured interviews and 20 semi-structured interviews with representatives of the different stakeholder groups, i.e. the conservancy management, the tourism sector and the community, to assess respective problems and perception of stakeholders within the conservancy setting. First, a survey is given on the theoretical framework of the conservancy approach that is based on the concepts of sustainability, ubuntu/ indigenous knowledge systems and community-based natural resource management. The data revealed that Impalila Conservancy currently does not belong to the successful Namibian conservancies. Deficits, some with different priorities depending on the stakeholder group, were identified at different levels, such as (1) institutional development and governance, (2) natural resource management and conservation, (3) economic conservation approaches and livelihood diversification, and (4) stakeholder relations. These deficits were largely attributed to previous mismanagements.

Key Words: Natural Resource Management, Community-Based Natural Resource Management, Institutional Development, Conservation, Human-Wildlife Conflicts.

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David Greven

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List of Abbreviations

AGM – Annual General Meeting
CAMPFIRE – Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources
CBNRM – Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CGG – Community Game Guard
DBAD – Department of Bantu Administration and Development
HWC – Human-Wildlife Conflict
IKS – Indigenous Knowledge System
IRDNC – Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation
LIFE – Living In a Finite Environment
MET – Ministry of Environment and Tourism
MCED – Ministerial Conference on Environment and Development
MWCT – Ministry of Wildlife Conservation and Tourism
NACSO – Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organisation
NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation
NNF – Namibian Nature Foundation
NRM – Natural Resource Management
NTB – Namibian Tourism Board
NWT – Namibian Wildlife Trust
OECD – Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
SADF – South African Defence Force
SWAA – South West African Administration
TRC – Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNCED – United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme
WCED – World Commission on Environment and Development
WTO – World Trade Organisation
WWF – World Wildlife Fund

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1. Introduction

Mankind is faced with a variety of global environmental problems such as – to name just a few - climate change, pollution of the sea, the protection of forests, the preservation of endangered plants and animal species, population growth, depletion of natural resources and increasing conflicts over the access of resources (WWF 2017a: 1). While these problems are of global scope and should be tackled at a regional level, especially countries of the global south have been often affected by insufficient natural resource management. But there is no universal way to properly manage these resources. With regard to natural resources and environment, there exist several concepts for sustainable utilization, such as the sustainable development approach. Developments of the last years have shown, however, that approaches solely based on Western concepts have often proved to be insufficient for many non-western countries or to further worsen the situation. Especially, a centralized control over natural resources executed by governments appeared to be unsuitable (Schiffer 2004: 26f). Therefore, the concept of community-based resource management (CBNRM) has gained enormous prominence in the recent years, especially in Africa (Long & Jones 2004: 25). However, this concept is not entirely new, but has been practised by rural communities for centuries through traditional authorities, religious beliefs and cultural rules. In Namibia and many other African countries, CBNRM was later weakened by the colonial rule, the centralization of authority, the marginalisation of traditional authorities, population growth, and war. Modern CBNRM approaches are now used as tools for rural development and nature conservation attempting to recreate former conditions and to introduce new ideas, under which communities may successfully manage their resources (Jones & Erdmann 2013: 13).

Since 1996, conservancies have been implemented all over Namibia as the country's unique concept of CBNRM. A conservancy

"consists of a group of commercial farms or areas of communal land on which neighbouring land owners or members have pooled their resources for the purpose of conserving and using wildlife sustainably" (Ministry of Education of Namibia 1997: 1).

The conservancy concept has received considerable legislative support from the government that has adjusted several constitutional acts in favour of conservancies. Furthermore, Namibian non-governmental organisations (NGOs)¹, and the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) are continuously promoting conservancies through publications of brochures, booklets and data accessible online. Representatives of the

¹ Such as the Namibian Association of CBNRM Supporting Organisations (NACSO), Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC), Namibian Nature Foundation (NNF), etc.

tourism sector, such as the Namibian Tourism Board (NTB), offer a variety of information specifically to tourists to promote concepts of sustainability and conservancies (NTB 2009). Investors, like the Nedbank Namibia, are publishing or financing brochures also promoting sustainability and CBNRM, and even board magazines on domestic flights spread the success story of Namibia's conservancies (NamParks 2017). On the whole, Namibia's conservancies seem to be quite successful. Today, 83 conservancies cover almost 20% of the whole country and generate considerable revenues for its communities (NACSO 2016: 7). This does not mean, however, that there are no problems, e.g. caused by human-wildlife-conflicts (HWCs), as conservancies vary widely regarding income potential, physical features and community acceptance (Harring & Odendaal 2012: 18f).

This present thesis is a case study carried out in Impalila Conservancy, a small conservancy situated in the far north-east of the Zambezi region. Results are mainly based on semi-structured and unstructured interviews with various stakeholder groups to assess what impact the conservancy has on sustainability, how the conservancy is perceived by the stakeholders and what problems and challenges it faces.

The main issues addressed herein are the following:

- The theoretical background of sustainability is discussed, which lays an important foundation for the conservancy concept. Different definitions and forms of implementation of sustainability relevant for contexts in this thesis are explained, e.g. the sustainable development approach which has informed various types of CBNRM (see chapter 2).
- The theoretical framework of indigenous knowledge systems (IKSs) summarized under the concept of ubuntu to reflect various indigenous values and views relevant for governance and natural resource management as the sustainability concept is coined by Western science (see chapter 3).
- The details of natural resource management and the conceptualisation of community-based resource management are treated (see chapter 4).
- The history of conservancies as Namibia's success model of CBNRM and the underlying principles are described (see chapter 5).
- A short interim conclusion connects the theoretical framework of sustainability and ubuntu with the conservancy concept to illustrate how it has evolved from and how it is influenced by them (see Chapter 6).

These considerations have revealed four major topics decisive for the success of a conservancy: (1) institutional development and governance, (2) natural resource management and conservation, (3) economic conservation approaches and livelihood diversification, and (4) stakeholder relations. The results of the case study are presented

within the context of these issues, and also the discussion and conclusion is oriented towards them.

2. Sustainability

The term 'sustainability' is often used and even misused in widely varying contexts (Breen 2013: 54). Therefore, it is necessary to clarify the meaning of sustainability used in the present paper.

Semantically, 'to sustain' means "to strengthen or support physically or mentally" and "to cause to continue for an extended period" (Oxford Dictionary 2017a), while 'sustainability' is defined as "the ability to be maintained at a certain rate or level" (Oxford Dictionary 2017b). The Environmental Sustainability Index report offers a broader definition of sustainability as "a characteristic of dynamic systems that maintain themselves over time" (Esty et al. 2005: 11) without having a defined endpoint. The emphasis on dynamism and a never-ending chronological process demonstrates the linear character of sustainability (Noubissié 2012: 65).

The origins of the sustainability concept can be traced back to the economist Thomas Malthus in the late 18th century. According to Malthus, the continuous growth of the human population could eventually surpass the earth's capacity, which would lead to a collapse of natural and human systems. He therefore called for the control of population growth to achieve certain sustainability. The fact that this collapse has not yet occurred led to the alternative view "that technology and technological advancement would result in improvements in the efficiency of systems supporting human populations" (Portney 2015: 5) allowing a further population growth in the future. Whether technology can really support infinite population growth is highly questionable (Ibid). While Malthus was mainly focused on food and energy consumption, the United Nations' World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) specified and internationalized in 1987 the sustainability concept laying the foundation to further modify specifications and definition of this concept depending on the relevant context. The Brundtland Commission argued that sustainability consists of three co-equal parts: equity, economy and environment often illustrated as three pillars upholding sustainability (see figure 1). Often presented in overlapping concentric circles, these parts are relevant for achieving or failing sustainability (see figure 2).

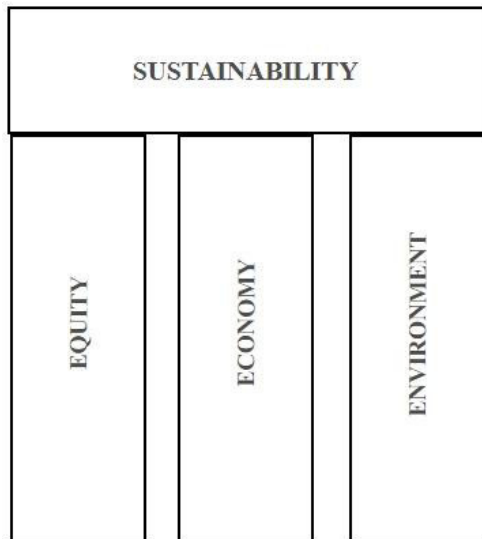


Figure 1 The three pillars of sustainability.

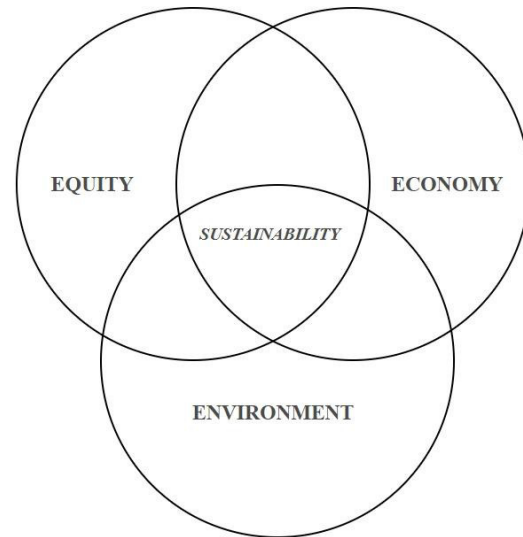


Figure 2 The three co-equal parts relevant for achieving or failing sustainability.

Furthermore, sustainability can only be accomplished, if these three parts are truly elaborated equally. This means that significant progress in one of the parts should not (and probably cannot) be achieved at the expense of the other parts. This is particularly interesting, because this claim rejects the idea of a necessary compromise between economic growth and the environment, or economic growth and equity (Portney 2015: 6f). Sustainability as a concept is used by many disciplines and in different contexts. In the following, three dimensions of sustainability relevant for conservancies will be introduced, i.e. communal and economical sustainability, ecological and environmental sustainability, and sustainable development.

2.1 Communal and Economical Sustainability

Sustainable communities and sustainable economy focus on various efforts "to maintain social conditions and economic and human well-being" (Portney 2015: 14). This concept emphasizes the limitation of the earth and its natural resources towards economic growth, which often leads to the advocacy of reduced population growth. The definition given above raises the question, whether human well-being is the same as economic well-being. Equity in this context, as an important part of sustainability, refers to those, who enjoy economic and human well-being, and those, who are not in the position to do this. While the focus is clearly on social conditions rather than on environmental conditions, this approach also considers their implications for the environment due to inequities, e.g. regarding access or distribution of resources (Portney 2015: 14, 16).

Furthermore, sustainable communities consist of people, who develop a sense of community and collective well-being through interaction. This approach argues that such communities include a goal "related to people's well-being and to their ability to collectively come to grips with [...] challenges [...] in order to become more sustainable" (Portney 2015: 41). Therefore, sustainable communities have to create discourse opportunities to identify environmental problems and to find collective solutions (Portney 2015: 41f).

2.2 Ecological and Environmental Sustainability

The sustainable ecology approach argues that ecosystems have finite capacities to sustain their respective flora and fauna. These capacities are affected by natural and human factors. While originally focussing on the natural factors, ecologists have shifted their attention to the role of humans in undermining the sustainability of ecosystems (Portney 2015: 17f). Here, sustainability refers to a biological system which has to remain diverse and productive in order to sustain, e.g. human well-being (Breen 2013: 54). The use of the natural resources of ecosystems focuses on a maximum sustainable yield from systems, such as fisheries or forestry. To ensure such yield, the optimum growth level of the natural resources has to be identified to maintain a renewable stock. For example in fishery, a fishing rate is required which ensures a particular size of fish population (Portney 2015: 9f). Therefore, the depletion of resources and diversity results in a less sustainable ecosystem. This definition raises questions about what kind of species and what population sizes can be sustained by an ecosystem. The concept of environmental sustainability argues that the depletion of natural resources and deterioration of the environments will undermine the economic growth potential on a long-term perspective (Portney 2015: 18).

A major factor for ecological and environmental sustainability is biodiversity. Biodiversity includes every existing life form, from single-cell organisms to mammals, as well as plants and fungi and ensures healthy functions of an ecosystem. Biodiversity is always in flux to guarantee the adaptation to change (IECN 2006: 5). Natural ecosystems are largely eroded in city settings, but not so much in rural communities that are more directly dependent on biodiversity. A healthy biodiversity can support food security, income generation, health improvement and can reduce vulnerability towards environmental hazards. Additionally, biodiversity offers goods and services which can also be of considerable economic value. Therefore, ecosystem services need protection and management to ensure their well-being and the well-being of their inhabitants (IECN 2006: 8f). Ecosystem services can be organized in four categories: (1) supporting services, i.e. the primary ecosystem services on which all other services depend, and which include soil formation, nutrient cycling, and

primary production; (2) regulating services such as climate and water purification; (3) provisioning services, such as food, drinking water, wood and fuel, which depend on the first two services; and (4) cultural services, which include recreation, aesthetics and spiritualism (Breen 2013: 51). Biodiversity loss is largely due to social, environmental and economical factors such as intensified human activity, pollution, habitat loss, climate change, etc. Furthermore, the preservation of biodiversity often depends highly on development measurements and policies (IECN 2006: 12).

2.3 Sustainable Development

In 2005 the "Green Growth Paradigm" was introduced at the fifth Ministerial Conference on Environment and Development (MCED) because of the increased reduction of resources, the climate change and the ongoing environmental degradation. This conference paid special attention to the environment and to the improvement of people's participation and livelihood and introduced a sustainable livelihood approach, which promotes community involvement in development policies. The resulting improvement of environmental facilities should provide better social services and facilitate the way towards sustainability (Battaglia et al. 2011: 143).

The concept of sustainable development was defined by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Brazil in 1992 as a "development that meets the needs of the present without limiting the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (MET 2002: 1). The concept of development itself is characterized as "continuous change and evolution in a variety of aspects in human society" (Noubissié 2012: 65). Therefore, like ecosystems, sustainable development clearly includes change and adaptation. Further, sustainable development does not necessarily require quantitative growth, but emphasizes potentialities and complexity. Thereby, sustainable development refers to the process of improvement of the social-ecological system, to which humans belong; this process does not require indefinite growth in consumption of energy and resources (Gallopín 2001: 5).

Sustainable development tries to examine relationships between social equity, economic development and environmental quality in a long-term perspective. In this context, sustainable development is defined as

"a development that considers the long term perspectives of the socio-economic system, to ensure that improvements occurring in the short term will not be detrimental to the future status or development potential of the system, i.e. development will be 'sustainable' in environmental, social, financial and other grounds" (Battaglia et al. 2011: 8).

The economic dimension is concerned with the continuous production of goods and services, while avoiding extreme imbalances. Furthermore, market economy, poverty reduction and accountability are important issues of this dimension. The environmental dimension is related to strategies maintaining stable bases of resources and avoiding depletion of non-renewable and exploitation of renewable resources. Additionally, rural development has major implications on environmental issues, such as deforestation, overgrazing, overfishing, etc. The social aspect focuses on legal issues, distribution, equity, governance and indigenous knowledge (Ministry of Education 2009: 5; Noubissié 2012: 72). Achieving sustainable development requires the removal of impediments and problems, the identification of knowledge gaps and protection of knowledge and experience, the sustaining of the social and natural basis for adaptation and renewal, the identification and enhancement of capacities and the stimulation of innovation and social creativity (Gallopín 2001: 5).

The relevance of sustainable development was already emphasized in the report of the WCED in 1983, stressing global inequalities of environmental problems and development needs and supposing a synthesis of nature conservation strategies and human development means (Noubissié 2012: 66). Before, various reports and conferences, such as the first international conference on environment and development issues in Stockholm in June 1972, were concerned with the human impact on the environment and the resulting implications for development. The conference concluded that the improvement and protection of the human environment are major factors maintaining and further improving the well-being of peoples and economic developments around the world. In 1972 the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) was created to implement and accomplish these principles (Noubissié 2012: 67f).

The sustainable development approach is widely criticized. Some critics consider this approach as a continuation of the Western hegemony over the resource use of other economically weaker countries to achieve goals of global agendas. Furthermore, indigenous knowledge is often neglected in favour of Western science, even if the former was successfully used for centuries to support the environment (see chapter 3.2). Moreover, the international players often reduce the causes for environmental problems only to poverty and population growth. The fact that technical development and higher economic wealth have more negative implications for the environment is often neglected. Actually, marginalized rural communities are not able to invest in or to protect their environment or their resources, e.g. as they do not have property or resource rights (Noubissié 2012: 74).

3. Ubuntu

The concept of ubuntu is very complex and although gaining enormous significance in the scientific discourse, there is no clear definition. That is because the concept of ubuntu includes African beliefs and world-views, and is broadly used in various situations and contexts (Mawere 2014a: 83). The term *ubuntu* originates from the Nguni language family, which is a subgroup of the Bantu languages. It is the combination of the prefix *ubu-*, which generates words of abstraction and/or conceptualisation, and the root *-ntu*, which stands for 'human'. There are numerous other names for this concept in other Bantu languages (van Binsbergen 2001: 54). Further, the concept does not only refer to speakers of Bantu languages, but also to the whole inhabitants of communal Sub-Saharan Africa, indicated by a philosophical affinity and kinship among the indigenous people of Africa (Karsten & Illa 2001: 104).

Ubuntu is commonly translated as 'humanity' or 'humanness' and while those translations capture parts of the concept, they neglect certain culture-specific meanings (Louw 2001: 15). Generally, ubuntu is understood as a "system of understandings about the world and the essence of being human, which also comprises ethical imperatives defining the relationship between individual and community" (Rampke 2016: 27). It is a philosophy that "involves logic, metaphysics, epistemology and ethics" (Mawere 2014a: 83) and focuses on the virtues of unity, oneness and solidarity (Ramoses 1999, see in Mawere 2014a: 83). Thus, ubuntu means that "the humanity of an individual is only complete if it re-affirms that of others" (Ramoses 2002, cited in Chibvongodze 2016: 157) often captured by the Zulu proverb *Umuntu ngomuntu ngabantu* – 'a person is a person because of other persons' (Mawere 2014b: 37).

Historically, ubuntu was used in communal settings of pre-colonial Africa and was passed along generations through oral tradition. It was based on the recognition of "the continuous oneness and wholeness of the living, the living-dead and the unborn" (Mawere 2014b: 3) to maintain social cohesion, to administer peace and to ensure a good life for everyone (ibid). The inclusion of all living beings and the importance of the spiritual aspects of ubuntu are often neglected in the contemporary discourse. But actually, the very essence of ubuntu is reliant on the consolidation of the human, natural and spiritual spheres. This tripartite division forms the foundation for ubuntu, which was and still is especially important for the human-environment relations (Chibvongodze 2016: 157) (see chapter 3.2).

Also, the origin of ubuntu is difficult to define. Ubuntu is a concept whose set of values serve as an indicator for the humanness of community members (Mawere & Mubaya 2016: 98) and therefore, it was probably adopted from the ancient Egypt concept of the *maat*. *Maat*

has been an ancient Egyptian deity that was concerned with the principles of human perfection, including certain virtues like harmony, balance, truth, justice, propriety, order and reciprocity. These virtues formed a code of conduct, which could be applied to all spheres of life and are also major components of ubuntu (Mawere 2014a: 25f, 28). In ancient Egypt, the assessment of the humanness of individuals was measured after death by Anubis², who weighed the heart of the deceased against the *maat*³. The significance of one's humanness even after death is also reflected by the strong spirituality of many Sub-Saharan African cultures and their integration of the spiritual world in their daily life. Ancestors and future generations are key elements of ubuntu. Therefore, valuing the past and working towards harmonic and reciprocal relationships are considered the main goals of ubuntu (Mawere & Mubaya 2016: 98).

Currently, ubuntu is generally used within a framework of human relations (Chibvongodze 2016: 157). This means that, ubuntu always defines the individual with regard to his/her relation to other human beings. Therefore, it is contrary to the common Western or Cartesian concept of individualism, which postulates that individuals exist separately and independently from the community that is only an addition to the pre-existent and self-sufficient individual. In ubuntu, an 'individual' is defined by "a plurality of personalities corresponding to the multiplicity of relationships in which the individual [...] stands" (Louw 2001: 24). Ubuntu offers a code of conduct as well as ideals and values, which centre on human development and self-improvement to guide people for the benefit of the individual, the community and others. This guiding is based on inalienable obligations and rights, and on mutual respect of any member of the society. Ubuntu is the "recognition of the humanity of other people" (Munyaka & Motlhabi 2009: 78, see in Rampke 2016: 27) and the promotion of respect to create a community that upholds virtues such as care, acceptance and compassion (ibid). Therefore, consensus is a further important element of ubuntu. Without a consensus or an agreement, there is no way to assess or judge beliefs and practices of others without violating them. This can especially be observed in traditional courts, which usually do not force a quick decision, because they try to reach a consensus through proper dialogues and discussions. While there are hierarchic differences between speakers, everyone gets the chance to speak to finally reach cohesion in the community (Louw 2001: 19). However, ubuntu is not a pure communal concept. The emphasis on the relation between the individual and the community does not erode the individual itself, but recognizes it as an important social unit and preserves the otherness, the uniqueness of the individual without exclude it from the community (Louw 2001: 27; Rampke 2016: 26). It

² Egyptian deity associated with mummification and afterlife; mostly depicted with the head of a canid.

³ Here, the *maat* takes the shape of a feather.

is important to mention that ubuntu has an utopian nature. Being utopian, the images of concrete social life featured here do not have to correspond to any lived reality, but they are allowed to depict a desired state that could be realized with certain implementations of ubuntu (van Binsbergen 2001: 57, 73).

3.1 Implementation of Ubuntu

The above description of the nature of ubuntu shows a clear emphasis on relations of individuals to other individuals and to the community as a whole. Especially in this context, ubuntu has gained international publicity during the reconciliation processes in South Africa after the end of the Apartheid regime. Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela promoted their ideal of the new South Africa as the “rainbow nation”, which should be based on ‘unity in diversity’ to create racial harmony (van Kessel 2001: 44). Desmond Tutu's understanding of ubuntu⁴ was of major importance for the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1994. Following ubuntu in recognising the other's humanity, even if those other people were major participants in the Apartheid regime, the TRC granted those perpetrators forgiveness, who shared the truth and admitted their crimes publicly. The idea behind the TRC was that further conflicts would threaten the social cohesion and harmony, which are – following ubuntu – cornerstones of a society's foundation. Even though the question could be raised to what extent the TRC actually has contributed to the social cohesion, especially in terms of equity, the commission has shown that ubuntu has the potential to be applied beyond the communal daily life (Rampke 2016: 23f).

In addition to its relevance for reconciliation, the ubuntu concept was used in many other different contexts, for example, the free operating system Ubuntu created by open-source developers, which adopted the name and parts of the ubuntu concept. The developers try to broaden the system's supply of interconnected software to enable easy usage. The translation in many languages and the free sharing policy make the system easy to use and accessible for everyone (Ubuntu Linux 2017).

Further, based on the emphasis of ubuntu on establishing and reinforcing relationships, there are approaches which use ubuntu as a management concept. In this context, ubuntu does not replace knowledge from the Western or Eastern world; rather it enables a smoother transfer of this knowledge. While Western knowledge focuses on strategic planning and control and eastern knowledge concentrates on efficiency and innovation, ubuntu offers a way to improve the management of people and relationships by upholding

⁴ This understanding was clearly influenced by his Christian belief.

a high degree of cultural, religious and political tolerance (Karsten & Illa 2001: 104f). Instead of a one-way knowledge transfer, ubuntu can open a dialogue between Western/Eastern and Southern business partners, improving coordination and cooperation (Karsten & Illa 2001: 109). By accepting the ubuntu code of conduct, which is characterized by sharing, consensus-seeking and reciprocal support, organisations could improve business results, if those values were recognized and consistently appreciated. Therefore, the success of ubuntu as a management concept would be highly dependent on the manager's intentions. If the aim of ubuntu to redefine and to strengthen social relations in societies or organisations is neglected, its usefulness will be undermined. The management has to actively use ubuntu to discuss and perform objectives, problems and solutions with all participants – including internal and external stakeholders – to generate an environment of empowerment and team work (Karsten & Illa 2001: 106f). Additionally, a focus on corporate performance, customer orientation, employee care, integrity and safety are pivotal to assure good governance. Actually, ubuntu as a management concept considers organisation as communities following the general guidelines of ubuntu (Khomba 2011: 136).

Ubuntu still has to prove itself as a successful management concept. Currently, only a few more or less successful cases are documented. One example is the South African IT company CS Holdings, which cooperates with several firms, such as Ubuntu Technologies, for successfully exchanging knowledge and infrastructure to open new business opportunities. Critics often reduce ubuntu-based management concepts to their positive impact on the motivation of employees, or even doubt their factual content regarding management. Nonetheless, ubuntu, if translated to a proper management concept, could also be transferred or complement Western management concepts. This transfer is not just possible and important for Western management approaches in Africa, but could also improve relations and tolerance in European multicultural societies with increasing diversity (Karsten & Illa 2001: 108). However, an impediment to do this is the fact that capitalistic values are alien to the (original) ubuntu concept. Nevertheless, the inclusion of ubuntu in Western dominated management concepts (in Africa), could support a dynamic transformation into an African management concept, which would be better adjusted to the African contexts and could lead to more successful development structures, strategies and processes (Mawere 2014b: 42).

3.2 Ubuntu and the Environment

One aspect often neglected when talking about ubuntu is the natural sphere. Ubuntu manifests itself in a tripartite form that embodies the equilibrium of the natural, spiritual and

human sphere in the cosmos (Museka & Madondo 2012: 259). This means that the ubuntu world-view is focussed on the interrelatedness of these spheres and therefore ubuntu cannot be limited to human conduct only, but has to be seen in relation to the present, the past and the future natural environment (Mawere 2014: 45). In this context, an individual should show respect for practices and beliefs that manage his or her relationship with other humans and nature to follow ubuntu. Pre-colonial African societies have relied on indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) to enable a harmonic life within the environment and to support local livelihoods simultaneously (Laltaika 2013: 385; Museka & Madondo 2012: 260). IKSs are defined as "a living body of knowledge passed on from generation to generation within a community" (WIPO 2017). A further definition of indigenous knowledge as the

"ideas, experiences, practices, and information that either have been generated locally or elsewhere, but have been transformed by the local people and incorporated in their way of life unique to their culture or society" (Kellner & Bosch 2003; cited in Wasonga et al. 2010: 194)

emphasises the dynamic and adaptive aspect of knowledge. Furthermore, IKSs exist and are developed "around specific conditions of populations and communities indigenous to a particular geographic area" (Ocholla 2007, cited in Mawere 2014: 109). IKSs are diverse and include adaptive skills derived from many years of experience, time-tested agricultural and natural resource management practices, strategies and techniques to cope with changes in the socio-cultural and socio-ecological systems, and decision-making and problem-solving skills tailored on the respective setting (Wasonga et al. 2010: 195). Furthermore, spiritual or religious systems and practices are intertwined with IKS (Breen 2013: 19). As strategies for conservation and the sustainable use of resources in pre-colonial Africa, IKSs were commonly executed through taboos, rituals, sacred sites, totemism, folklore and common property (Mawere 2014a: 15f; Museka & Madondo 2012: 263). It should be noted that some of these strategies were or are inadvertently helpful for conservation (Breen 2013: 20).

Taboos are one form of an IKS, which were vital to assure the protection, but also the sustainable exploitation of natural resources. Taboos are not only sanctions to correct the behaviour of community members, but also teach them appropriate interaction with others and the environment, creating a form of conformity (Mawere 2014a: 16). The violation of a taboo results in sanctions, which are often accompanied by a spiritual explanation. While the subject of taboos can be extremely broad, some taboos are unambiguously linked to conservation, such as prohibiting to tear off unripe fruits, to pollute wells and to hunt rare animals, and have discouraged people from harming the environment (Mawere 2014a: 17-

19). Taboos, totemism and other religiously or spiritually motivated strategies highly influenced pre-colonial conservation by representing and celebrating the connection to nature (Museka & Madondo 2012: 260). In totemism, specific animals and plants – often rare or important for the ecosystem – were designated to serve as clan or family emblems and sometimes were revered as ancestors. The sacralization of forests along hunting bans and the prohibition of cutting trees have resulted in the conservation of whole ecosystems (Breen 2013: 21f).

Property refers to a person's right to use or benefit from something, which includes natural resources in this context. Common property therefore emphasises that all members of a community have the right to not be excluded from these resources. As environmental conservation strategy, common property ensured the responsibility and the participation of all members of the community. Contrary to the notion of the later colonial governments, common property did not necessarily result in irresponsible overexploitation of natural resources, but could also establish a strong sense of sustainable use of resources and responsibility because participants considered themselves as beneficiaries and owners of the resources (Mawere 2014a: 19f). Through community participation and transparent governance, local chiefs enabled sustainable allocation of resources, which also included the need for hunters and gatherers to obtain permissions from headmen, chiefs or the community to utilize resources (Mawere 2014a: 23f). As ubuntu is embedded in all these environmentally related IKSs by recognizing the values and rights of all entities in the environment (Mawere 2012: 9), it can be itself considered as IKS by managing the relation between people and their environment (Mawere 2014a: 15).

IKSs and ubuntu have been marginalized by Western science since the beginning of colonialism because of a divide between the values of African people and the allegedly modern values of Western countries (Mawere 2014b: 45).

"[The Africans] are so lazy, that they will stop work as soon as they find enough gold to buy two pieces of cloth to dress themselves. [They] have neither eagerness nor greed [...] as they always rest content with but little" (see Murove 2005; cited in Mawere 2014b: 40).

This diary entry of a Portuguese trader in the 14th century reveals cultural prejudices and misjudgements showing how the colonisers with their economic focus on endless accumulation failed to understand that ubuntu promotes material equity and does not support competitive economic relations. Ubuntu's emphasis on sufficiency was completely neglected (Mawere 2014b: 40). Instead of merging ubuntu and other IKSs with their own knowledge, the colonisers rejected and antagonized these concepts. They did not consider IKSs as knowledge, but rejected them as primitive and unscientific ignoring that IKSs

decisively had contributed to the conservation of the natural environment for centuries (Mawere 2012: 7, 2014a: 70). The excessive hunting by colonisers and the later establishment of game reserves under the colonial government eroded or even eliminated traditional control over the management and the use of wildlife. This erosion was further supported by the agricultural development, which resulted in the transformation of common property into private property. In addition, the beginning centralisation of the colonial governments disrupted traditional governance and communal systems (Breen 2013: 25f). With the expansion of Western influence, many African countries experienced a gradual transformation "toward a materialistic culture backed by scientific and technological innovations of the West" (Museka & Madondo 2012: 260), which caused or even forced many Africans to abandon ubuntu that was replaced by Western science. However, the human/non-human, nature/culture and science/IKS dichotomies created by colonial governments have still remained until today, especially considering post-colonial conservation forms (Mawere 2012: 8). These dichotomies are shown in conservation debates and can be described as a "confrontation between indigenous ways of production and knowledge vs. capitalistic ways of production and scientific knowledge" (Mawere 2014a: 115).

4. Natural Resources Management

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) defines natural resources as "naturally occurring assets that provide use benefits through the provision of raw materials and energy in economic activity" (OECD 2001). The World Trade Organisation (WTO) also clearly highlights the economic usefulness of natural resources (WTO 2010: 46). While economic gain is important for natural resource management, a more socio-cultural perspective is necessary to dismiss the notion that natural resources are only raw material. Considering this aspect, natural resources can be defined as "components of nature which are being used or are estimated to have use for people and communities" (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004: 7). Furthermore, natural resources can be classified as renewable and non-renewable. While non-renewable natural resources, such as mineral deposits, can not regenerate after extraction, renewable natural resources may be replaced after extraction through growth and replenishment. The latter include animals, plants, soil, water and air are vital on a communal, national and international level as they contribute to economic activity and growth, to livelihood and employment, and to environmental/ecological processes (Maranga et al. 2010: 49f; Sanginga et al. 2010: 12). The overuse of renewable natural resources beyond their regenerative capacity especially endangers poor rural communities, which usually rely on a narrow geographically fixed resource-base (World Bank Group 2000: 3).

Natural resource management "forms a basis for sustainable management and governance of natural resources [...] with a particular focus on how management affects the quality of life for [...] present and future generations" (Sanginga et al. 2010: 12). Therefore, natural resource management regulates the relation between human activity and the natural environment leading to the satisfaction of economic needs, to the transformation of the natural environment, to the control of degradation while reducing human pressure, and ultimately to human survival. Important features of natural resource management are organisations, rules, practices, knowledge and values which all contribute to the utilization and conservation of the resources. The social and technological capacities of communities in exploiting resources are major factors in shaping the community and the environment (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004: 5).

4.1 Community-Based Natural Resource Management

As outlined in chapter 3, the history of conservation and natural resource management in Africa has been characterized by the neglect of IKSs through Western science and by the exclusion of communities from natural resources due to the centralisation of governance.

As a result of this disenfranchisement of communities and the lack of management structures also after colonial rule, the natural resources were degraded or sometimes even irretrievably lost. The lacking support of the communities excluded from natural resources has further endangered a sustainable management of natural resources (Wasonga et al. 2010: 166, 168). Problems in conservation are often approached with linear technical solution processes. An example is the establishment of wildlife reserves by the colonial governments as an answer to decreasing wildlife populations without acknowledging local values, preferences or specific knowledge, e.g. regarding local land allocation or wildlife utilization. Therefore, the colonial governments lacked important information about the implications of such actions for the socio-ecological system (Lynam et al. 2007: 1). At the end of the colonial era, the results of such top-down processes caused environmental crises in many African countries. Those crises were accompanied by the erosion of IKSs, questionable conservation efforts, increasing poverty, increasing human population, and an overall high pressure on the natural resources from governments, communities and the private sector. In many cases, the liberation struggles further increased the pressure on natural resources. The disenchanting results of expensive large-scale and centralised development projects have led to a paradigm shift towards more participatory approaches. Those approaches were introduced in the conservation sector in the 1980s and 1990s. In the course of the UNCED 1992 held in Brazil, which also promoted the sustainable development concept (see chapter 2.3), the importance of a proper translation of global action plans to local levels as well as locally appropriate grass-roots activities was emphasized (Schiffer 2004: 26f).

Community-based resource management (CBNRM) has gained much attention, especially in Southern Africa. In Namibia CBNRM is considered as a leading model for an integrated and holistic approach to rural development. It is described as the necessity to achieve conservation, to provide benefits and incentives for local community participation or as a development strategy to achieve a diversification of rural economies through sustainable utilization of resources (Long & Jones 2004: 25). CBNRM is a joint management of resources by a community strategy together with other stakeholders as partners, e.g. NGOs or private sector (especially the tourism sector). A community is defined by geographical links such as villages or districts, natural or political boundaries but also by a common lifestyle, culture or religion (Wasonga et al. 2010: 167). CBNRM should be seen in the context of a sustainable development as it implies that actual needs should not compromise future generations to meet their own needs (Breen 2013: 8). Overall, CBNRM "engages groups of citizens in collective action towards sustainable conservation and natural resource management within and across various tenure regimes" (Brunckhorst 2010: 1). Therefore,

CBNRM extends beyond a mere management of natural resources as it presents an alternative to a centralised management by the government and acknowledges the different local settings, in which the respective communities live, and their different land uses. CBNRM as a collective local government of common property is currently applied in various settings in many countries all over the world (IRDNC 2011: 18).

4.2 Conceptual Framework of Community-Based Natural Resource Management

The three conceptual foundations of CBNRM are economic incentives, devolution and collective proprietorship. The concept of economic incentives follows the assumption that decision processes referring to resource or land allocation and management investments are based on economic rather than on conservation considerations. Therefore, resources need a focused value that can be realised by the resource user to ensure that costs of resource management do not exceed benefits. If this is not the case, users would hardly invest time, money and energy in this management. Hence, this perspective suggests an economic focus that influences the various ways of land use and resource utilization. This results not only in financial, but also in indirect and even intangible benefits such as cultural values, sense of identity, social status, food security, etc. However, a crucial point is the fact that such intangible benefits might be evaluated differently by the stakeholders and therefore may give rise to misunderstandings. Nonetheless, the increasing economic value of wildlife, whether by trophy hunting or by tourism, is an important factor in terms of CBNRM development. (Long & Jones 2004: 25f).

The concept of devolution refers to the devolution of governmental authority over land and resources to the local level. This form of community empowerment is important to create a sense of responsibility of each community member, which further facilitates a sustainable utilization. These forms of empowerment may differ depending on the relevant CBNRM programme; they range from power over decision-making processes, control over income and expenses, to the distribution of employment (Hasheela & Mosimane 2009: 36f). However, these shifts in power have to be perceived as legitimate by stakeholders, which in turn require that rules, norms and decisions are known, understood and regularised during stakeholder interactions. Therefore, the CBNRM has to be institutionalised among community members and has to reflect culture and needs of the community (Breen 2013: 11). Otherwise, individuals could benefit without investing in the social and ecological processes that support sustainability. Furthermore, it is important that those who benefit, e.g. from a certain form of land use, need to recognize and balance losses from others with incompatible land use forms. For example, beneficiaries of wildlife tourism have to take in

account that people involved in the cultivation of crops have losses at the same time. In other words, those who benefit must carry the costs of realising these benefits (Breen 2013: 13f). A major tool to reach cohesion in such issues is an overall awareness of management and distribution processes and an active participation of all stakeholders in decision-making. Generally, the active participation of the community "with the purpose of influencing or having a say in decisions that affect their lives" (Roodt 2001: 470), is a crucial step to integrate people into project processes and may create self-reliance and higher accountability in the community. The aspired highest participation in CBNRM is the proactive and initial development of CBNRM by the community (Näher 2006: 8).

The third conceptual foundation, collective proprietorship, is defined as the sanctioned use rights which include (1) the right to specify mode and extent of management and use, (2) the right of access and inclusion, and (3) the right to fully benefit from management and use. The security of tenure is important for resource user as it creates confidence about investments and benefits (Long & Jones 2004: 26). CBNRM is largely based on the concept of common property, in which the joint owners have access to and are responsible for the management of natural resources. This concept serves as devolution of authority/responsibility and in a Southern African context as a way to redress the inequities of apartheid. In CBNRM, the community can be regarded as owner on behalf of the State. The three conceptual foundations of CBNRM are closely intertwined because collective proprietorship and devolution are mutually dependent or at least benefit each other to some extent, and economic incentives can further increase participation and empowerment (Breen 2013: 12f; Long & Jones 2004: 26).

Sustainability remains one of the main objectives of CBNRM. CBNRM enables more sustainable livelihoods for the community through the derivation of financial and intangible benefits. It promotes conservation of wildlife, plants and environment by providing incentives for the respective communities to utilize their natural resources sustainably and encourage empowerment regarding decision-making, accountability and governance (DRFN 1997: 1). CBNRM needs to be adaptive and flexible as the socio-ecological systems in Africa are highly complex, dynamic and different. CBNRM must identify internal and external changes of the socio-ecological system, assess the implications for the different stakeholders, and, thereupon, adapt strategies. It needs to be customized for its respective setting and needs to be always open to change and adaptation (Breen 2013: 128). In this regard, IKSs may contribute to natural resource management as they are based on a strong insight in the local ecology, social structure, economy and culture (Wasonga et al. 2010: 195f). During daily interactions of local people with their natural resources, much knowledge has been accumulated, which may be extremely valuable for planning and decision-making.

Furthermore, from an economic perspective IKSs are cheap to implement as they rely on locally available skills and resources. The implementation of IKSs also maintains the cultural values of a community and may even foster the unity of a community. IKSs concerned with natural resource management also promote relatively equal access to resources for all members of the community. Nonetheless, IKSs are vulnerable to distortion and loss as they are mostly passed on orally. Certain types of land-use systems, e.g. common property rights, are prone to misuse. Especially if the traditional institutions have collapsed, the unregulated use of resources increases the risk of resource depletion (Wasonga et al. 2010: 201f).

In brief, the first guiding principle for a successful CBNRM is a representative decision-making on a local level with an accountable leadership. This is the only way to ensure that benefits will be evenly distributed. The benefits have to be linked to conservation of natural resources. The planning and development of CBNRM has to focus on capacity building to ensure a proper management. That is because governments mostly demand the development of managing institutions, for which community members in rural settings usually do not have the necessary education and qualification. Finally, CBNRM has to rely on organisations, such as NGOs, to facilitate capacity building, and has to acknowledge and involve IKSs to conserve local knowledge and experience. Additionally, a permanent exchange with all stakeholders is important to realise different perspectives and identify upcoming problems at an early stage (Wasonga et al. 2010: 172f, 203).

5. Community-Based Resource Management in Namibia

In Namibia CBNRM is highly influenced by the country's ecological features. With 285 mm mean annual rainfall, Namibia is the driest country in Southern Africa. 92% of the 824,290 km² land area is defined as hyper-arid, arid or semi-arid (FAO 2017). Vegetation is determined by rainfall patterns, which are characterised by a high temporal and spatial variability ranging from 2 mm average annual precipitation in the Namib Desert to 871 mm in the North-east. Despite those harsh conditions, contemporary Namibia holds significant rich wildlife populations, which are especially important for CBNRM as natural resource (Schiffer 2004: 31).

Generally, Namibia's economy depends very much on natural resources. Two-third of the human population live in rural areas and their livelihoods are directly linked to them, i.e. wildlife for consumption, soil for agriculture and pasture for livestock (Corbett & Jones 2000: 3). To assess contemporary CBNRM approaches in Namibia, the conservation efforts of the past have to be taken into account. In this context, it should be noted that the indigenous population was highly disadvantaged, first by the colonial and later by the apartheid regimes, not just in terms of market access, education, political and democratic rights, but also in benefiting from wildlife and other natural resources (Long & Jones 2004: 27).

5.1 Conservation in Pre-Independence Namibia

Historically, Namibia's conservation policies were characterised by an administrative divide. From the 1920s until shortly before the independence in 1990, protected areas and privately owned farms – whose majority was in the hand of white settlers – were administered by the South West African Administration (SWAA), while issues relating to the indigenous African population were dealt with from Pretoria through the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (DBAD). Between 1947 and 1976, conservation and wildlife management have focussed on protected areas, reserves and wildlife on commercial farms. The introduction of the Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1967 further strengthened the economic status of commercial farmers by giving them ownership rights over wildlife on their land. The ordinance followed the recommendation of the Frank Commission of 1965, which postulated that wildlife would be hunted to extinction as wildlife would compete with livestock for water and grazing areas and would be dangerous for livestock either as a predator or as disease vector, unless wildlife would have a reliable commercial value. Thus, farmers were enabled to hunt, sell, capture or relocate wildlife in their own economic interest. The ordinance was formalized in the Nature Conservation Act of 1975 (Long & Jones 2004: 26f) and resulted in an extreme increase of wildlife numbers on commercial farms, which

increased by 80% between 1972 and 1992. By contrast, communal land experienced a massive decline in wildlife. This decline was further reinforced by the South African Government⁵, which made efforts, often by force, to relocate large parts of the indigenous black population, often by force, to their 'homelands'⁶. This resulted in an increase of humans and livestock in those areas accompanied by habitat loss for wildlife. (Boudreaux 2010: 4; Long & Jones 2004: 27). On communal land people used to hunt for subsistence and wildlife was a crucial part of the culture providing food, income, status, and played an important role in rituals. While governmental officials and, since the ordinance of 1967, also the farmers were allowed to hunt, hunting for subsistence was condemned as poaching. Traditional authorities had sufficient power to control hunting by communities to a certain degree, e.g. by specific consumption regulations, which prevented hunting before the last prey was used up, but were constrained in preventing hunting by outsiders⁷. The ongoing tenure security due to the binary system that differentiated between farmers with property rights and locals without property rights over wildlife, and the beginning of the Angolan War in the mid 1970's coupled with massive accumulation and spread of weapons and ammunition, especially in the northern parts of Namibia, had an devastating impact especially on commercial valuable species such as elephants, rhinoceroses and zebras (Long & Jones 2004: 28f). Additionally, the lack of a legislation promoting local-level management of natural resources, increase of poaching, periods of droughts and the presence of the South African Defence Force (SADF) were main reasons for the decline of wildlife populations (DRFN 1997: 22-24).

In 1981, all responsibility for nature conservation in the 'homelands' was transferred from the DBAD in Pretoria to the Directorate of Nature Conservation and Recreational Resorts in Windhoek. The two employees of the Directorate, Garth Owen-Smith and Chris Eyre, began to work closely with traditional authorities in the Kunene Region⁸ – often under governmental and military suspicion – to tackle the problem of poaching. This cooperation finally resulted in the founding of the Namibian Wildlife Trust (NWT) in the early 1980's. Together with community leaders the NWT started the Community Game Guard (CGG) programme. CGGs should not detain poachers, but monitor wildlife and report their observations to the traditional authorities. The main objective of the NWT was the training of locals to enable them to get a professional qualification for conservation. The CGG programme, a key feature of the NWT, focussed on close cooperation with respected and

⁵ Namibia (then South-West Africa) was under South African administration between 1920 and 1990.

⁶ Resettlement of indigenous population in reserves separated according to ethnic group. This was strongly related to Apartheid policies.

⁷ Neighbouring communities, foreigners, etc.

⁸ Formerly, the Damaraland and the Kaokoland.

experienced community members and leaders to prevent poaching within the communities. Similar approaches were introduced all over Namibia, e.g. during the early 1990s in the Zambezi Region⁹ through the cooperation of Owen-Smith and the Endangered Wildlife Trust. These early initiatives have laid the foundation of today's CBNRM in Namibia (Long & Jones 2004: 28f).

5.2 Policies towards Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Namibia

After achieving independence on 21st March 1990, Namibia's new constitution paved the way for a new notion of conservation. As the first country in the world (CIA 2017), Namibia incorporated the protection of environment in its constitution:

"The State shall actively promote and maintain the welfare of the people by adopting [...] policies aimed at the [...] maintenance of ecosystems, essential ecological processes and biological diversity of Namibia and utilization of living natural resources on a sustainable basis for the benefit of all Namibians, both present and future" (Article 95 (I)).

This new direction in conservation occurred parallel to the increasing relevance of the sustainable development paradigm (see chapter 2.3). Namibia's new emphasis on sustainable utilization of natural resource to benefit all Namibians was an enormous step towards CBNRM, anchored in the legislation. The pilot programmes of Owen-Smith, which led to the establishment of the non-governmental organisation IRDNC (Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation) in the late 1980s, were continued. IRDNC supports CBNRM projects in Namibia until today, after the independence with the help of the government (Boudreaux 2010: 3). Additionally, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) started the LIFE¹⁰ programme in 1993, backing the CBNRM movement with funding, to establish community-based environment and development initiatives, to conduct research, to share information with other SADC (Southern Africa Development Community) members and to provide environmental education (USAID 1994: 2). Based on the experiences and successes of IRDNC and the Zimbabwean CBNRM model CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources), and the proven value of wildlife on commercial farms, the Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism (MWCT)¹¹ conducted socio-economic surveys in communal areas to research potentials and strategies for community involvement in resource management with the goal of nature conservation and derivation of economic benefits (Long & Jones 2004: 29). One main result of these surveys

⁹ Formerly, the Caprivi Strip.

¹⁰ Living In a Finite Environment.

¹¹ Now Ministry of Tourism and Environment.

was that people were concerned about the costs of living with wildlife caused particularly by crop damages or livestock loss. Nonetheless, they wanted to maintain wildlife, but claimed the same rights over wildlife as granted in 1975 to white farmers (NACSO 2005: 10).

The aim of the later policy development of the MWCT was to transfer rights to rural communities. Therefore, MWCT drafted the 'Policy of Establishment of Conservancies in Namibia of 1992' to provide rights over wildlife and tourism to communities, which were ready to establish a conservancy¹². Three years later, the 'Policy on Wildlife Management, Utilization and Tourism in Communal Areas of 1995' followed which promoted joint-venture partnerships with the private sector (Breen 2013: 93). Finally, the 'Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996' provided "for an economically based system of sustainable management and utilisation of game in communal areas" (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1996: 2). Thus, communal area conservancies received the same rights over wildlife and other natural resources as the commercial farms did in 1975 (Breen 2013: 93).

5.3 Conservancies

Since 1996, conservancies have been implemented in Namibia as CBNRM. The term 'conservancy' was already used for commercial farms utilizing wildlife since 1975. However, the mid 1990s heralded the rise conservancies in Namibia's communal areas. 'The Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996' has enabled "any group of persons residing on communal land" (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1996: 4) to apply for the establishment of a conservancy on that land. The communal land is here defined as the geographic area usually inhabited by traditional communities (MET 2013: 2). A conservancy

"consists of a group of commercial farms or areas of communal land on which neighbouring land owners or members have pooled their resources for the purpose of conserving and using wildlife sustainably" (Ministry of Education of Namibia 1997: 1).

Furthermore, the MET describes conservancies as an opportunity for communities to improve their economic and social conditions and to counterbalance the costs of living with wildlife (Ministry of Education 1997: 1). With the establishment of conservancies rights over resources are transferred to communities, whereby an economic diversification through different resource utilization is pursued. This is especially important in a drought affected country as Namibia, in which indigenous wildlife and plants are more likely to cope with such harsh conditions; their consumptive or non-consumptive utilisation can add a substantial new revenue source (Ministry of Education 1997: 3). Consumptive utilisation refers to trophy and subsistence hunting as well as to the sale of meat or living game, while

¹² CBNRM model specific for Namibia (see chapter 5.3).

non-consumptive utilisation includes community-based tourism businesses or joint ventures with the tourism sector (NACSO 2006: 16f).

In addition to conservation legislation, land rights are an important factor affected by and affecting conservancy matters. The Constitution of Namibia grants every Namibian the right to "reside and settle in any part of Namibia" (Article 21 (1j)), but is unclear about the protection of communal land or property, leaving people with insecure land tenure. Therefore, a conservancy with its constitution and legislative support offers a kind of insecure proxy for land rights and for the legal framework to secure resources from outsiders. Many internal problems of conservancies are related to land rights and are often intertwined with other conservancy matters (Harring & Odendaal 2012: 15f). Furthermore, in Namibia customary law is relevant to CBNRM. As the concept of conservancies is rooted in common property resource management, customary law or indigenous law provides legal rules for the allocation and utilization of communal land and its resources performed by traditional authorities. However, ascertaining the specifics of customary laws can be difficult due to their oral tradition and their regionally diverse interpretation. Moreover, the enforcement of customary law is highly dependent on the respect and legitimacy traditional authorities enjoy in the community (Corbett & Jones 2000: 3). Nonetheless, the Namibian Constitution states that

"both the customary law [...] of Namibia in force on the date of Independence shall remain valid to the extent to which such customary law [...] does not conflict with this Constitution or any statutory law" (Article 66 (1)).

As result, customary law can operate alongside the legislative provisions of conservancies and both affect each other (Corbett & Jones 2000: 4).

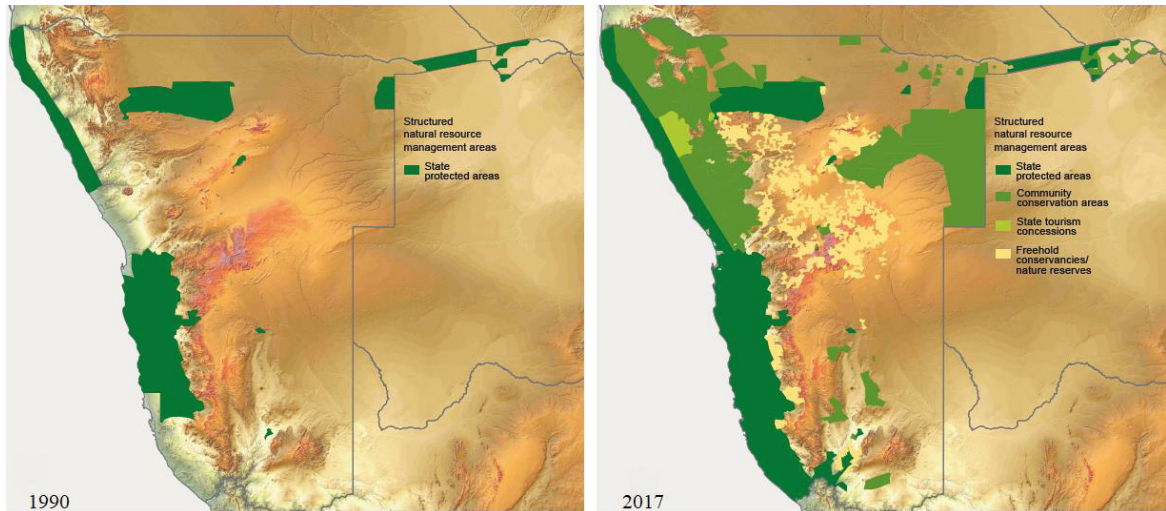
The establishment of conservancies should start from the communities, but the government engages communities first to inform about the details before establishing a conservancy. If a community is interested, the responsible ministry¹³ together with NGOs and the community must conduct a feasibility study to assess potentials, social cohesion, biodiversity and the focus of the conservancy. These studies help the community to decide whether the area planned for the conservancy is appropriate, and the government to clarify the specific support the conservancy should receive (MET 2013: 2).

At the time of the application a constituted conservancy committee must be appointed. The application also has to indicate the clear geographical boundaries of the planned conservancy. Thereafter, the responsible ministry evaluates the application regarding (1) the representativeness of the community in the committee, (2) the provision of a sustainable

¹³ Depending on the resources in focus, e.g. Ministry of Marine Resources and Fishery for fish, Ministry for Wildlife and Tourism for consumptive and non-consumptive use of wildlife, etc.

management and game utilization plan in the constitution, (3) the provision of an equitable benefit distribution plan, and (4) the sufficient identification of the boundaries to exclude conflict with other defined areas, such as game parks, nature reserves or otherwise leased land. If the application meets all requirements, the ministry gazettes the establishment of the conservancy and transfers rights and duties to the conservancy committee concerning consumptive and non-consumptive use of game and sustainable management over other natural resources (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1996: 2-6). The conservancy does not only receive rights, but also has to meet obligations negotiated during the founding process. The members of the conservancy are expected to support the conservancy's goals and to follow the rules. Membership is differently defined depending on the conservancy. In some areas, one person per household is a member, while in others inhabitants of the entire area are registered members (NACSO 2006: 16). At annual meetings, the members are informed about the course of action, discuss future management strategies, and vote on decisions over resource utilization and business engagements (Boudreaux 2010: 5). The opportunities given by the new legislation have led to an unanticipated rise in conservancy numbers. The economic incentives, the recognition and the relative security of rights over natural resources, the proxy for land rights (Harring & Odendaal 2012: 18) as well as the low human population density in Namibia and the high aridity, which favours wildlife over agriculture, has moved many communities to form conservancies (Wasonga et al. 2010: 181). In 1998, the first four communal conservancies were gazetted (NACSO 2006: 16). In 2017, 83 conservancies cover 165.182 km². These account for 19.66% of the country's total area and 52.9% of the communal area (see map 1). The number of registered conservancy members living there is 195.258¹⁴ (NACSO 2016b: 7).

¹⁴ Status of 2016.



Map 1 The expansion of conservancies in Namibia. Comparison between 1990 and 2017. In 1990 only 2% of the country was under recognised conservation management. In 2017 43,7% of the country is under structured natural resource management (NACSO 2016b:10).

In 2016, conservancies generated over N\$ 111 million in returns (see Figure 3) and generated 5.147 jobs (NACSO 2016b: 7). Simultaneously, wildlife populations have recovered, e.g. the elephant population has grown from 7.500 animals in 1995 to 20.000 in 2015. Other rare species including black rhinos and lions also reached healthy population

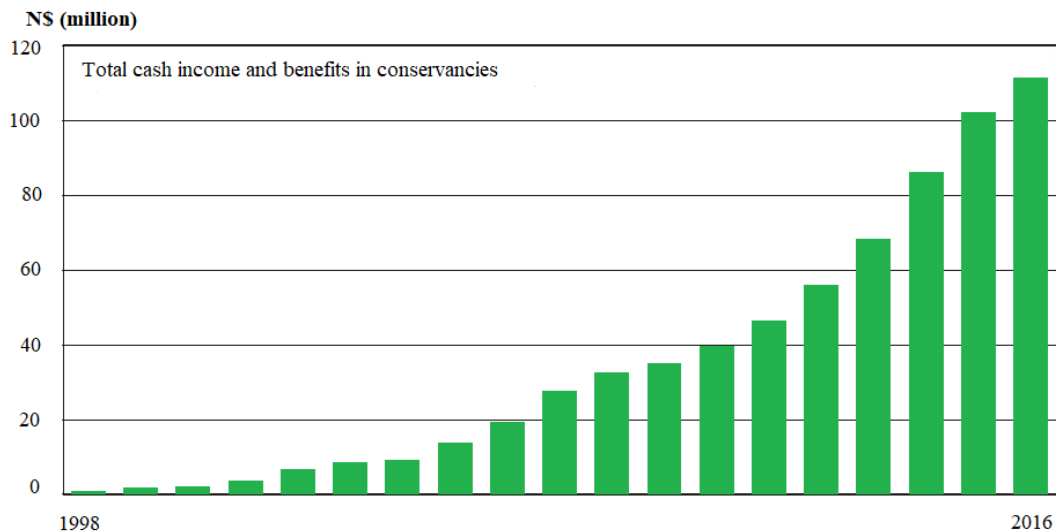


Figure 3 Total returns of conservancies and members. The total cash income generated from conservancies less than 1 N\$ million in 1998 to more than 111 N\$ million in 2016. In regard to all measurable income and benefits including cash income to conservancies, cash income through employment and meat distribution (NACSO 2016b:11).

numbers and large numbers of these animals live on communal land outside of protected areas (NACSO 2015: 6). Nonetheless, conservancies vary enormously, physically, in terms of their respective resource utilization, but especially in their economic potential. The returns earned in 2016 were mostly generated through trophy hunting and joint-venture tourism.

This may be a substantial cash infusion into rural communities, but many conservancies can only add little or sometimes nothing to this income as they lack the potential. Those conservancies are dependent on external financial and technical support by the government and NGOs (Harring & Odendaal 2012: 18f).

The government has deeply intertwined the model of conservancies with its national development plans and poverty reduction strategies, recommending the establishment of conservancies, offering capacity building and assisting in the establishment of community-based tourism businesses and joint ventures (NACSO 2006: 17). An important NGO engaged in conservancies is IRDNC, which continued to work after the independence and has the objective to link conservation with social and economic development of people living with wildlife. IRDNC tries to improve natural resource management, to diversify local economies and to enhance local democracy. Therefore, it focuses on the identification of wildlife and tourism potentials, capacity building for conservancy members in conservancy-related issues, facilitation of joint venture agreements, and negotiations and mediation between stakeholders (IRDNC 2011: 15f, 38 f). Furthermore, IRDNC clearly emphasizes the importance and recognition of indigenous knowledge systems (IKSs) by closely cooperating with traditional authorities and by promoting equitable use of IKSs, e.g. by developing agreements for plant products with medical use based on indigenous knowledge (IRDNC 2011: 80).

6. Interim Conclusion

The concept of conservancy rests on three pillars: (1) Institutional development and good governance to create the basis for natural resource management and the equitable distribution of returns; (2) innovative natural resource management to enable biodiversity conservation and the sustainable utilization of wildlife and other natural resources; and (3) economic incentive-based conservation approaches to diversify rural livelihood options (NASCO 2016: 8). These pillars align with the conceptual basis of sustainability, i.e. (1) equity, (2) environment and (3) economy, as many contemporary CBNRM approaches have been developed in coordination with the sustainability concept (see chapter 2).

In Namibia's rural development plans conservancies show a clear orientation towards the sustainable development concept, and government and NGOs offer a variety of tools to manage them and to work on sustainable bases (see chapter 2.3). As demanded by the Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996, conservancies have to implement several plans, e.g. for game utilization, for management and for equitable benefit distribution (see chapter 5.3). A game utilization plan aims to ensure ecological sustainability, if for example, conservancies together with the MET set individual hunting quotas for certain species backed by game monitoring. This strategy appeared to have proved successful in view of the overall increasing of wildlife populations (see chapter 2.2). Furthermore, proper game utilization generates returns, which favour economical sustainability of the conservancy and its members. However, such economic benefits need to be managed accountably and equitably distributed to reduce negative effect on the environment and the community. Factors that additionally support communal sustainability are the collective commitment and the willingness for discourse as basic principles of a conservancy (see chapter 2.1).

As already outlined above, sustainable development is a Western scientific approach that claims to include IKSs, but often still marginalises or neglects them (see chapter 2.3). Yet, CBNRM and conservancies with their strong focus on participatory and integrated approaches try to acknowledge and use IKSs (see chapter 4.3). The implementation of IKSs is especially promoted by the NGOs that work together with the conservancies. For example, IRDNC tries to monetise locally used medical plants to the profit of the communities (interview IRDNC). Apart from that, the concept of conservancies strongly features parallels to the concept of ubuntu and IKSs (see figure 4).

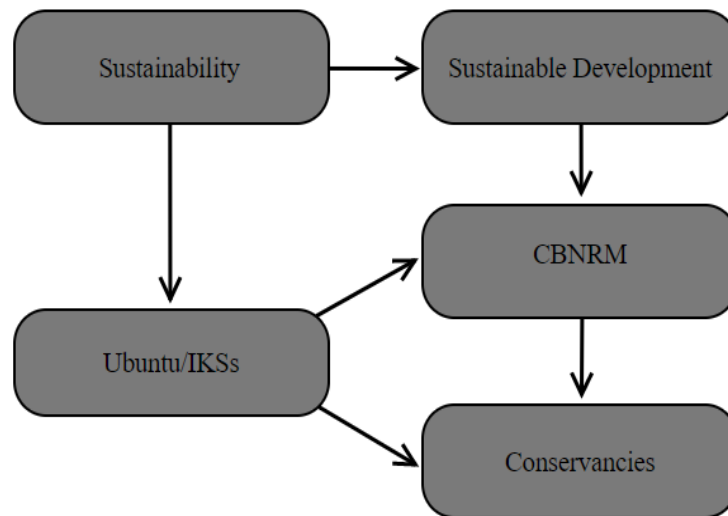


Figure 4 Connecting the theoretical frameworks. For further explanations see text.

Ubuntu and other IKSs are used to manage human-environment relations with acknowledging past, present and future (see chapter 3.2); the assertion of both is similar regarding sustainability, the emphasis on maintenance over time, and its dynamism in adaptation (see chapter 2). The government does not raise taxes on conservancy returns and all returns stay within the conservancy. Therefore, one could argue that the conservancy approach and ubuntu that is generally detached from economic incentives are compatible at least as long as equitable distribution and harmonic interrelations of humans and environment are warranted, but this is not always the case (see chapter 3.1 & 5.3).

A striking fact is that the whole process of the establishment of a conservancy is based on the collective and consensus driven decision, that a conservancy should benefit not only every member, but also the natural resources. AGMs give the opportunity to discuss conservancy matters with all members, and conservancy managements seek dialogue with other stakeholders. Mutual respect between management, members and other stakeholders are pivotal for the conservancy's success. In case of the violation of legal requirements only the members (by vote) or the government are able to dismiss the conservancy management or to dissolve the conservancy. Social cohesion, consensus, discourse, inclusion and solidarity all reflect values of ubuntu (see chapter 3.1).

CBNRM and conservancies are based on the concept of common property, which serves as devolution of authority and addresses inequities of the past (see chapter 4.3). This ensures the responsibility and participation of all members, which mirrors pre-colonial common property as environmental conservation strategy (see chapter 3.2). Even the role

of traditional authorities is linked to conservancies. As they still have legitimacy due to customary law, the establishment of a conservancy often relies on the approval of traditional authorities. On the other hand, the involvement of these traditional authorities in conservancy matters¹⁵ can foster community commitment and serve as legitimacy depending on their actual influence. However, the question remains, how much influence the traditional authorities actually have on the allocation of resources, as the conservancy committee holds the legislative rights (see chapter 5.3). Therefore, conservancies in Namibia include elements from both the sustainability concept and ubuntu, or perhaps rather IKSs. The concept of conservancies may have a bureaucratic Western structure, but it tries to include other knowledge systems with support of NGOs.

In theory, conservancies offer substantial advantages to the communities. However, conservancies are confronted with several problems that affect their contribution to sustainable livelihood and environment, and among other things, questions arise, e.g. about proper implementation of and the adherence to the above-mentioned principles of conservancies, as well as about relations and cooperation between stakeholders.

¹⁵ For example, as part of the conservancy committee.

7. Case Study – Impalila Conservancy

7.1 Study Area

Impalila Conservancy was founded in 1998, and was finally gazetted in 2005 after numerous planning meetings and trainings. The conservancy has a total size of 72.5 km². Impalila Conservancy is located in the furthest North-Eastern tip of the Zambezi region in Namibia. It encloses Impalila Island and parts of the Zambezi floodplains that are located west of the island. Impalila, the 'far away place', is a small island of 12 km² in size, surrounded by the Zambezi River and Chobe River systems. The island has a unique location as it borders three neighbouring countries: Botswana in the south (Chobe River), Zambia in the north (Zambezi River) and Zimbabwe in the east (see map 2) (NACSO 2012: 3f).



Map 2 Impalila Island and neighbouring countries (created with Google Maps).

The average annual rainfall in the Impalila Conservancy ranging between 650 and 700 millimetres is amongst the highest in Namibia. Due to the river systems, Impalila Island is surrounded by a variety of channels, backwaters and floodplains, which benefit the fertile soils (NACSO 2012: 4). The basalt rock surface of the main island together with the wetland and dryland habitats contribute to a diverse vegetation referred to as Impalila Woodland which is characterized by Mopane trees (*Colophospermum mopane*), silver cluster-leaf (*Terminalia sericea*), and stately baobab (*Adansonia digitata*). Additionally, the vegetation includes many endemic species found nowhere else in Namibia. The eastern main part of the island is one of the few places that are not affected by regular flooding. The annually

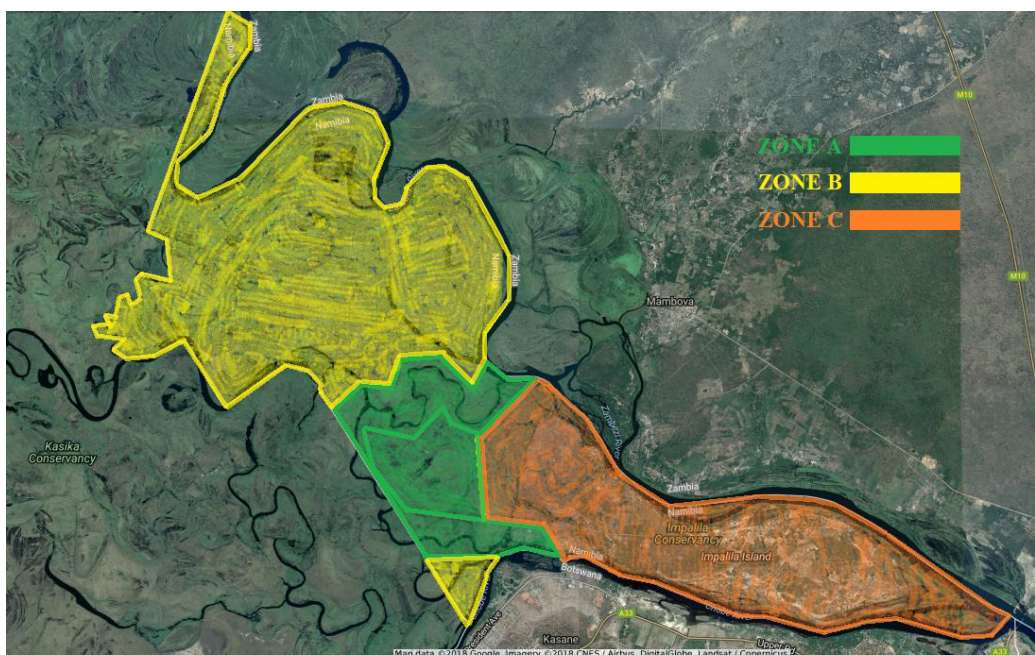
inundated western floodplains consist of papyrus- and reed wetlands, as well as vast grasslands which provide excellent grazing and cropping areas (Impalila Conservancy 2010: 4; NACSO 2012: 6). As Impalila Island is densely settled, wildlife density is generally low. In the woodlands small populations of bushbucks (*Tragelaphus scriptus*), warthogs (*Phacochoerus africanus*) and impalas (*Aepyceros melampus*) can be found. Hippos (*Hippopotamus amphibius*) and crocodiles (*Crocodylus niloticus*) occur around the island and in the floodplains, but also in creeks on the island, especially during the annual flood. In the western floodplains elephants (*Loxodonta africana*), buffaloes (*Syncerus caffer*) and antelopes such as red lechwe (*Kobus lechwe*), waterbucks (*Kobus ellipsiprymnus*) and sitatunga (*Tragelaphus spekii*) can be found (Impalila Conservancy 2010: 4). Due to the diversity of woodland, riverine and floodplain habitats over 450 bird species including various rare species and over 80 fish species were counted (NACSO 2012: 6f).

Impalila Conservancy and the eastern parts of the Zambezi region are mainly inhabited by the Subya tribe. The people use the languages Sisubiya and Silozi to communicate with each other. English is commonly spoken and is the formal language of education and of business relations mainly with Botswana. The inhabitants of Impalila Island originally came from the neighbouring Kasika (Namibia). Due to large floods in Kasika in 1958, people moved to higher areas around Kasane (Botswana), but later the South West Africa colonial government decided to resettle them to Impalila Island. At that time, Impalila was an uninhabited wildlife conservation area. Following the floods, some people opted to stay on the island. Impalila Island and Kasika have their own sub khuta¹⁶ that are both parts of the main khuta in Bukalo (Mosimane 2003b: 7f).

At present, the conservancy management consists of the chairperson (who is the currently acting manager), the vice chairlady, one *induna*¹⁷ and the representative conservancy committee consisting of nine members; respectively three of the latter are responsible for a specific zone (interview CM5). In accordance with a specific zonation plan, Impalila Conservancy is divided in three zones (see map 3):

¹⁶ Traditional court in Namibia.

¹⁷ Representative of the traditional authority, i.e. councillor, advisor, headman/-woman, etc.



Map 3 Zonation of Impalila Conservancy (Created with Google Maps).
 Zone A (green): Tourism zone (surrounded by the Kasay Channel)
 Zone B (yellow): Western floodplains
 Zone C (orange): Rock zone

Zone A is the tourism and wildlife zone, which includes the three currently operating tourist lodges on the island, the Kasay Channel and the small area it encloses; zone B covers the western floodplains, and zone C, the rock zone, includes the main island, where about 43 villages are located (Impalila Conservancy 2010: 3). Zonation is based on usage, formally agreed and established by law, ecological criteria and economic management factors and therefore zones can be further divided into mixed-use or priority zones (MET 2009: 27). The conservancy is home to approximately 2.000 inhabitants (NACSO 2012: 2), of whom 880 are registered members (NACSO 2017: 3). The current management is relatively new. It is in office since the 18th August of 2016, as the previous management was discharged by the community because of alleged embezzlements. However, due to an income shortage, most of the additional supporting staff had been dismissed. Currently, the conservancy staff consists of two game guards, one fish guard, a tour guide, a treasurer and a secretary (interview CM5).

7.2 Methodology

This research is based on qualitative and quantitative data collected in 2017 over a period of two and a half months¹⁸ in Namibia, specifically in Windhoek, Katima Mulilo and the actual

¹⁸ From mid-February until May 2017.

study area: Impalila Island Conservancy. An essential amount of qualitative and quantitative data regarding conservancies in Namibia in general was gathered from literature. The National Archives served as the major source for specific literature on Namibia's CBNRM and conservancy matters. Furthermore, data and reports of NGOs were consulted¹⁹, e.g. the numerous quantitative data of the Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organisations (NACSO) as it contains, inter alia, wildlife and benefit distribution statistics of specific conservancies throughout Namibia. Moreover, collected data (event-books, maps, etc.) and current operational plans of the researched conservancy were embedded in the analysis.

The qualitative data was mainly gathered by conducting unstructured, informal and semi-structured interviews and, to some extent, by direct observations. Informal interviews (and personal observations)²⁰, even though without structure and control in their process, are important sources for qualitative data (Bernard 2006: 211-213). Random conversations with informants and anecdotes told by them offered new insights and inspirations for unnoticed aspects of the research. A campsite close to the more lively part of the area served as base. That area close to the small harbour included the conservancy office, the immigration office, a police station and a nearby village with a *shebeen*²¹. Here, observations and informal interviews took place that can clarify contexts and extend the internal and external validity of a data collected in interviews (Bernard 2006: 355).

Unstructured interviews were primarily conducted before semi-structured interviews to build rapport with certain informants²². They are not informal at all, i.e. every participant is aware of the interview situation. Unstructured interviews follow a certain topic without restricting the interviewees' answers. Therefore, they allow to converse freely with key informants and to discuss newly emerging questions in detail and are an opportunity to get a very personal insight into the topic without too time pressure and too much guiding by the interviewer which may restrict the interviewees' answers (Bernard 2006: 211). This form of interview was also applied to specify research problems in interviews with the IRDNC in Katima Mulilo. The semi-structured interviews give the possibility to delve into certain aspects of the interview, but still follow a script so that comparable data is collected (Bernard 2006: 212). Furthermore, they can use more detailed questionnaires for longer, more focussed and especially more personal conversations (Bernard 2006: 256). For the present study, the semi-structured interviews were based on a questionnaire developed by means of the theoretical framework. To get a comprehensive overview over different opinions, the

¹⁹ Online (NACSO), National Archives, IRDNC office, Impalila Conservancy Office.

²⁰ Including field notes of random conversation with locals, employees, police, etc.

²¹ Small bar with attached shop. Often meeting point for locals, police, etc.

²² Especially with the conservancy staff and the management.

interviews were conducted with different stakeholders in the study area: (1) the conservancy management, (2) the tourism sector and (3) the community (see table 1).

The semi-structured interviews consisted of an identical “core”-questionnaire with 36 questions (see appendix I), which was directed at all informants. The majority (24) of the questions were formulated in open question format, only 12 were deciding question with pre-formulated answers²³. The open question format was chosen to capture diverse opinions in an exploratory way, whereby initially not considered aspects can be detected. This is especially important, because there exists only very few specific literature regarding Impalila Conservancy. The order of questions was changed depending on the particular situation and respondent to deepen certain topics without interrupting the flow of the interview. In general, the face-to-face interview-based approach was used instead of self-administered questionnaires to avoid misunderstandings of questions and prevent problems due to possible illiteracy or health/age. Further, demographic data was gathered concerning age, gender, residency and occupation.

Prior to the interviews, the individual definition of sustainability was discussed with each interviewee. The questions were subdivided in four categories, which emerged from the theoretical discussion given above and were identified as crucial for the success or failure of a conservancy: (a) institutional development and governance, (b) natural resource management and conservation, (b) economic conservation approaches and livelihood diversification, and (c) stakeholder relations. Therefore, questions aimed to identify:

- (1) institutional problems, and processes of raising awareness and capacity,
- (2) benefits for the environment and processes of natural resource management,
- (3) benefits for the community, livelihood activities and human-wildlife conflicts,
- (4) opinions on the conservancy concept, opinions on the tourism sector, and processes of stakeholder cooperation.

Furthermore, interviewees were asked about the potential for sustainability in (a), (b) and (c). In addition to the “core”-questionnaire, each stakeholder interview included further questions to generate expert information of the respective stakeholder domain, e.g. the conservancy management was asked specific questions about management structures in the conservancy, the community about livelihood activities, etc. (see appendix II).

The interviews were recorded with an Olympus WS-853 voice recorder. Later, transcriptions of the English parts were produced and coded for the comparative analysis. Anonymity was granted to all interviewees at the beginning of each interview and all names have been changed and abbreviated with a code of letters and numbers²⁴.

²³ Yes/No/Uncertain; Yes/No; Positive/Negative/Uncertain.

²⁴ CM (conservancy management); TS (tourism sector); C (community). These labels are also used to refer to

7.3 Research Sample

A total of 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted on the main part of Impalila Island. The pool of interviewees was inhomogeneous regarding the numbers and occupations of respondents from the different stakeholder groups (see table 1).

Table 1 Characteristics of the interviewed stakeholders. For further explanation see text.

Stakeholder	Number of interviewees	Sex (m w)	Average age	Occupation, Livelihood	Regular Cash Income
Conservancy Management (CM)	5	4 1	36	manager (1) field staff (4)	salaries or allowances; further livelihood activities
Tourism Sector (TS)	4	3 1	45	manager (3) assistant manager (1)	salaries; no further livelihood activities
Community (C)	11	7 4	54	agriculture, livestock, fishery, other	no employment; dependent on livelihoods
Total	20	14 6	45		

For the stakeholder group 'conservancy management' the chairperson and currently acting manager of the conservancy was interviewed as well as all members of the field staff consisting of two game guards, one fish guard and one tour guide. Four interviews were conducted with representatives of the tourism sector, i.e. with the managers and one co-manager of the three currently operating lodges. In the community 11 interviews were carried out in eight different villages. Common to all interviewees (with one exception from the tourism sector) was that they were registered members of Impalila Conservancy and therefore were directly affected by conservancy policies.

The most interviewees were able to understand and speak English. However, a few necessitated translators; either the assigned conservancy guide translated, or in most cases a co-villager as the guide wanted to avoid "misinterpretations due to his translation" (interview CM4). Many interviewees in the villages heard the questions in English and then answered in their language.

unstructured interviews (see appendix III).

7.4 Limitation in the Field

The field work for the present research was associated with certain difficulties due to external circumstances:

- (1) It was certainly a challenge to reach the villages on Impalila Island to conduct the interviews. Reliable transport facilities were rarely available on the island. While there are some vehicles (but very few), no car could be allocated for the research as those vehicles were mostly used for transport of goods or other commercial businesses. Walks between the villages have been very time consuming. Villages close to the water could be reached by boat that could only be hired, if not otherwise used. However, the interviewer was able to conduct interviews in eight villages.
- (2) Most of general supplies such as water and food (with the exception of a small selection of canned food) had to be bought in Kasane (Botswana) and getting there was associated with some efforts such as several time consuming stops at immigration posts and expensive money exchanges.
- (3) As the research has been conducted between April and May 2017, at a time when the annual flood waters already receded, many herders and farmers had left the main island to return to the floodplains and were not reachable for interviews without transport.
- (4) Although khuta meetings were held regularly in Sisubiya to discuss all community matters including conservancy efforts, these ongoing discourses could not be assessed, as no translator was available during these meetings.
- (5) It might be possible that the interviewees did not disclose any information. An employee in the tourism sector mentioned “a culture of not reporting” (interview TS4), especially with regards to serious irregularities such as unlawful behaviour. One of the main reasons may be the fact that in a small community most people know each other. However, during the interviews informants appeared to be quite open with their positive and negative opinions, probably also because of the promise to protect their anonymity.

8. Results

The results are described with regard to the whole sample, but to avoid a distorting effect of the discrepancy between absolute and relative ratios of stakeholders – the five interviewees of the conservancy stakeholder group constituted 28% of all current employees²⁵, while the whole sample only constituted 2.16% of all registered members of Impalila Conservancy – results are also described for the different stakeholder group. Nonetheless, the interviews with the members of the community should draw a picture of the community's assessment of conservancy efforts and identify prevalent issues. The results from interviews with the conservancy management and the tourism sector should be conclusive due to the importance of the informants in the respective stakeholder group, i.e. the upper management of both groups and the complete field staff of the conservancy are covered.

Furthermore, two semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the management of the IRDNC in Katima Mulilo, but are not included in the comparative analysis as the NGO is not directly affected by the conservancy's action. Results of these interviews will be discussed separately with regard to the other results. While a few unstructured and informal interviews are included in the results, the majority will be embedded in the final discussion. At the beginning of each interview, the discussion showed that all interviewees had an understanding of the sustainability concept. Most of them connected sustainability with the protection of their²⁶ natural resources for the benefit of future generations²⁷. Then, interviewees were asked to identify the most relevant topics, which are especially important in the context of Impalila Conservancy. The most commonly mentioned (9 out of 20) topic in the overall sample was human-wildlife conflicts (HWC), followed by compensation scheme²⁸ (7) and community benefits (7). Other often stated topics were conservation (6) and stakeholder relations (5) (see figure 5).

²⁵ Currently 18 including the whole management, the committee and staff.

²⁶ Many interviewees emphasised that the resources are theirs.

²⁷ e.g. *“to use the natural resources [...] in a proper way, so that for the next coming years the same natural resources [will be] available, so that the [next] generation [...] can make a living out [of it].”* (interview C4), *“the way of protecting our natural resources, so that me and a newborn person can see that [...] with his own naked eye.”* (interview C11), *“looking after everything [people, animals, vegetation] for the days to come”* (interview C7).

²⁸ Compensation scheme for crop and livestock losses caused by wildlife.

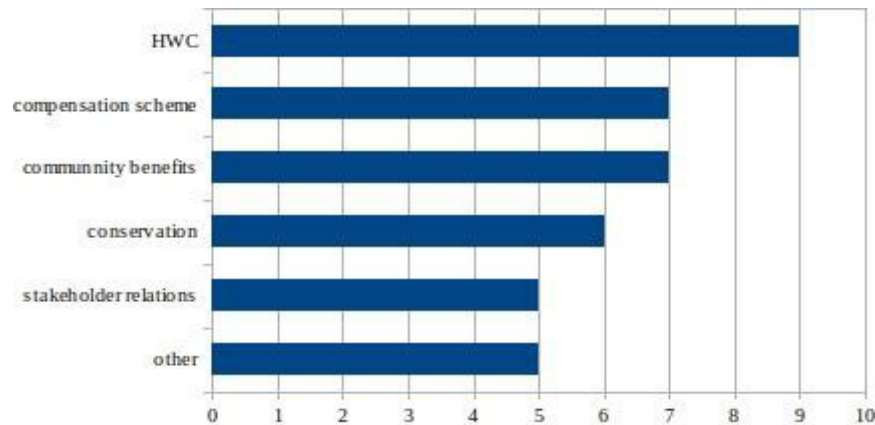


Figure 5 Total mentions of important topics in Impalila Conservancy (N=20; 39 answers in total). Ordinate: topics identified, Abscissa: absolute number of answers.

In the community, a majority (7 out of 11) of the interviewed members also mentioned HWC and five members believed that the compensation scheme could be improved. Within the conservancy management the most important topics were conservation (3 out of 5), community benefits (3) and stakeholder relations (3). In the tourism sector on Impalila half of the interviewees (2 out of 4) stated issues concerning the conservancy management as most relevant.

The topics were identical to those identified in the interviews with IRDNC and in informal interviews with conservancy staff, police and community. Moreover, here awareness and capacity building were emphasized (interview with IRDNC). In the following, the results of the semi-structured interviews (and to some extent of the informal and unstructured interviews) will be presented in context of the above identified categories (see chapter 7.2).

8.1 Institutional Development and Governance

8.1.1 Problems of Impalila Conservancy

Asked specifically about the problems of Impalila Conservancy, a majority (11 out of 20) of the entire sample identified HWC as main problem. This also applied to each respective stakeholder group (see figure 6).

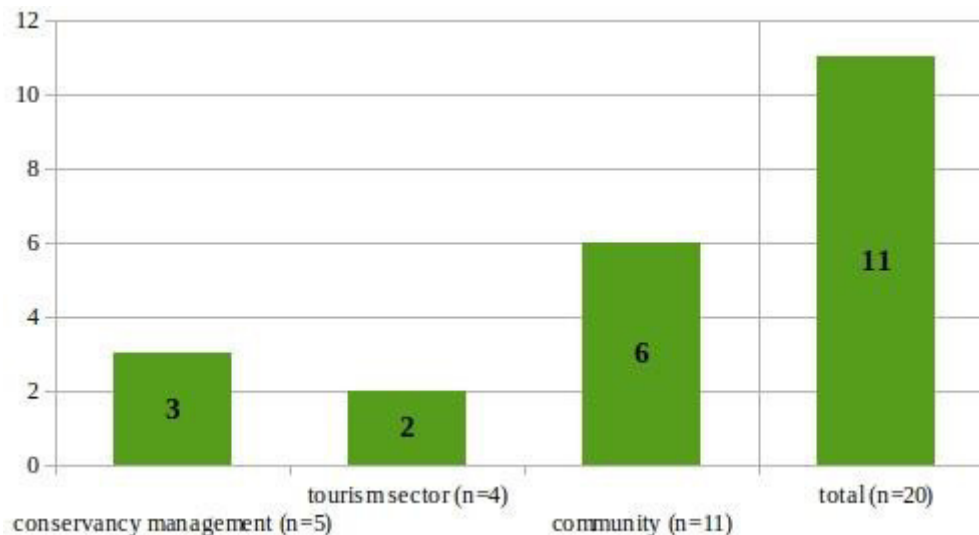


Figure 6 Mentions of HWC as problem in Impalila Conservancy. In each stakeholder group and in the overall sample. Ordinate: absolute numbers of answers, Abscissa: different stakeholder.

The community added the compensation scheme as a further particular problem (6 out of 11) and the conservancy management identified poor stakeholder relations (3 out of 5). Stakeholder relations were also considered a problem in informal interviews with all stakeholder groups. In the tourism sector, mismanagement of the conservancy was mentioned by half the of interviewees (2 out of 4), who stated that in the past many conservancy managements in Impalila have been discharged because of alleged or proofed mismanagement (interviews TS3 & TS4).

8.1.2 Awareness of Processes in the Conservancy

Less than the half of the community members (5 out of 11) had an idea, how the conservancy is earning money and identified fishing and birding activities for tourists as possible income source. Only three community members added trophy hunting and two members were aware about fees paid to the conservancy by the tourism sector. In case of the conservancy's expenses the same five people named payments for compensation, for donations for the celebration of the Independence Day, as well as for purchase and maintenance of equipment. Here, the conservancy management emphasised expenses due to salaries and allowances, donations to the community (e.g. to the church and to community sports) and equipment.

Only three community members knew that the compensation for crop or livestock loss is paid by the conservancy and partly by the government. Seven were uncertain about the origin of compensation payments. Nonetheless, the overall sample was familiar with the claim process necessary for the payment of compensation.

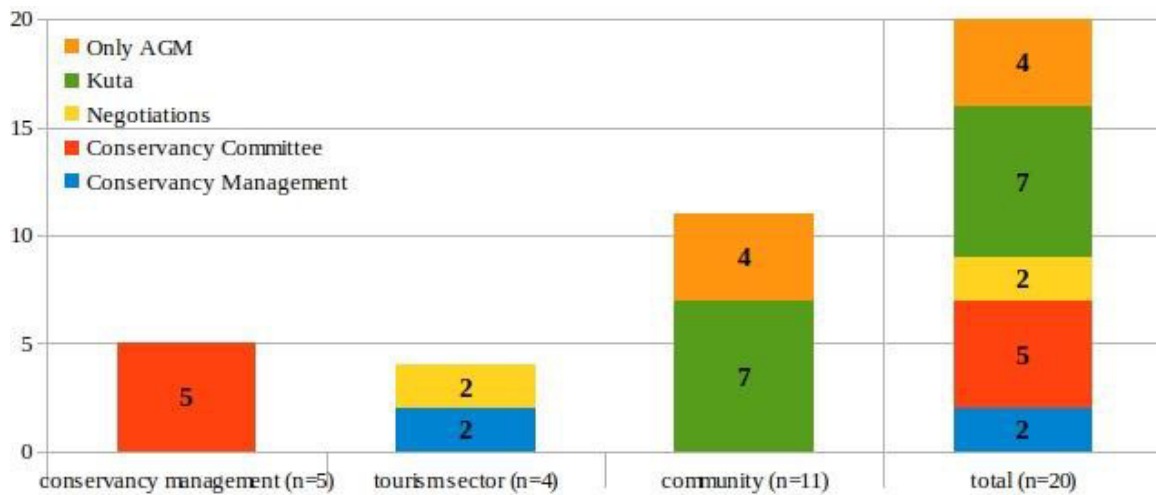


Figure 7 Source of information about conservancy matters. Absolute answers in each stakeholder group. Ordinate: absolute number of answers, Abscissa: stakeholder groups.

The overall sample was aware of the natural resources the conservancy is protecting, namely wildlife (especially fish and birds), the trees of the Impalila Woodlands and the vegetation of the floodplains. Stakeholders were asked where they get their information about the efforts of the conservancy besides the annual general meeting. Four community members only got access to information during AGMs, whereas the other seven members received further information from the khuta. In contrast, the conservancy management stated that the conservancy committee members in their respective zones are obligated to share information with the conservancy. Two of three lodges only received specific information if negotiations about agreements took place (see figure 7).

8.1.3 Work Circumstances in the Conservancy

The interviewed field staff of the conservancy was asked about work circumstances and the majority (3 out of 4)²⁹ were dissatisfied with the poor condition of the equipment and felt the salaries of about N\$ 1500 as a bit too low. Furthermore, one employee complained about outstanding payments.

The interview with the manager revealed that the conservancy has faced major financial issues as the professional hunter could not fulfil his quota in 2016. Furthermore, informal interviews described problematic relations and incomplete agreements with the tourism sector (see chapter 8.4). Nonetheless, the staff seemed enthusiastic about their works and was confident to tackle these issues (interviews CM1-4)

The two game guards currently engaged received repeated trainings for game monitoring by IRDNC and the anti-poaching unit. The tour guide also received multiple trainings in

²⁹ In this case n=4 as the manager do not use equipment and does not receive a salary.

ethical guiding and natural resource management. The only fish guard, however, attended a guiding training previously, but did not receive any special training again.

8.1.4 Future Prospects

In the opinion of the interviewees stakeholder relations (11 out of 20), the conservancy management (7) and the conservancy focus (less conservation, but more community benefits) (6) needed to be improved.

The community members found it necessary to improve stakeholder relations (4 out of 20) and to reorientate the conservancy towards community benefits (4). Also improvements of management structures (3) and community awareness (3) were desired.

Also, the conservancy management claimed improved stakeholder relations and a revision of the compensation scheme to ensure a sustainable future for Impalila Conservancy. Otherwise, some of them (3 out of 5) feared that Impalila Conservancy could be de-gazetted. Representatives of the tourism sector called for actions in restructuring the management (2 out of 4) and again for improving the stakeholder relations (3).

The majority of interviewees (14 out of 20) thought that the state of Impalila Conservancy will deteriorate if no adequate consideration is given to these issues. The interviewees hoped for improvements, if issues will be tackled.

8.2 Natural Resource Management and Conservation

8.2.1 Benefits for the Environment

All interviewees were asked how Impalila Conservancy benefits the environment, especially wildlife and vegetation. Seven did not have an answer to that, and nine were of the opinion that wildlife populations increase due to conservation efforts.

Interviewees of the conservancy management agreed with this assessment (5 out of 5) and believed that awareness about sustainable natural resource management is increasing in the community (3).

From the community members, who could identify benefits (6 out of 11), three saw an increase in wildlife and two in vegetation due to conservation, and three thought that legislative backing and law enforcement would further protect the natural resources.

8.2.2 Natural Resource Management

Half of the sample (10 out of 20) noticed cases of poaching in the past, but none in 2017³⁰. The majority (14 out of 20) observed illegal fishing. No member of the community connected

³⁰ Up to time the interviews were conducted.

those incidents with inhabitants of Impalila Island; usually they blamed outsiders, especially from the Zambian side of the Zambezi River. However, informal interviews with the police revealed a very balanced participation by outsiders of and insiders in such illegal activities. The conservancy management confirmed this balanced ratio adding that the incentive to make “easy” money induce inhabitants of the island to cooperate with outsiders in this exploitation (interview CM4).

Slightly more than a half (11 out of 20) of all respondents was unsure about the current state of fish populations in the river systems. Especially the representatives of the tourism sector expressed concerns about decreasing fish populations (3 out of 4). However, six fishermen interviewed complained more about net restrictions and fishing bans by the Ministry of Fisheries and Marines Resources. Four of those fishermen held a fishing licence.

The conservancy management saw the protection of natural resources through patrols and monitoring, and the raising of awareness about utilization of natural resources in the community as their own contribution for a more sustainable environment.

8.2.3 Future Prospects

Fourteen interviewees of the entire sample thought that the conservancy efforts, e.g. natural resource management (7 out of those 14) and supporting improved awareness in the community (3) are sustainable for the environment. While five interviewees were uncertain about the conservancy's impact on environment, only one respondent doubted this sustainability, but did not give reasons for this conjecture. Also within the community members, eight seemed to be convinced that the conservancy works in a sustainable manner (see figure 8).

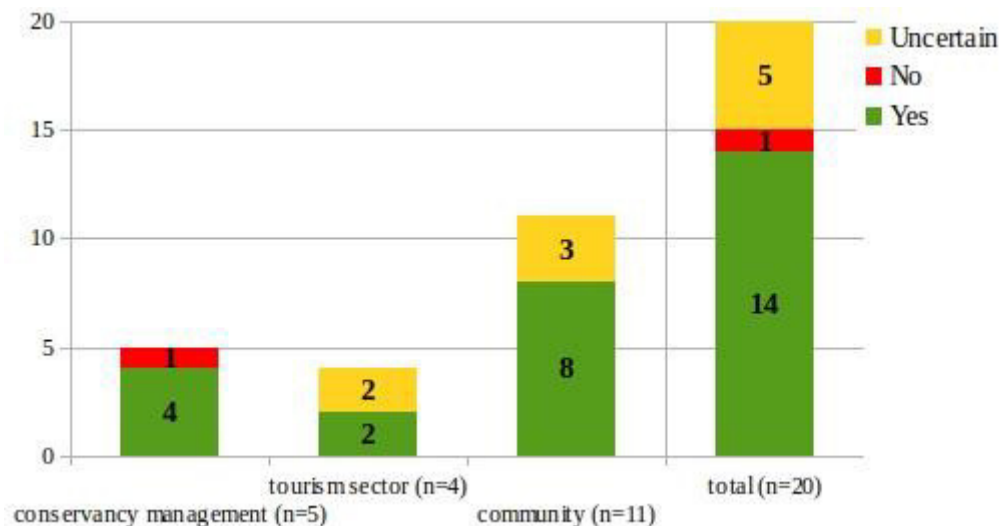


Figure 8 “Are the efforts of Impalila Conservancy sustainable for the environment?”

Ordinate: absolute number of answers, Abscissa: stakeholder groups.

8.3 Economic Conservation Approaches and Livelihood Diversification

8.3.1 Benefits for Community Livelihood

All interviewees were asked to identify benefits of the conservancy for the community and for their livelihoods. The chance of employment for community members (8 out of 20), the possibility of compensation for crop or livestock loss (5) and the conservancy's contribution and assistance on a daily basis (5) were considered as particularly advantageous.

The employment (3 out of 11) and compensation (3) were also mentioned by the community members, but four stated that benefits do not reach the community.

In the conservancy management all interviewees stated employment as the most evident advantage, and three believed that the conservation of natural resources is a benefit for the community, especially in a long-term perspective. Informal interviews confirmed the general opinion on employment as most important benefit created by the conservancy.

The majority of respondents (13 out of 20) thought that the conservancy offers opportunities for the youth inside Impalila Island. Again employment was the most mentioned (10) aspect; stated by five community members and all interviewees of the conservancy management. Additionally, the awareness of proper natural resource management (6) was mentioned.

8.3.2 Employment

Currently, the conservancy has a total of 18 employees consisting of the management (12) and the staff (6), who are all residents of Impalila (interview CM4). The tourism sector employs approximate 150 locals in various segments³¹ (interviews TS1-3). The managers of the three operating lodges stated that the occupancy in the lodges is quite high and that in the area the tourist sector is performing well. The tourist programmes are similar in the lodges and include birding, game safaris³², fishing and village walks.

8.3.3 Community Livelihoods

The interviewees were asked about their occupations. Most interviewees (with the exception of those working in the tourism sector) rely on more than one livelihood. For most respondents (14 out of 20) agriculture for subsistence and commercial needs was the main livelihood. Further, eight keep livestock and six catch fish on a daily basis (see figure 9).

³¹ E.g. lodge management, lodge and field staff.

³² Mostly in Kasika (Namibia), Chobe National Park and along the Chobe River (Botswana).

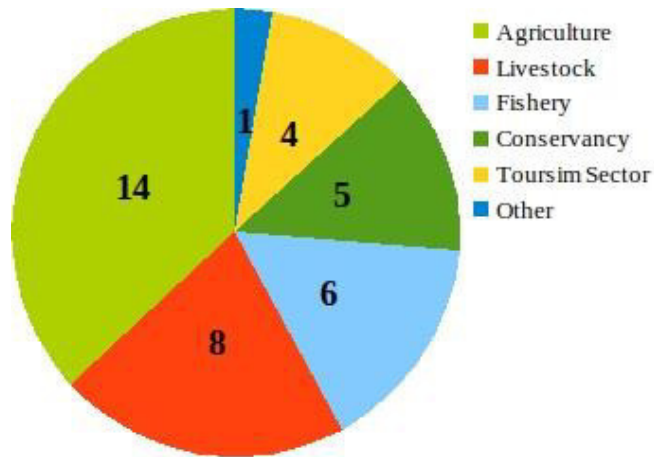


Figure 9 Livelihood Distribution (N=20, 38 answers in total).

In the community (see figure 10), five were simultaneously engaged in agriculture and livestock herding, and five in agriculture and fishery (see figure 11).

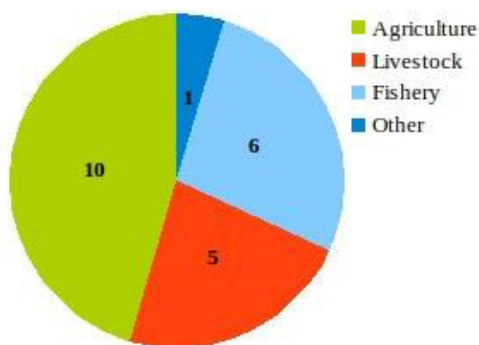


Figure 10 Livelihood Distribution in the Community (N=11, 22 answers in total).

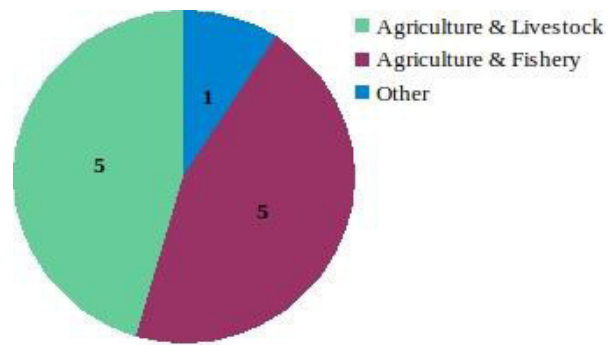


Figure 11 Mixed Livelihood in the Community (N=11, 11 answers in total).

The average field size of farmers amounted to 1.5 ha and the most common crops included maize, sorghum, beans, pumpkins and watermelons. The amount of livestock (cattle and goats) held by herders could not be assessed properly as many herders could or did not give information about this matter. However, the smallest herds mentioned consisted of five and the biggest of approximately 50 cattle. Fishermen usually fish five days per week; the preferred method is by using nets.

More than half of the interviewed community members (6 out of 11) were aware of restriction for fishery enforced by the conservancy, referring to a newly implemented fish ban by the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources and to specific net sizes. Restrictions for other livelihood activities were not stated.

8.3.4 Human-Wildlife Conflicts

All farmers³³ (n=14) had experienced a loss of crop due to intruding wildlife. Twelve stated that hippos were responsible for most of these losses; eight experienced losses by elephants. Five farmers reported losses from elephants and hippos.

Only one farmer had received compensation for his losses, while another farmer was still waiting for the compensation of current losses. The remaining 12 had not received any compensation payments. Informal interviews clarified that in most cases people were not paid, because the extent of destruction has to exceed one hectare to grant compensation payment and the damaged field size of the concerned people was obviously too small.

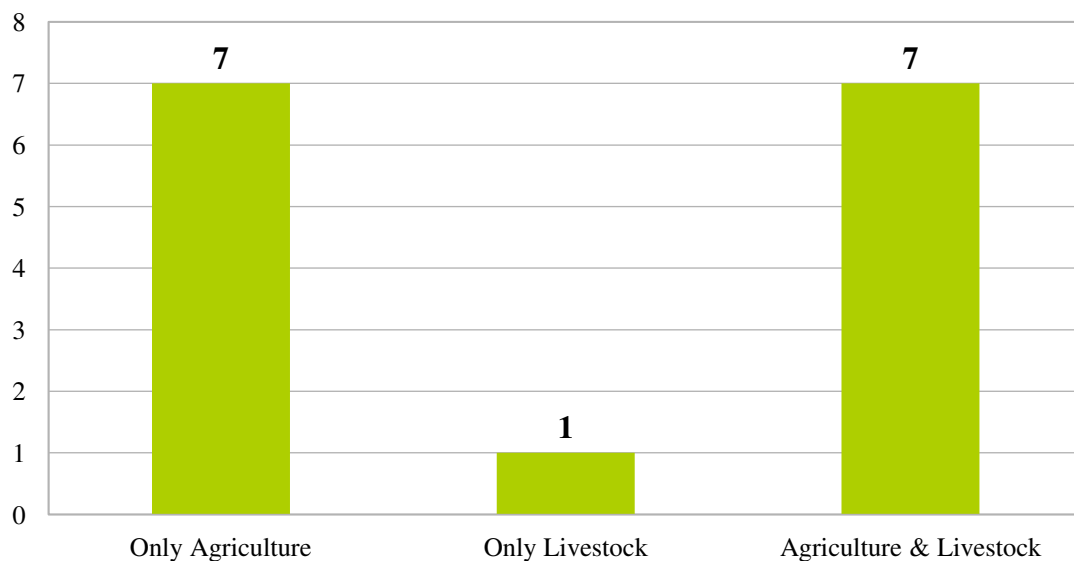


Figure 12 Distribution of livelihood activities (n=15) relevant for HWCs. Engagement in agriculture, livestock and both livelihoods (N=15: consists of 9 community members and 5 employees of the conservancy).

All herders³⁴ (n=8) had experienced livestock losses due to HWC. Crocodiles (7) and hyenas (5) were identified as main culprits. None of these herders received compensation payments. Specific reasons for that could not be identified, but informal interviews reported that often an absence of evidence was the reason for dismissed compensation claims. However, taking farmers and herders together (see figure 12), nine had received compensations in the past³⁵.

8.3.5 Future Prospects

Of all interviewees, nine thought that Impalila Conservancy's efforts are sustainable for

³³ Including conservancy staff that is engaged in agriculture.

³⁴ Including conservancy staff that is engaged in livestock.

³⁵ Here, "past" means until four years ago.

community livelihoods. Five doubted any effect of the conservancy on livelihoods and six were uncertain. However, the opinions within each stakeholder groups differed. The most consistent statements came from the conservancy management, in which three agreed that the work of the conservancy is sustainable for the community; only one disagreed. In the tourism sector, two interviewees disagreed with this assessment, while one agreed. In the community, five respondents confirmed sustainability for community livelihoods and four were uncertain about this topic (see figure 13).

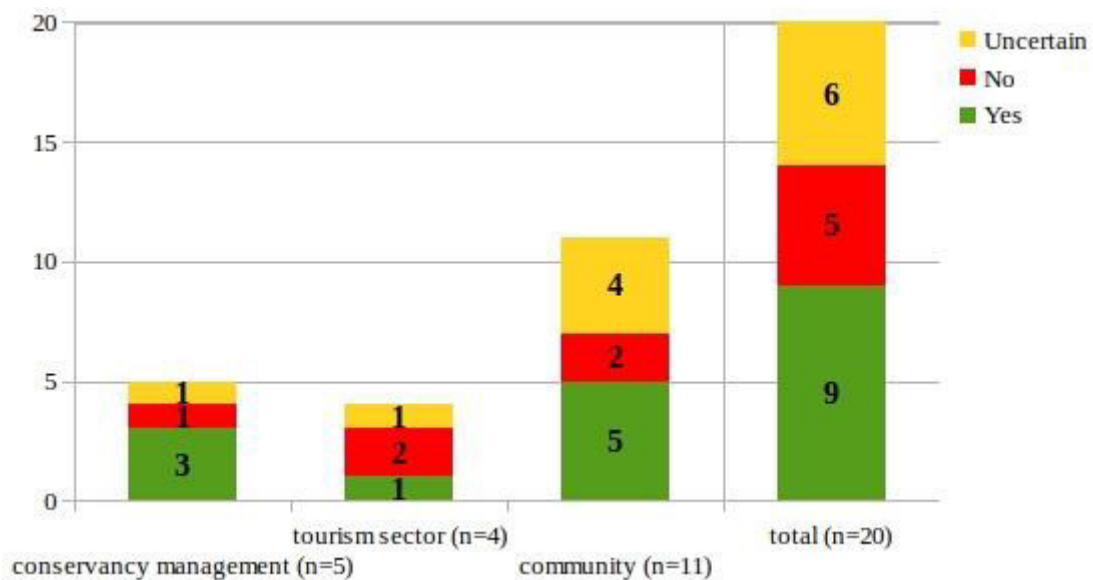


Figure 13 “Are the efforts of Impalila Conservancy sustainable for the community?”
 Ordinate: absolute number of answers, Abscissa: stakeholder groups.

From all interviewees, the management (11 out of 20) and the stakeholder relations (10) were identified as most relevant for sustainability of community livelihoods. A significant issue was also the general natural resource management (8). The community emphasized the need for better management (7 out of 11) and better stakeholder relations (5). Respondents of the management focussed on natural resource management (4 out of 5) and the improvement of stakeholder relations (4). In the tourism sector, all interviewees (4 out of 4) stated that a proper management is necessary.

8.4 Stakeholder Relations

8.4.1 Perception on Conservancies

All interviewees were asked how they perceive the implementation of the conservancy concept in Namibia. Fourteen felt positively about the implementation and only two were definitely against it (see figure 14). On the issue of how this implementation works in Impalila

Conservancy, nine of the interviewees were satisfied with the current state of the conservancy. Five interviewees were uncertain and six were not satisfied (see figure 15).

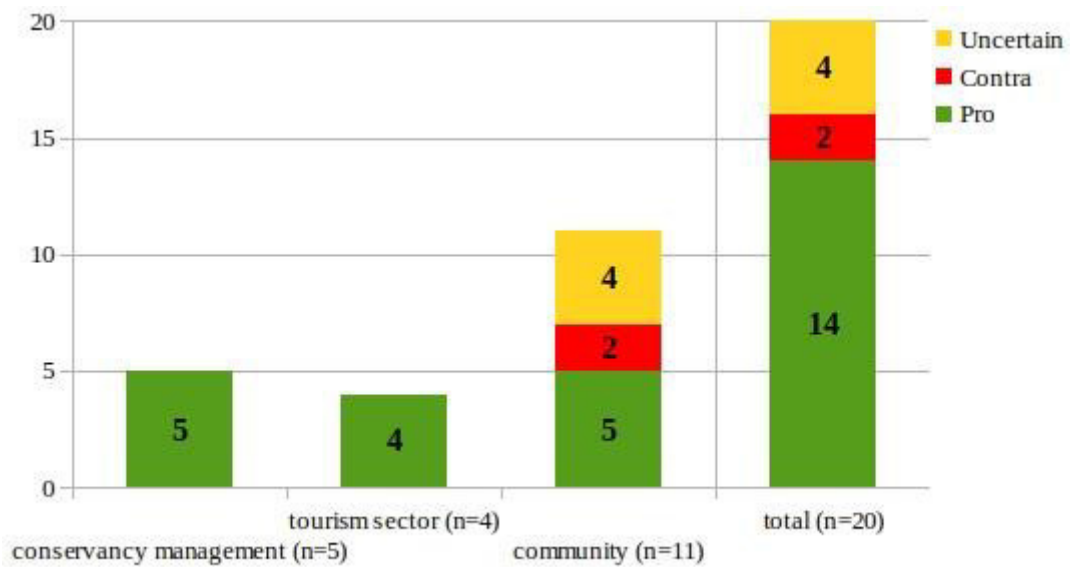


Figure 14 “Do you agree with the implementation of the conservancy concept in Namibia?”
 Ordinate: absolute number of answers, Abscissa: stakeholder groups.

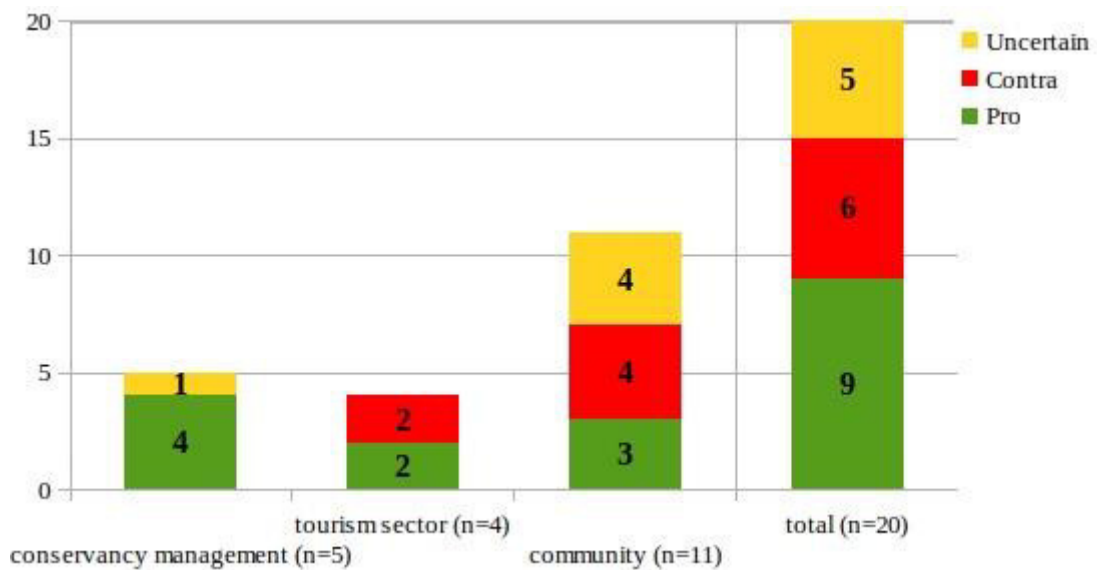


Figure 15 “Do you agree with the implementation of the conservancy concept in Impalila?”
 Ordinate: absolute number of answers, Abscissa: stakeholder groups.

Taking into account only the community, five respondents expressed their consent with the conservancy concept in Namibia. The implementation of Impalila Conservancy was only supported by three respondents. The conservancy management and the tourism sector unanimously supported the concept of conservancies throughout Namibia. Two of the

representatives of the tourism sector endorsed the implementation of Impalila Conservancy, whereas the other two were not satisfied with this.

8.4.2 Perception on Tourism Sector

All stakeholders were asked if their perception of the tourism sector is positive, negative or neutral. Nine respondents felt positively about the presence and action of the tourism sector; six disagreed. The others had no opinion (see figure 16). The most frequently mentioned reason for the approval was the chance of being employed (9).

Two people of the conservancy management agreed with the work of the tourism sector, two disagreed and one had no opinion. All of them identified poor stakeholder relations as main problem. Three community members clearly supported the actions of the tourism sector, four were uncertain and four were against them. However, six acknowledged the chances of employment provided by the lodges. The aversion to the tourism sector was mostly justified by the denial of daily contributions from lodge operators to community members.

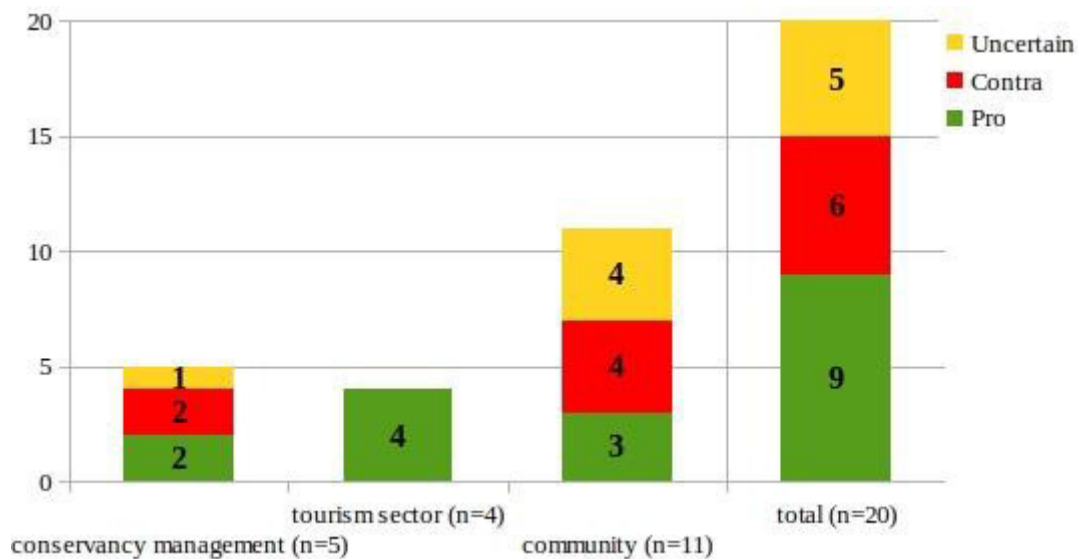


Figure 16 “Do you agree with the actions of the tourism sector on Impalila?”

Ordinate: Amount of mentions, Abscissa: Stakeholder groups.

Trophy hunting was a controversial issue. Six interviewed people approved commercial trophy hunting in the conservancy area, while 11 had no very firm opinion about this issue. The community appeared to have no preference (nine responded neutrally), whereas four respondents of the conservancy management strongly supported trophy hunting. Half of the representatives of the tourism sector rejected trophy hunting; the second half did not have a clear position.

8.4.3 Stakeholder Cooperation

One of the three lodges had an agreement with Impalila Conservancy, which included the

payment of monthly fees for land use. Another lodge was still negotiating a new agreement with Impalila Conservancy during the research, whereas the negotiations between the third lodge and the conservancy management had been recently suspended and will only be continued in presence of a mediator (interviews CM & TS). The fact, that all three lodges were established before the conservancy was founded has probably complicated these negotiations. Previous agreements of the lodges were made with the government and the khuta to receive land use rights (interviews TS1-3). Certain fees such as an allowance for fishing activities, has to be paid to the conservancy by all lodges regardless of whether agreements exist.

All lodges had agreements with the khuta to pay an annual fee. Furthermore, all interviewees of the tourism sector stated that they support surrounding villages and community members in need on an ad hoc basis. Apart from agreements and negotiations, two respondents of the tourism sector did not recognize any impact on their work from the conservancy. Only one felt affected by them.

The conservancy management paid an annual fee to the khuta and to the community. These payments include donations to the two schools and the church in the conservancy, to the community sports and to a farmers' association. Additionally, all interviewees of the conservancy management reported a support and assistance on a daily basis for the khuta and the community regarding transport, fuel and other material expenses. In regard to the supporting NGOs, especially IRDNC, two interviewees of the management wished for more assistance on-site and the two others hoped for a stronger participation of IRDNC as mediator in negotiations with the tourism sector.

While all representatives of the tourism sector and three of the conservancy management stated that the focus of Impalila Conservancy is a balanced relation between nature conservation and livelihood improvement. The other two respondents of the conservancy management including the manager saw a slight emphasis on conservation. Further informal interviews revealed that the management obviously focuses on nature conservation, as, finally, the community benefits from the natural resources (interview CM).

8.5 Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC)

Even if the IRDNC is involved in Impalila Conservancy, the NGO is not directly affected by the conservancy's action. Therefore, IRDNC was excluded from the comparative analysis of the data. Nonetheless, IRDNCs long-term involvement in the development of conservancy, its practical experience and continuous cooperation with conservancy all over Namibia, makes this organisation a major player in the whole conservancy business.

Therefore, the two interviews with the management of the IRDNC in Katima Mulilo are a welcome and valuable complement to the above presented results.

The IRDNC management thought that Impalila Conservancy is one of the most challenged conservancy in the whole Zambezi region. Issues in institutional development and governance were identified as main reason. In the past, as IRDNC stated, several managements and committees in Impalila Conservancy have been dismissed by the conservancy members, because of alleged and proven mismanagement. This confirms the power of people as they are able to dismiss a currently acting committee or management, and underlines that even a suspected embezzlement may result in dismissal. According to IRDNC, the relative frequent changes in the conservancy management have led to a slowdown in institutional development and to a less fluent implementation. Moreover, such changes, often associated with amendments of the conservancy constitution, adversely affected the relation to other stakeholders and required some renegotiation with the tourism sector (interviews IRDNC). During the present survey, the current management of Impalila Conservancy was also drafting a new constitution and was dealing with re-arrangements with the lodge managers. Planned changes refer primarily on the definition of membership and the agreements with the tourism sector (interview CM5). But payments of the tourism sector are often solely dependent on mutual agreements and cannot be enforced by the conservancy (interviews IRDNC).

Nonetheless, IRDNC stated that Impalila Conservancy has an enormous potential for tourism. Especially because of its location in the Chobe and Zambezi river systems and surrounded by several countries. Impalila Conservancy may only have limited and seasonal wildlife, but surrounding parks and tourist attractions, e.g. Chobe National Park in Botswana and Victoria Falls, Zambia/Zimbabwe, and especially the proximity to the tourist hub Kasane in Botswana place Impalila Conservancy in an attractive setting for tourism. Therefore, IRDNC is trying to improve stakeholder relations to strengthen joint-ventures between the tourism sector and the conservancy. In future, the effort will focus especially on tourism and not so much on trophy hunting. This is particularly due to the fact that international pressure regarding the ban of trophy hunting on the Namibian Government is increasing constantly. IRDNC also reported of increasing wildlife populations and attributed this development to the work of the conservancy that promotes and improves the touristic value of the area. But to tap into this potential, the conservancy needs a stable management (interviews IRDNC).

9. Discussion

9.1 Institutional Development and Governance

Eighty-three registered conservancies in Namibia indicate that the promotion of conservancies was very successful and that at least the bureaucratic obstacles that arise during the application process (see chapter 5.3) do not prevent communities from applying for conservancies. The devolution of authority and rights over natural resources from the Namibian government to a more regional level and the associated benefits appeared to attract communities all over the country. However, the actual performance of individual conservancies is highly variable. For example, only 62 of 83 conservancies generated returns in 2016. Twenty-eight of 46 conservancies which submitted data were able to cover their operational costs from their own income (NACSO 2016: 20). The fact that 37 conservancies did not report on this issue suggest that they were not able to finance themselves.

Regarding institutional development and governance in Impalila Conservancy, respondents especially identified deficits such as problems of HWC mitigation, of management and of lacking awareness. The first two issues are characterised by lengthy bureaucratic and democratic processes.

Viability and sustainability of conservancies largely depend on appropriate management structures, e.g. proper resource management, transparent finances, etc. Hence, MET and NGOs have focussed on building management capacities in conservancy committees. This strong focus seems to have had a detrimental effect on the direct participation and regulatory oversight by “regular” conservancy members. The involvement of conservancy members in budgeting, reporting, and the retroactive control of the conservancy committee was attenuated in Namibia (IRDNC 2015: 14).

Also, in Impalila Conservancy, participation in decision-making and awareness of processes in the conservancy are important factors. Prior to the gazetting of the conservancy in 2005, surveys³⁶ have shown that 77% of the interviewed household heads on Impalila Island did not believe that they have any influence in decision-making. Furthermore, findings of these surveys raised concerns about the actual awareness of conservancy members regarding their participatory opportunities (Mosimane 2003b: 18). This does not correspond to aims of a conservancy and undermines its conception.

Awareness is the key to enable a participatory approach. As indicated above (see chapter 8.1.2), insufficient awareness is still a problem in Impalila Island. All interviewees were able to identify the natural resources conserved by the conservancy. Less than 50% of the

³⁶ Conducted by the Multidisciplinary Research and Consultancy Centre of the University of Namibia (MRCC).

interviewed community members identified any mode of income or investment in the conservancy. Furthermore, the widespread uncertainty about specific processes, such as the composition of the compensation fund, raises questions about the actual information transfer.

The annual general meeting (AGM) is supposed to be the forum to inform all registered conservancy members about conservancy matters (see chapter 8.1.2). In 2014, 71 of altogether 445 registered members attended the meeting, in 2016, only 97 of meanwhile 880. Interestingly regarding gender relation, the number of female participants was twice as high as that of males in 2016 (NACSO 2015a: 3; 2017: 3). However, the number of participants is relatively small taken into account the increased number of members. It is noteworthy that none of the interviewees referred to their committee members as additional source of information. Committee members need to be accountable towards the conservancy members as they manage the natural resources, stakeholder relations, income and expenditures in their respective zones (NACSO 2016b: 21). If this is not the case, a sufficient awareness of the community members is not ensured.

Committee and management are elected at the AGM by the members of the conservancy, who also approve budget, work and distribution plans (NACSO 2016b: 21). As the AGM is held only once a year, also important decisions (elections etc.) are taken once a year unless emergency meetings are convened. If plans are not approved by the community, the management has to redraft the respective document. The preparation of drafts is usually supervised by supporting NGOs. In view of the fact that budgets and work plans have been rejected repeatedly in the past it is obvious that there are parts of the community that are actively involved in decision-making and not just passively attend the AGM. More problematic is the absence of a benefit distribution plan since 2014 (NACSO 2015a: 3; 2016a: 3; 2017: 3), because an equitable benefit distribution is enshrined in the conservancy's constitution. This missing distribution plan might be the reason, why in 2016 the management was restructured, because community benefits were identified as one of the most important issues to be addressed in Impalila Conservancy (see chapter 8). Since its establishment, Impalila Conservancy has experienced several complete discharges of the management mainly due to embezzlement, unaccounted money transfers, and general mismanagement. This was also the case in 2016 as, due to alleged mismanagement, the whole management was dismissed by the community (Interview CM5). Therefore, even though the community might not be properly informed about the work processes and results on site, at least parts of it know about their decision-making power and exercise this power, when it seems necessary. On the other hand, discharges of the management and staff might destabilize the conservancy. The trainings, e.g. for guarding or natural resource

management, offered to the conservancy management, the committee members and the conservancy staff by the MET or NGOs are useless for the development of the area, if the trained people are retrenched. That leaves the conservancy with less expert capacity at the end of every discharge.

The traditional authorities play an important role in Namibia's conservancies. As shown above (see chapter 5.3), traditional authorities, if respected by the community, can have significant influence over natural resource management and land allocation. Their active involvement can be beneficial for the relation between conservancy management and community (NACSO 2016b: 21). In the cases of Impalila Conservancy and the major part of the Zambezi region, traditional authorities in form of khutas are highly respected and can therefore affect decision-making at the communal level. In 2002, a survey³⁷ showed that interviewed household heads regarded their khuta as central for the activities of the community, and therefore concluded that the khuta was the major information source about new developments. While at that time, one third of interviewees felt not sufficiently informed about the conservancy establishment processes, a majority of 84% was sure that the khuta supported the establishment (Mosimane 2003b: 21f). Therefore, the khuta had a positive influence on the establishment of Impalila Conservancy as they used their respected position to share information and raise awareness for the possibilities inherent in the conservancy concept.

The results have shown that those members of the community, who were informed about conservancy efforts outside the AGM, identified the khuta as additional information source. Also the informal interviews point to the importance of the khuta, which was mentioned almost always as essential contact for every stakeholder group, as information source, and as beneficiary receiving payments by the conservancy and the tourism sector. Only one interviewee was dismayed and considered the khuta as the sole beneficiary because of the unjustifiable high fees the khuta received by conservancy and tourism sector (interview C1). It is not quite clear, whether the tourism operators are obliged to pay fees to the khuta, if they had already paid money to the conservancy as both payments are made for authorization of land use. Either way, payments to the khuta can be seen as fees for a better link between community and tourism sector, and between community and conservancy.

One of the objectives of Impalila Conservancy is the creation of a precise and transparent financial system to maximize benefits (Impalila 2010: 5). Here, tourism returns have been the major income for the conservancy in the past. In 2014, the total returns of tourism agreements and activities (excluding trophy hunting) generated approximately

³⁷ Conducted by the MRRC.

N\$ 1,258,210 (NACSO 2015a: 1). In 2015, a similar amount of N\$ 1,201,620 has been gained, and returns were increased by N\$ 216,000 due to trophy hunting (NACSO 2016a: 1). Nonetheless, tourism remains the major source for returns. As mentioned above (see chapter 7.1), Impalila Conservancy receives wildlife only seasonally. Therefore, the time for trophy hunting is limited and the hunting quota is relatively low. This even emphasizes the importance of a recruited professional hunter, who has to fulfil the quota set by the conservancy and the MET. As the conservancy was able to generate enough money in 2015 to cover its operational costs, the low income through hunting had no consequences for the viability of the conservancy. In 2016 however, tourism revenues drastically dropped to N\$ 162,040, while trophy hunting revenues decreased only slightly to N\$ 133,500 (NACSO 2017: 1). This noticeable general loss can be explained by the discharge of the management at this time. As result of the low returns in 2016, the new management (since August 2016) decided to lay off all staff except of a few senior staff, who included the current game guards and the tour guide. A former guide was recruited as fish guard, and a new treasurer and secretary were hired, leaving Impalila Conservancy with a field staff of six employees (interview CM5). For comparison, in 2014 the conservancy had 22 employees (NACSO 2015a: 1), whose number was, however, reduced to eight in 2016 (NACSO 2017: 1). The financial situation has negatively affected wage payments and has led to a neglect of the maintenance of the equipment³⁸.

As new managements may refocus their intentions and goals, their recomposition will be accompanied by renegotiations with the lodge and hunting operators. The faster new agreements are reached, the sooner the conservancy may generate revenues again. Regarding Impalila Conservancy the new management obviously seems to take a different direction. As the negotiations with the tourism sector proceed slowly (see chapter 8.4.3), the budget draft of 2017 shows that the management plans to generate an income of N\$ 900,000 from trophy hunting and N\$ 772,000 from tourism agreements with lodges in Namibia, Zambia and Botswana (Impalila Conservancy 2017: 3). To reach this ambitious goal, the conservancy would need to employ a capable professional hunter to fulfil the entire hunting quota. Currently, the only animals included in the quota are five elephants (3 for trophy³⁹; 2 for meat), five hippos (2 for trophy⁴⁰; 3 for meat) and one crocodile (trophy⁴¹). In 2014, 2015 and 2016, this quota was not exhausted (NACSO 2015a: 1; 2016a: 1; 2017: 1). Therefore, Impalila Conservancy lost a substantial income and the opportunity to supply the community with meat. At the end of the present research, the negotiations with a new

³⁸ One of three boats had a broken engine; and also bicycles for tourist activities were broken.

³⁹ Potential trophy value in 2016: N\$ 200.000 (depending on size and quality) (NACSO 2017:1).

⁴⁰ Potential trophy value in 2016: N\$ 25.000 (depending on size and quality) (NACSO 2017:1).

⁴¹ Potential trophy value in 2016: N\$ 25.500 (depending on size and quality) (NACSO 2017:1).

professional hunter were close to completion. But as the hunting season has already started with the receding flood, a great effort is needed to fulfil the quota of 2017 before the end of the hunting season. Therefore, the performance of the hunter seems to be a crucial factor to generate sufficient returns for Impalila Conservancy in 2017.

In brief, the institutional development and governance in Impalila Conservancy currently faces some challenges:

- (1) That the khuta provides information to the community in addition to the AGM certainly does not strengthen the institutional development of Impalila Conservancy itself. Moreover, this development is undermined by the fact that apparently the conservancy committee neglects information sharing and, therefore, the risk of community discontent grows. This might increase the risk of an anew discharge of management and committee. A further disadvantage may be that although the number of the conservancy members is increasing, the number of participants at the AGM remains small. Also it fits in the picture the management claims to be always open to criticism, but complains at the same time that this offer is rarely accepted outside the AGM.
- (2) The issue of the capacity of employees⁴² becomes apparent, when a number of trained employees are retrenched without the existence of a proper replacement. The conservancy employs only community member as enshrined in its constitution, and is therefore dependent on community members, who have a further education⁴³ and trainings.
- (3) The problems of revenue generation are currently largely connected to the former mismanagements, to eroded stakeholder relations and to a low hunting quota which can only be fulfilled in a short season.
- (4) The community members and representatives of the tourism sector identified the conservancy management as a serious obstacle to the sustainable progress of the institutions of Impalila Conservancy. It should also be mentioned that the opinion on the conservancy is heavily affected by the instability of former managements (see chapter 8.4.3). Additionally, the currently employed staff and the new manager show enthusiasm and are eager to address these problems. Thus, it is important for this people to improve the relationships with all stakeholders, to revise the compensation scheme. These issues correspond to the topics most crucial for the community in general (compensation) and for the future (stakeholder relations). All interviewees realized that without fundamental changes in Impalila Conservancy the situation will

⁴² No matter whether in management, committee or staff.

⁴³ The schools in Impalila cover grade one to ten.

continue to worsen, or, as currently feared by the new management, that the conservancy will be de-gazetted.

9.2 Natural Resource Management and Conservation

Generally, biodiversity is a central objective of any conservancies. The Zambezi region is considered as a “hotspot” for biodiversity. In the last years, the region has registered significant wildlife recoveries, especially of elephants and buffaloes (NACSO 2016b: 37). These have been achieved mainly through breeding, wildlife reintroductions, mitigating human-wildlife conflicts (HWC) and ensuring a sustainable utilization of wildlife. In the last 15 years poaching activities in general decreased considerably, but the Zambezi region has experienced an extreme increase of ivory poaching (NACSO 2016b: 34f).

Also the Integrated Ecosystem Plan of Impalila Conservancy aims at the increase of wildlife and the reintroduction of species that used to live in the area (Impalila Conservancy 2010: 5). So far, no reintroductions have been undertaken, as such operations are linked to substantial financial and operational efforts. However, the conservancy seems to rely on the general increase of wildlife, which was also recognized by the community, often indirectly by the increased of HWCs (see chapter 8.3.4). In 2015, a census had shown that an only 50-70% of wildlife species formerly living there, still exist at present; less than 25% of those have a population of sufficient size to ensure survival and further conservation (NACSO 2016b: 37). The location of Impalila Conservancy definitely favours the presence of wildlife as the region is situated in wildlife corridors between the four countries⁴⁴, which animals use for their seasonal migrations. In addition, the project KAZA (Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area) plans to connect 440,000 km² conservation areas across states⁴⁵ to enable wildlife movement across borders (WWF 2014:1). As, Impalila Conservancy lies in the centre of this area, potential wildlife could even increase in the future. A low hunting quota and its seldom fulfilment might have been a positive influence for wildlife as well (interviews IRDNC & CM5). However, the high human population density in the area and the annual flooding prevent the permanent presence of wildlife, especially of the larger and more valuable species (interview IRDNC & CM3). An informant reported that in 2016 a group of waterbucks surprisingly entered the island, but was immediately chased away by a pack of dogs. He also complained about unattended guard dogs kept uncontrolled in the villages, posing a serious threat, especially for smaller game (interview CM4).

To assess wildlife populations in the conservancy, annual counts are carried out by the

⁴⁴ Namibia, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

⁴⁵ Namibia, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Angola.

game guards patrolling along fixed routes and dates. Animal sightings and the state of natural resources are recorded in internal event books, and poaching incidents are reported to METs anti-poaching unit and the police. The game guards of Impalila Conservancy are exposed to a serious risk when they encounter poachers, as they are not allowed to carry guns. Therefore, Impalila Conservancy is dependent on the cooperation with the police station on the island and the anti-poaching unit to pursue poachers (interview CM2 & CM3). Monitoring wildlife in Impalila Conservancy is complicated as migrations of wildlife is seasonal and are affected by human and natural factors (see chapter 7.1). In addition, animals move across borders of conservancies and countries. As a result, the annual counts of wildlife may vary enormously (interview IRDNC). For example, from 2011 until 2013 significantly more elephants were counted than from 2014 until 2016 and data on Impala's population shows similar variations during these periods. Between 2011 and 2013 no poaching incident was reported in Impalila Conservancy, whereas in 2014 two cases and in 2016 one case were announced; two of the incidents involved high value game (NACSO 2017: 2).

Half of the interviewed stakeholders was aware of poaching activities. The majority of the community may deny any local involvement in poaching incidents, but it is most likely that also residents take part. Interviews with the police on Impalila Island and with the conservancy management confirmed that time and again locals are involved in poaching and illegal fishing. All interviewed community members stated that they “adhere to the law” and some considered the law enforcement to be an efficient way to protect the natural resources. One informant said that “the community fears punishment” (interview C3) as fines for poaching high value wildlife such as elephants and rhinos have been increased in 2017 to a maximum of N\$25 million and imprisonment to a maximum of 20 to 25 years for the first conviction. Also the penalties for other specially protected animals, such as zebras (*Equus zebra hartmannae*), giraffes (*Giraffa camelopardalis*), klipspringers (*Oreotragus oreotragus*), impalas (*Aepyceros melampus*) and hippos (*Hippopotamus amphibius*) have been substantially increased (The Namibian: 1).

In 1998 the quota setting system has been introduced in Namibia to manage and control consumptive use of wildlife in conservancies. For each conservancy quotas are individually set and coordinated by the MET with support of NGOs. This takes place in cooperation with the conservancy management. Factors to be considered include data gathered by the conservancies, local knowledge about wildlife movements, game counts and event book data. After that, the conservancies request a quota for trophy hunting, own-use meat harvesting and shoot-and-sell meat harvesting (NACSO 2016b: 38). Trophy hunting is criticised especially by animal rights organisations, as it is supposed to have a negative

impact on wildlife. However, the quotas only include insignificant percentages of the given species and should not affect overall wildlife populations (ibid: 58). Representatives of the tourism sector in Impalila Conservancy expressed the concern that hunting may have a detrimental effect on wildlife, not necessarily with regard to the populations, but rather with respect to the animals' residence in areas interesting for non-consumptive utilization such as safaris. The tourism sector fears that continuous hunting will chase away animals in the long run (interviews TS 1 & TS2).

Therefore, all the more the consequent zonation of the conservancy area to reduce conflicts between different land uses is important. Impalila Conservancy is divided into three major zones (see map 3): (A) tourism and wildlife, (B) floodplains and (C) the rocky main island (Impalila Conservancy 2010: 7 & interview CM5).

Zone A includes areas exclusively for wildlife and the surroundings of the lodges. Here, only non-consumptive wildlife use, e.g. wildlife observation, is permitted. The only exception is if an animal is declared to be a problem animal⁴⁶ and is shot by the professional hunter under the supervision of the MET. The conservancy discourages the encroachment of new settlements in this zone.

Zone B is a mixed-use area, where temporary settlements and livelihood activities are allowed, provided the area is not flooded. Moreover, trophy hunting is permitted.

Zone C includes most of the main island up to the most north eastern border of Impalila. The area is largely used for settlements, agriculture, fishing and livestock. Occasionally, the area is also used for tourist activities offered by the conservancy and the tourism sector, e.g. for villages walks and baobab climbing.

Especially zone A and B include various areas of specific utilization priority and mixed use (interview CM5). These zones include the largest part of the conservancy and here the community is not aware of any restriction for agriculture and livelihood (see chapter 8.1.2) as long as they do not enter protected wildlife areas. This zonation appears to be accepted by the community, although HWC remains a prevailing issue. Nonetheless, the conservancy actually does not have any legal powers to enforce the zonation and is therefore dependent on the acceptance of the community and on the traditional authorities to make zonation more enforceable (NACSO 2016b: 39).

In general, the traditional authorities (e.g. khuta, indunas) substantially participate in natural resource management on Impalila Island. Traditional laws concerning the ignition of veldt fires and the cutting down of trees for construction are still in place and known in the community. The *indunas* enforce the laws, but the community often does not report

⁴⁶ An animal that repeatedly returns to attack livestock (or humans) or to destroy crops.

violations (Mosimane 2003a: 38). The traditional authorities and the conservancy management try to prevent harmful cutting methods and to raise awareness of more sustainable ways, e.g. not to cut off young sprouts or branches and not to burn trees (Mosimane 2003b: 34). However, the conservancy does not actually enforce an anti-cutting policy; it recognizes the need for the community to cut and harvest wood, not so much for construction, but especially for firewood as only few villages profit from the electricity produced by the nearby lodges (interview CM4 & CM5). Moreover, during this research many villages had wood construction sites, such as houses and fences⁴⁷.



Figure 17 Newly constructed fences on Impalila Island
(By David Greven).

Nonetheless, the ratio between tree cover and biomass per hectare has remained stable since the start of vegetation monitoring in 2013 (NACSO 2017: 2). Veldt fires are usually started to chase away elephants or to clear land for construction. As fires cause air pollution and destroy parts of the ecosystem, the conservancy management tries to reduce their extensive use (UNICEF 2017). Through the efforts of the khuta and the conservancy the distribution of veldt fires has been considerably reduced, especially in 2016 (NACSO 2016a: 2; 2017: 2). Additionally, the khuta approved the establishment of the fish protection area in the Kasay channel after a request of the conservancy to enhance the exploitable fish stocks and to create further revenue from tourist lodges through fees (Tweddle & Hay 2011: 10, 16).

Regarding illegal fishery, the conservancy fish guard patrols regularly in the area, also in cooperation with the police and sometimes with soldiers from a navy base on the island.

⁴⁷ Own observations.

However, the area in need of protection is probably too large to be guarded by only one fish guard all the more since fishermen from Zambia and Botswana can just enter the river and return largely untouched to their country. Therefore, Impalila Conservancy is dependent on the cooperation of law enforcement on the Zambian side. Furthermore, the conservancy receives regular support in doing patrols from a lodge on the Zambian side of the river (interview CM1). The Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources has instituted a ban of fishing for a period of three month per year⁴⁸, which include the breeding season of most fish species of economic importance. The compliance with the ban should be enforced by the conservancy (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2016: 5f). Although the ban is an important contribution to reach sustainability in the fisheries sector, it limits the subsistence of fishermen substantially. Furthermore, the Kasay Channel that connects the Zambezi and Chobe River is a protected area, in which only tourists, who hold a licence, are allowed to catch fish. However, the catch has to be released afterwards which is common practice for fishing activities of the tourism sector in Impalila Conservancy (interviews TS1-4). Many fishermen deplore this practice that, in their opinion, affects the behaviour of the fishes, which results in decreasing catches for subsistence (interviews C9-11). The opinion about the state of fish populations in Impalila Conservancy varies between the stakeholders. But especially representatives of the tourism sector often report significant less catches on fishing tours with tourists (interviews TS1 & TS2). The conservancy fish guard controls the dictated minimum net and mesh sizes used by fishermen and sells fishing licences trying to ensure that only legal and sustainable methods are used. Licences are obligatory for fishermen at the behest of the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources (interview CM1). One fisherman complained a lot about the ban and the strong restrictions on net and mesh sizes by the conservancy as fishermen used their own sustainable methods to ensure healthy fish population, e.g. by stopping fishery for one month and by using different mesh sizes in different periods of time (interview C10). Another informant stated that many people of Impalila “have developed a feeling for their natural heritage” (interview CM4), while others mentioned “that they had their own way of managing resources sustainably” (interview IRDNC).

All in all, Impalila Conservancy is eager to implement the NRM plans; the current management repeatedly emphasized that the successful conservation of wildlife will yield big benefits in the future. In sum:

- (1) The environments in the conservancy and their wildlife have been more or less stable in the last five years. Even if annual sightings of some species decreased and

⁴⁸ December until end of February.

natural resources such as wood can be harvested without control, 70% of the interviewees stated that the conservancy has a sustainable effect on the environment. This opinion is also prevalent with the interviewed community members. Upon further questioning, this environmental sustainability was mostly “proofed” by the increase of HWCs.

- (2) The conservancy has a well developed zonation plan to reduce contradictory land-uses, even if the enforcement can be difficult.
- (3) Due to understaffing, the conservancy can barely enforce all laws and recommendations. To do this, it is dependent on external assistance.
- (4) Game monitoring works with the current standard of the Zambezi region, but is restricted by low staff numbers. In the NRM of non-wildlife resources, the conservancy counts on raising awareness to reduce the human impact on the environment without neglecting the community's needs. Here, the khuta plays an important role again as they are most respected in the area and may influence certain harmful behaviours.
- (5) The fish ban supports sustainable fishing, but seems to impair local fishermen.

9.3 Economic Conservation Approaches and Livelihood Diversification

In the last decade, the overall returns in Namibia's conservancies from tourism (N\$ 60 million in 2016) and consumptive wildlife uses (N\$ 45 million in 2016) have risen significantly. Today, with 54% and 28%, joint-venture tourism and trophy hunting are the major sources of income contributing to conservation and livelihood. While trophy hunting creates the most cash income for the conservancy to cover operational costs and development project, the tourism sector provides a significant cash input into the community through the employment of residents. Consumptive wildlife use generated a cash income to households of almost N\$35 million in 2016, and hunting for meat distribution generated most in-kind benefits⁴⁹ to households in the community (NACSO 2016b: 57, 61). The ability of conservancies to generate income highly varies depending on the respective conditions. Most conservancies focus only on one main source of income while only five (of a total of 83) have a more or less balanced income from both tourism and consumptive wildlife utilization. Twenty conservancies fail to generate cash income, because they lack the capacity and/or the potential (NACSO 2016b: 55, 58).

Regarding Impalila Conservancy all stakeholders consulted were of the opinion that the major benefits for the community are the increased chance to find employment and the

⁴⁹ The average meat value is translated into in-kind benefits.

presence of a compensation scheme for HWCs. Nonetheless, more than a third of the interviewed community members complained that no benefits actually reach the community and they are disappointed because the lack of direct cash benefits (see chapter 8.3.1). Those cash distributions were paid in the past, but at that time the amount did not exceed N\$150 per person, which was too small to help. Therefore, Impalila Conservancy decided as many other conservancies in Namibia to suspend cash distribution to the communities and to distribute the money to the committee members of the respective zones to invest in community projects and specific issues of the zones (interview CM5). The last direct cash distribution to the committee was made 2014 with N\$ 10,000 per zone. Additional money was given to the main khuta and the sub khutas, the school and the church in the same year (NACSO 2015a: 3). These donations were continued in 2015; moreover, a transportation boat for the community was purchased (NACSO 2016a: 3). Since 2014, money has been distributed without a proper benefit distribution plan (NACSO 2015a: 3; 2016a: 3; 2017: 3). Therefore, distribution of benefits is currently not a regulated process, but rather is dependent on the current income. Nonetheless, the interviewees partly acknowledged this form of donations, especially to the khuta.

Further, respondents mentioned additional areas supported by the conservancy, e.g. the annual independence festival, community sports, and agricultural shows (semi-structured interviews). The budget draft of 2017 includes detailed numbers concerning benefit distribution. They include monthly fees covering funeral costs of deceased community members, annual donation to the Village Development Committee (VDC) and the construction of a community hostel. The total costs have been estimated at N\$ 152,600 (Impalila Conservancy 2017: 3), which was almost half of the revenues generated in 2016 (NACSO 2017: 1). Not declared as benefits, but budgeted are “other costs” of N\$ 90,000 that include the above mentioned donation to the khutas, churches, schools and community sports, as well as several cultural celebrations (Impalila Conservancy 2017: 4). Donations to community institutions and to the committees can be considered as input for the community as a whole. The general transfer of such benefits to the household level is more difficult and a major concern of people. Indirect benefits, such as a sense of identity or of the cultural status, appear to be considered as not particularly useful, or at least unsatisfying in a short-term perspective, and are therefore rarely mentioned by respondents. Furthermore, conservancy staffs complained about the fact, that many people in the community only demand direct benefit without appreciating the indirect ones (interview CM4).

Of particular significance is the employment factor that was highly emphasized by the conservancy management. Employment ensures “direct cash income for households”

(interview TS2). However, less than a third of the community members saw employment as benefit, probably because at present the possibility for employment is very low. Currently, only 18 people are employed by the conservancy, whose number also includes the committee, which receives financial allowances only quarterly (Impalila Conservancy 2017: 6; Interview CM5). On average the salary for a field staff member is N\$ 1,500 per month; the manager receives N\$ 1,700 per month. The allowance for committee members is N\$ 500 every three months (Impalila Conservancy 2017: 5). The relatively small salaries, sometimes one of the major cash payments for people in rural settings, may induce well educated and trained residents to look for better paid jobs, e.g. in the tourism sector or outside Impalila. Surely, the uncertainty created by the managements in the past has intensified this problem. In comparison: the tourism sector currently employs 150 people⁵⁰ from Impalila in various positions. Regular staff usually works on a rotation base. As the occupancy of the lodges appears consistently positive and stable, it is the tourism sector, which is the main employer on Impalila Island (interviews TS1-4).

Generally, rural economies are dependent on agriculture and livestock for income generation and food security. The predominant livelihood activities in Impalila Conservancy are agriculture, livestock and fishery. Impalila is very suitable for subsistence farming because of its good soils, high water quality and good pasture quality (Mosimane 2003b: 24). Seventy percent of the interviewees were engaged in agriculture. However, the majority of interviewees in the community were engaged in more than one livelihood activity, coupling agriculture with fishery or livestock (see chapter 8.3.3). Crops and fish are sold on markets and the profit often will be spent immediately on further supplies. As the major stores and markets are located in Kasane on the Botswanan side of the Chobe River, there are costs for transport and exchange rates. In addition, during the trip to Kasane and back the border checkpoints have to be crossed twice⁵¹. The investment in livestock is intended to create security for bad times, e.g. in times of drought. Livestock provides different foods (milk, cheese, meat) for own use or sale when necessary (Mosimane 2003b: 28). Further livelihoods on the island are self-employment in little shops or driving a transport boat between Impalila and Botswana or Zambia⁵².

Before Impalila Conservancy was formally gazetted, community members raised concerns in particular with regard to the prevailing land uses, which might be restricted. Farmers and herders were worried about the loss of land caused by the zonation and an increase in HWCs (Mosimane 2003b: 30, 32, 48). However, the current zonation did not contain

⁵⁰ Status of spring 2017.

⁵¹ Own observations.

⁵² Own observations.

excessively large protected areas. Protected areas are the Kasay Channel and the small area it encloses and only cover a small part of the conservancy. The floodplains and the rocky area are largely open for agriculture and livestock herding. Although there are currently no further restriction in farming and herding, the situation has changed with the zonation of the land, because farmers and herders had to share the floodplains with wildlife species that not only compete with livestock for pasture, but also pose a risk for crops and livestock. The same applies to the settlement area, because wildlife movement cannot be controlled. Due to the fundamental protection status of most wildlife, farmers and herders have to tolerate damages caused by wildlife species, but efforts are made to compensate for these damages.

While the transfer of revenues from wildlife utilization to households is complicated, the costs of living with wildlife have increased steadily. The first step to limit the damage caused by wildlife is prevention. Usually, zonation is expected to prevent damages and losses by reducing contrary land uses, but in Impalila Conservancy the mixed use areas, e.g. in zone B, include most parts of the island and the conservancy contains wildlife movement corridors. According to the management, Impalila Conservancy together with the MET and IRDNC has introduced chilli bombs⁵³ to deter elephants from crops (interviews CM5 & IRDNC), but according to the respondents seem not to be used currently (interviews C1-11). Further, water fences were built in some areas to prevent crocodiles from entering water points for livestock (interview CM5).

Despite such measures, 6,331 HWC incidents were reported in Namibia in 2016. The average number of incidents per conservancy was 92 per year; 75 of them were attributed to livestock attacks and 13 to crop damage⁵⁴ (NACSO 2016b: 42). Therefore, the MET introduced the Self Reliance Scheme, which grants each conservancy N\$ 60,000 per year to pay for HWC losses. The conservancies were encouraged to raise their own funds to add another N\$ 60,000 (NACSO 2016b: 3). In Impalila Conservancy the number of HWC incidents is above average. Since 2006, the annual amount of incidents was always above 100, with a maximum of more than 170 in 2015. As the conservancy is usually not inhabited by large predators, such as lions, the main loss in livestock is caused by crocodiles with an estimated average of 30 attacks per year. Especially, hippos and elephants are responsible for most incidents by raiding crops and trampling fields (NACSO 2016a: 1). It remained unclear, if the NACSO data includes all reported incidents or only those potentially entitled to compensation. Also the number of incident counted in 2016 (less than 40) (NACSO 2017:

⁵³ The ignition of elephant dung added with chilli produces a smell "that offends elephants' sensitive trunks and drive them away from crops" (WWF 2017a: 1 & interviews IRDNC).

⁵⁴ Remaining incidents attributed to personal and property damage.

1) seems to be unlikely. This could be explained by the loss of data due to the change of management and retrenchments in the same year.

All interviewed farmers and herders had suffered losses of crop and livestock due to wildlife. The claims of only two farmers were confirmed, but only one of them received a compensation payment (see chapter 8.3.4). Such payments for compensation are strictly regulated. Losses have to be reported within 24 hours and have to be confirmed by a MET official or a conservancy game guard. If the loss was due to careless behaviour, such as watering livestock in areas known as dangerous, compensation is not paid (NACSO 2016b: 40). Many claims are rejected because a clear proof, e.g. a photo, is missing. Some informants wondered what to do, “if a crocodile catches [...] cattle and takes it into the river” (interview C4). Generally, the taking of evidence is difficult, as Impalila Conservancy has currently only two game guards, and representatives of the MET are not always present in the area. The guards are often out on patrols and it can take far more than 24 hours to reach the incident site, and even a weekend can lead to a forfeit in the right of compensation. Crop loss is often not compensated as the destroyed field size was too small to match the compensation payment.

It is noteworthy that the interviewed community member always used the term 'compensation', whereas NGOs and officials tried to avoid the term. Instead, they used the term 'offset', acknowledging that the intended payments cannot match a real compensation for injured parties⁵⁵. The offset for one lost cattle is N\$ 1,500, but all stakeholders agreed that this sum does not cover the costs of rearing the animal. The payment for one hectare lost crop amounts to N\$ 800. Even if such payments are quite insufficient, they did not exist before the establishment of the conservancy (interviews CM4 & CM5). Nonetheless, it is problematic that obviously the fear of the people not to be compensated is justified as HWCs appear to increase. This clearly shows that the compensation scheme does not yet work satisfactorily: reporting incidents is affected or even impeded by trivialities and the lack of capacity. The critical financial situation of Impalila Conservancy will further enhance the trend not to pay offsets, also because the conservancy is not able at present to contribute to the compensation fund due to insufficient income (interview C6). Without an own deposit in the fund, the N\$ 60,000 provided by the MET will be sufficient for perhaps a third of the average annual losses. Therefore, it is not surprising that the interviewees identified the compensation scheme as one of the main issues that need to be addressed in Impalila Conservancy (see chapter 8). Nonetheless, the conservancy management argues that more wildlife will result in more tourism, but it is difficult for the people to understand this,

⁵⁵ Noticed in all interviews.

as long as the bulk of negative effects affect only the community.

Altogether, for Impalila Conservancy it can be said that:

- (1) direct benefits for community livelihoods, e.g. cash distribution and support on a daily basis, are rare, but the most distinctly noticed direct benefit is the employment in the conservancy, which, however, is definitely overestimated in its present form.
- (2) Indirect benefits existed as long as the conservancy was able to generate sufficient income. But it might be possible that indirect benefits and investments of the committee are insufficiently communicated with the community.
- (3) Impalila Conservancy had drafted an ambitious budget for 2017, which again includes various donation and investments for the community, but if the conservancy will be able to generate the money needed remains to be seen.
- (4) The problems with the compensation scheme will grow further unless the conservancy becomes financially sustainable.

9.4 Stakeholder Relations

It should be clear that the various stakeholder groups, i.e. the conservancy management, the community and the tourism sector, have different and even contradictory views regarding the management of natural resources and related problems. That is largely due to the fact that these various stakeholders differ with respect to the access of resources, the decision-making power and authority. However, stakeholder groups are connected through an interdependent network, whose extent and patterns differ between and inside stakeholder groups (Chevalier 2001: 2f). Therefore, conservancy managements have to reconcile their plans with competing demands and obligations to ensure institutional, social and environmental sustainability (Sanginga et al. 2010: 24).

In case of Impalila Conservancy the major stakeholders are the conservancy management as institution, the community inside the conservancy's boundaries, the traditional authority and the tourism sector. The MET and NGOs can be considered as external stakeholders, because they assume a kind of supporting role and are not directly affected by the implementation of the conservancy. Generally, stakeholders try to improve their influence to enforce their own interests. Their influence varies not only in extent, but also in how it is achieved. In this regard, the following issues are relevant within conservancies: (1) cooperation between stakeholders, (2) incentives for the community, (3) awareness of decision-making and conservancy processes, and (4) capacity of people.

Cooperation between stakeholders can reinforce their influence and may broaden the scale of possible operations. Stakeholders, who are able to offer financial incentives can exert

more power compared to stakeholders, who are not able to do this. In addition, stakeholders may gain influence and advantages, if they are able to assess their own position and that of the other stakeholders, and if they are informed about processes and opportunities for participation within the conservancy. Another important factor is the capacity of people, simply because experts are generally more acknowledged and respected than non-experts (Breen 2013: 117f).

Seventy percent of all respondents welcomed the implementation of conservancies in Namibia and supported the concept. With regard to Impalila Conservancy the opinions of the respondents varied greatly. While the support from all interviewees for Impalila Conservancy reached almost 50% of the interviewees, the support from the community was only 27% (see chapter 8.4.1). This poor value can be explained by the problems of benefit distribution and negative impacts on community livelihood discussed above (see chapter 8.3.3). As the conservancy cannot offer incentives for the community at present, its influence is waning. The interviews seem to show that actual efforts of the conservancy are not well known, because the community is not sufficiently informed of utilization and distribution plans, and therefore is not able or is not willing to acknowledge the indirect benefits generated by the conservancy. Regarding community livelihoods, households make own decisions on utilization and management of resources on a daily basis, which co-exist with decisions made by the conservancy, which operates on a broader scale. This may lead to the separation of the primary user of natural resources from the decision-making process, if participation of the community is further decreasing (Long 2004: xxiv).

The financial situation of the conservancy compromises the capacity of its employees, which in turn further affects operations. Moreover, the lack of staff affects the processing of HWC reports, and the repeated dismissals of the management in the past appear to have lastingly damaged the relation between parts of the community and the management. However, generally one can say that the current management is seriously attempting to improve relations and to resume its contribution to the community unhindered (interview CM5).

Also, parts of the respondents of the tourism sector distrusted the conservancy management. While the management continuously emphasized the importance of the tourism sector for Impalila, a third of the lodge managers disapproved the previous as well as the present conservancy management (see chapter 8.4.1; interviews TS3). The ambivalent assessment of the conservancy management by the tourism sector can be explained by specific problems with some of the lodge managers. The three lodges on

Impalila Island were all established before the conservancy was founded⁵⁶ and maintained a healthy relationship with the community (Mosimane 2003b: 36). Today, the somewhat more negative rating⁵⁷ of the tourism sector by the community is probably due to the fact that most of the interviewees did not directly profit from the tourism sector. Employment was clearly identified as a benefit, and the tourism sector certainly is an important regional employer, but none of the interviewed community members was employed there at the time of the interviews. More than a third of these informants complained about the absence of daily support from lodge operators, perhaps, since the interviewees lived too far away from the lodges. Indeed, lodges currently provide electricity, transport facilities and other ad hoc contributions to neighbouring villages, which was also confirmed by the conservancy management and in several informal interviews.

In terms of the cooperation of stakeholders, Impalila Conservancy is in a transition period. Due to the new management, new negotiations take place. According to the manager, contract negotiations with a new professional hunter are in a final stage (interview CM5). The new agreement is supposed to include a hunting camp, whose foundation and business will create new employment. The professional resumption of trophy hunting should improve the relation with the community, as the hunter is expected to create income for the conservancy, to provide meat to the community and to manage problem animals (MET 2007: 4). A single hyena that residing on the island attacked repeatedly livestock during the present study. This animal was classified as problem animal by several employees of the conservancy and community members, but an official validation to shoot the hyena had not taken place yet (interview CM4). A professional hunter, who is constantly on site, could prevent such delays and reduce the loss of livestock. The calculated high revenues derived from trophy hunting specified in the budget draft of 2017 (Impalila Conservancy 2017: 3) show that the conservancy management expects a successful cooperation with the new hunter. It should be noted, however, that representatives of the tourism sector criticised trophy hunting, which they considered as detrimental to tourism. Lodge managers feared that especially elephant herds might avoid the area due to hunting activities (interviews TS1 & TS2).

Before Impalila Conservancy was gazetted, relations with the tourism sector were good and business partnerships were attuned to the conservancy setting with support of IRDNC (Mosimane 2003a: 40). With the devolution of rights, conservancies became responsible for making their own agreements with regard to resource use and tourism. Generally, tourism concessions contain the rights for the construction of a lodge and the right to offer

⁵⁶ One lodge had a change of ownership.

⁵⁷ 36% do not approve the tourism sector; 25% value its presence.

tourism activities (MET 2007: 3f). In Impalila Conservancy such activities include village walks, fishing, birding and game viewing (interviews CM1-5). In the past, the establishments of the lodges were permitted by the traditional authorities and the operators paid N\$20 per tourist to the Village Development Council (VDC), whose funds were managed by the khuta (Mosimane 2003b: 36). Later, regular payments to the khuta were retained, but the lodges were obliged to pay additional fees to the conservancy. A specific amount for payments was never determined; the conservancy has to negotiate agreements individually with each operator (interviews CM4, CM5 & TS1). At the time of the present research, only one lodge had an effective agreement. Another lodge is in negotiations with the management. The relationship to the third lodge operator is so eroded that negotiations can only take place with a mediator. Furthermore, both parties complained that there are problems to make and to keep appointments (interviews CM5 & TS1). Also this loss of trust probably resulted from the previous mismanagements and the associated continuous deterioration of relations. In this specific issue, the conservancy at present seeks more support from IRDNC to reach faster agreements with the tourism sector (interviews CM2-5). IRDNC currently tries to establish a combined fee covering all regular payments, which will enable the lodges to manage their payments more easily (interviews IRDNC).

It appears that the traditional authorities are the central stakeholders as they are closely linked to all other stakeholders. They hold substantial rights especially concerning the allocation of land and they enjoy high respect in the whole Zambezi region. Therefore, they represent a strong foundation for the conservancy. Although conservancies have responsibility over the land, the traditional authorities have the legal rights to deal with land issues. The Communal Land Act of 2002 aimed to reduce the influence of the traditional authorities over land allocation by trying to offer a better coordination of land use planning between stakeholders. Therefore, Communal Land Boards were established, which consists not only of representatives from traditional authorities, but also from the conservancies and the government. However, the actual influence of the conservancy in this board is unclear, while the traditional authorities have been able to maintain influence (Long & Jones 2004a: 157).

Also, the traditional authorities in Impalila Conservancy are well connected. The sub khuta of Impalila is represented in the conservancy with an *induna*. In the budget draft of 2017, the conservancy included a donation of N\$ 1000 to the sub khuta and a further donation of N\$ 20,000 has been planned for the main khuta in Bukalo (Impalila Conservancy 2017: 4). Furthermore, the khuta receives regular payments from the tourism sector (see chapter 8.4.3). Such payments were taken for granted by most of the interviewed community members and are appreciated in the community (interviews C1-11). Like the community,

also members of the khuta receive support by the conservancy and the tourism sector with regard to transport arrangements and various materials. The conservancy management and the tourism sector apparently respect the position of the traditional authorities and are trying to maintain the positive relationships with them. The khuta is also well respected in the community and together with the AGM it is the only other identified information source for the community to learn about conservancy efforts.

Also, wildlife could be defined as a stakeholder. “Needs” of wildlife are represented through policies and people, who plan to protect them and whose efforts are increasingly supported by international animal rights organisations. These organisations may have a serious effect on conservation efforts, e.g. if they are calling for hunting bans. In 2015, a lion was shot in Zimbabwe, which has gained a certain degree of prominence as it was illegally lured out of a protected area. The international outcry, especially in social media, resulted in a transport ban on trophies⁵⁸ by international airlines (interviews IRDNC). However, organisations such as the WWF support trophy hunting as long as it does not harm habitat sustainability (WWF 2017c: 1). All in all, numbers of exported trophies of elephants, lions and leopards have drastically declined (IFAW 2016: 27). In Namibia, the government has repelled the calls for a hunting ban so far (The Namibian 2016).

To sum up:

- (1) Stakeholder relations in Impalila are crucial. Mismanagement in the past has disturbed the relationship of the community and the tourism sector to the conservancy management obstructing current negotiations.
- (2) The poor relation to the tourism sector damages the income potential of Impalila Conservancy.
- (3) Tourism sector and conservancy management try to maintain good relations to the traditional authorities, as the khuta presents a link to the community. Especially referring to awareness, the khuta constitutes an important information source for the community.
- (4) The approval of the community is quite low, again largely due to the former mismanagements and the shortcomings of the compensation scheme.
- (5) The present situation gives rise to fear that the conservancy might be de-gazetted.
- (6) Impalila Conservancy and all other conservancies in Namibia have to deal with international pressure concerning trophy hunting. IRDNC stated that the focus will lay on joint-venture tourism agreements, but emphasized that a sudden hunting ban would destabilize the majority of conservancies (interviews IRDNC).

⁵⁸ Only concerns Africa's Big Five: elephant, rhino, buffalo, lion and leopard.

10. Conclusion

Using the example of Impalila Conservancy the above survey has shown the problems a Namibian conservancy is facing and how these problems are currently assessed by the different groups of stakeholders. The fact that there exist so many conservancies in Namibia, which are already relatively successful (at least some of them) (NACSO 2016b: 20) proves that the concept behind them can be viable and holds a big potential for the future to improve community livelihood and to conserve the environment. The concept is based on several central ideas: the promotion of institutional development and governance, the proper conservation and protection of natural resources, the improvement of livelihoods through incentive-based conservation and diversification, and the focus on reciprocal relationship between stakeholders

However, the full implementation of this concept appears to be vulnerable to economical shortcomings, the decline of community awareness and participation, the lack of capacity in the conservancy management and the erosion of stakeholder relations. Furthermore, population density and geographical circumstances can have a major effect on conservancy regarding wildlife numbers and economical potential. Nevertheless, conservancies contribute considerably to the national economy. In 2016, CBNRM in Namibia contributed N\$ 692 million to the net national income (NNI) with an estimated total of N\$ 5.98 billion contribution since 1990. Further, returns have far exceeded investments by donors, government and NGOs since 2003 (NACSO 2016b: 63, 65). Another positive aspect due to the work of conservancies is the increase of wildlife populations (see chapter 9.2).

Despite this overall positive trend, the implementation of conservancies as preferred development model can be criticized. The benefit transfer to communities remains an issue, and development is only accomplished in few parts of the conservancy, e.g. in vicinity of lodges, where villages have access to electricity and can therefore waive wood for fire making. Employment in the lodges and in the conservancy is a major cash infusion to rural communities, but also this benefit only reaches a fraction of the rural population and has therefore only a limited effect on the development of the whole area (Harring & Odendaal 2012:14).

Probably Impalila Conservancy is not a typical Namibian conservancy (provided a typical conservancy exists at all). Each conservancy has its own specific problems that affect sustainability. Impalila Conservancy still suffers from previous mismanagements that are major reasons, why parts of the community are still disappointed, feel misinformed or not informed. Moreover, the fact that an approved benefit distribution plan does not exist at least since 2014 hardly allows the people to identify any direct benefits from the conservancy.

Direct benefits remain limited to a small pool of people of employees, even if the conservancy would generate enough income. The conservancy currently appears to focus on indirect benefits that favour the community as a whole, but at present this is perceived only insufficiently. Awareness and participation, in part supported by the AGM and the khuta, need to be improved, in order to prevent that actual decisions are made only by the management and the conservancy committee. Livelihoods such as agriculture and livestock are mainly disturbed by HWCs, but not by actual conservancy efforts, except of the zonation of Impalila Island.

The new management need to reach soon reasonable agreements with the tourism sector soon to generate income again to fulfil the ambitious plans. The only way to ensure a sustainable Impalila Conservancy is a responsible management and a good and transparent communication of plans, decision processes and benefit distributions between the stakeholders.

Regarding wildlife, Impalila Conservancy seems to perform stable due to a reduced poaching, and fish bans. The large mixed usage zones in Impalila Conservancy favour HWC, but also ensure the availability of land for both livelihood activities and wildlife. Nonetheless, the favourable location of Impalila Conservancy and the above mention KAZA project (see chapter 9.2) may increase HWCs in the future. Therefore, a restructuring of the compensation scheme might be necessary, as it is not sufficiently funded. Otherwise, the balance between conservation and improvement of livelihoods is no longer guaranteed.

Regarding the potential of Impalila Conservancy, a capable management should be able to reach a profitable income-costs ratio to achieve more sustainability for livelihood and environment. To achieve this, the management has to tackle three interdependent topics:

- (1) The improvement of management capacities and capabilities to generate income.
- (2) The improvement of community participation and awareness of conservancy efforts.
- (3) The improvement of stakeholder relations.

Especially crucial is the improvement of the poor stakeholder relations. The slow and to some extent stagnant negotiations with the tourism sector have already limit the income of the conservancy. It is understandable that relationships have suffered from the past, but now these relations should be improved as soon as possible perhaps with a stronger engagement of the khuta.

Impalila Conservancy does not have IKSs at its disposal to generate income for rural livelihoods. But it has respected traditional authorities, who exercise customary law, were strongly involved in the establishment of the conservancy and are still engaged in conservancy efforts. While there is a lack of discourse and information between the conservancy and the other stakeholders, the traditional authority maintains good relations

to all stakeholders. Also the khuta appears to be concerned with NRM and livelihood improvement by promoting awareness and sustainable utilization of resources, and all stakeholders could benefit from their role as intermediaries.

In brief, certainly Impalila Conservancy has no negative impact on the livelihoods of the local community, but a positive impact on the sustainability of community livelihood barely exists. However, wildlife has increased since the establishment of the conservancy. Today, Impalila Conservancy has to improve stakeholder relations and increase awareness to achieve a representative participation of all groups of stakeholders in decision-making. Again, most problems referring to institutional development and stakeholder relations are due to the previous mismanagement. Therefore, a sustainable institutional development is important to ensure returns from resource utilization and to improve capacity to execute further plans. Primarily, the conservancy management requires fast and substantial revenues from trophy hunting and the tourism sector to tackle all these issues.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Core-Questionnaire

What is your name?

How old are you?

What is your occupation/livelihood?

How do you understand sustainability?

What are the most important issues that need to be addressed in Impalila Conservancy?

Institutional Development and Governance:

Are you a registered member of Impalila Conservancy? (Yes/No)

What problems do you see in Impalila Conservancy?

How does Impalila Conservancy generate income?

How does Impalila Conservancy spend/invest money?

Who pays for the HWC compensations?

What steps are necessary to receive compensations?

What natural resources are conserved/protected by Impalila Conservancy?

Where do you get informations about conservancy matters?

What issues need to be addressed in Impalila Conservancy to ensure a sustainable future?

Natural Resource Management and Conservation:

Does Impalila Conservancy generate benefits for the environment? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

What benefits?

Have you ever experienced a case of poaching? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

Have you ever experienced a case of illegal fishing? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

Who is responsible for poaching and illegal fishing?

Is the fish population healthy at present?

Are the efforts of Impalila Conservancy sustainable for the environment? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

Why?

Economic Conservation Approach and Livelihood Diversification:

Does Impalila Conservancy generate benefits for the community? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

What benefits?

Does Impalila Conservancy offer opportunities for the youth? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

How?

Are the efforts of Impalila Conservancy sustainable for the community? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

Why?

Stakeholder Relation:

Do you agree with the implementation of the conservancy concept in Namibia?
(Yes/No/Uncertain)

Why?

How do you feel about the work of Impalila Conservancy? (Positive/Negative/Uncertain)

Why?

How do you feel about the tourism sector? (Positive/Negative/Uncertain)

Why?

How do feel about the trophy hunting? (Positive/Negative/Uncertain)

Why?

Appendix II: Further Questions

Conservancy Staff:

What problems do you see regarding work circumstances in Impalila Conservancy?

How much is the salary for a employee in Impalila Conservancy?

Did you receive any trainings regarding your job as fish guard/ game guard/ tour guide?

Where do you see your individual contribution for a more sustainable environment?

How many community member are employed by Impalila Conservancy?

Do you have an agreement with the lodges?

About what?

Do you have an agreement with the khuta?

About what?

Do you see a balance between nature conservation and improvement of livelihood in Impalila Conservancy?

Tourism Sector:

When was the lodge established?

How many community member are employed by the tourism sector?

How is the average occupancy?

What activities do you offer the tourists?

Do you have an agreement with the lodges?

About what?

Do you have an agreement with the khuta?

About what?

How do you individually contribute to the community?

Do you see a balance between nature conservation and improvement of livelihood in Impalila Conservancy?

Fishermen:

How often are you going out to fish?

What is your preferred method to fish?

Do you have a fishing licence? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

Are there restrictions for fishery in Impalila Conservancy?

Farmer:

How large is your field?

What crops do you grow?

Are there any restrictions for agriculture in Impalila Conservancy?

Did you ever experienced crop loss due to wildlife? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

How/ Because of what animal?

Did you get a compensation? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

Why?

Herder:

How much livestock do you own?

Are there any restrictions for livestock in Impalila Conservancy?

Did you ever experienced livestock loss due to wildlife? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

How/ Because of what animal?

Did you get a compensation? (Yes/No/Uncertain) Why?

Appendix III: List of interviewees and interviews

		semi-structured	unstructured
Conservancy Management			
	CM1	X	X
	CM2	X	X
	CM3	X	X
	CM4	X	X
	CM5	X	X
Tourism Sector			
	TS1	X	X
	TS2	X	X
	TS3	X	X
	TS4	X	X
Community			
	C1	X	X
	C2	X	X
	C3	X	X
	C4	X	
	C5	X	
	C6	X	
	C7	X	X
	C8	X	
	C9	X	X
	C10	X	X
	C11	X	X
NGOs			
	IRDNC	X	
	IRDNC	X	X

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