



Workshop on Community Based Natural Resource Management Past, Present and Future(s), Windhoek (Namibia), 3-6 April 2022

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Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) was launched in the late 1980s/early 1990s as an innovative project claiming to combine reducing poverty with nature and biodiversity conservation. Participatory forms of management by local communities and commercialising nature in collaboration with private parties marked the development approach. Piloted in Zimbabwe and Namibia with donor, government and NGO support, the approach became widely adopted in southern African. With an increase in partners (NGOs, companies), the concept of CBNRM diversified to also include eco-tourism and trophy hunting as additional sources of income and employment. The advancement and the successes of CBNRM led to a firm embedding in the activities of a range of global (WWF, donors) and local institutions (governments, local authorities). CBNRM gradually became a model for an approach of rural development in turn attracting the interest of many concerned senior and junior scholars and practitioners from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds.

CBNRM triggered appreciation among its supporters who point out that incomes have raised, and wildlife numbers have increased. CBNRM also turned out to offer space for democratic experiments in decision making at community level. However, there are also critical voices about illegal hunting, elite capture, the role of traditional authorities, jobs, and incomes not well distributed and the bene-fits of eco-tourism and trophy hunting are questioned. Similarly, the influential role of international and national support organisations in shaping the conservation and development agenda received substantial criticism. Moreover, since its piloting in the early 90s new processes and challenges have emerged that will shape the contribution of CBNRM to conservation and therefore its future. Aspects of population growth, climate change, increase in illegal hunting and a general quest to step up control jeopardize in one or the other way the future of CBNRM. Moreover, fencing and the struggle for land and territory between conservancies and livestock farmers is intensifying impeding in turn conservation efforts. Tensions between NGOs and governments about conservation and development are arising frequently.

There are signs that CBNRM is in a critical stage of its existence and therefore we are going to discuss the following four themes:

- (1) Mechanisms of redistribution of benefits and revenue
- (2) Power, institutions and community
- (3) The struggle for claims, rights and resources
- (4) Climate change, ecology and environmental implications.

In total we will have 20 talks related to the four themes with case studies from almost all countries in Southern Africa. Additionally to the talks we will have four world cafés with the following topics:

- Can Community based conservation tackle challenges in rural Africa?
- Can past and present environmental injustices be addressed by community-based conservation?
- Beyond commodification: Exploring venues for convivial livelihoods beyond the market
- Can CBNRM address problems of environmental change?



The making of CBNRM institutions

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Our paper draws on published material and our own experiences in Namibia and Southern Africa more generally to reflect on the theorem of *institutions* for situations of common property. The core belief behind CBNRM is the assumption that institutions can be *designed* when a series of design principles are applied. This believe derives from the work of Ostrom. Applying these design principles has many followers in the CBNRM-movement across the globe, both among academia and practitioners. The Conservancy establishment in Namibia, for example, has relied on certain criteria throughout the years. These include among others boundary setting geographically, what is a community, and the design of Multiple Zonation Plans are key criteria for conservancies to be gazetted and in the end registered. While these are well known issues and criteria, they require a critical reflection to keep in step with changing times which in turn is the basis for rethinking such criteria for furthering conservancy goals in the region.

This paper summarizes with reference to empirical material collected and analysed by us the value of the notion 'commoning'. Critical scholars insist that the underlying problem is not lack of institutions but the mode of commons enclosures: they propose to focus on the social practices engaged in re-claiming and sustaining the collective reproduction of commons, i.e. commoning. This broadens the theory of commons by thinking about commoning as a form of relational politics. This correlates with what LATOUR (2005) understands as 'micro-politics' or more classical sociology of development approaches with 'local forms of organisation' (LONG 2001).

We also tap from the vast literature the critical issues flowing from boundary setting, community demarcation and the designing of zonation plans. When conservancies are established, they are provided with a certain set of tools that helps conservancies to monitor their activities. Event Books designed by WWF are good examples. These criteria and rules are from a sociological and anthropological perspective highly problematic, because they turn out to be controversial in and during implemention. Moreover, a certain degree of normativity unfolds and is applied reflecting the influence and power of 'external' agencies. Their influence on conservancies is good example to underpin our argument that the boundaries of a conservancy is not limited to the boundary fixed in the gazetting but extends into offices of global institutions were a global discourse of conservation and development is actively cultivated. These discourses do not necessarily resonate with what is emerging in conservancies in the global South.

Such a critical reflection builds on the creation of environmental subjects (AGRAWAL 2005) which is derived from Foucault's work on governance. While the discipling aspect of conservancy formation has been emphasised ((LUBILO and HEBINCK 2019; SCHNEGG and KIAKA 2019), we would like to go a step further. There is enough evidence of members of conservancies or commons counteracting these global discourses by finding ways to navigate these. Or as BUTLER (2015) calls this: performing conservancy. VELICU and GARCÍA-LÓPEZ (2018) label this as 'commoning'. Poaching is one example; excluding fellow commoners from making use of a government constructed water point through fencing (KASHULULU and HEBINCK 2020) is another example. These are contrasting examples of how members of the commons manage? their commons: as subjects constituted in action which reflect a set of relations between and amongst those that are engaged in conservancy activities. This show as VELICU and GARCÍA-LÓPEZ (2018) argue that sustaining the commons is not merely a technical management of resources (in space) but a struggle to perform common liveable relations.

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Worldwide, the promise of benefits, realistic or otherwise, has been one of the fundamental forces that have aligned actors in the pursuit of different types of community-based natural resources management CBNRM, particularly in contexts characterized by margialisation and poverty such as southern Africa. Benefits in CBNRM take many forms including meat, firewood, medicinal plants, tourism jobs, opportunities for selling crafts, infrastructure development and bursaries among others. However, the concept of benefits is characterised by ambiguity which makes it difficult to appraise and compare the success of CBNRM. Further, the benefits are almost seldom quantified, but remain vague promises. Ambiguity might result in misconceptions and misinterpretations of benefits in CBNRM arrangements which can result in conflicts. This paper attempts to address this concept through a synthesis of benefits in CB-NRM arrangements in southern Africa. We interrogate how benefits are conceptualised in various CBNRM arrangements and how this conceptualisation yields for community conservation science, policy and practice. We argue that conceptual clarity on benefits is needed to allow transparency on what benefits local actors might gain from CBNRM. Without this, the concept of benefits might be fraught with misunderstanding and misguided expectations, which might be a disservice to conservation success.







Repositioning CBNRM within a Whole-System Framework: Mukungule Community Conservancy, linking Local Learning, CBNRM and Business Literacy

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The Mukungule Community Conservancy (MCC) is reimagining CBNRM by repositioning it within a whole-system context. We reconceive CBNRM so that it is secondarily a specialized field of activity, and primarily one function linked with others in service to community economic, social and ecological well-being. This approach supports collaboration and cross-training among different community activities, enables a new integration of CBNRM activities with business-enterprise development, and has resulted in high levels of community involvement, ownership and energy. Key to our approach are methodologies that make every individual responsible for improving the whole system from whatever role they occupy. We are bridging the distinction between non-profit and for-profit by integrating community-based research and education, natural resource management, and business and financial management in joint service to a community vision. In this presentation we introduce key principles and methodological tools including: 1. Whole-system, high-involvement planning methodology (Future Search based). 2."Insaka University" structure of nine semi-independent research, learning and enterprise units. 3. Worker-owned cooperatives model that aligns all shareholder-members in support of each other's and organization-level development. 4. Open Book Management: training all members in financial and NRM literacy so everyone tracks revenues, expenses and environmental monitoring, and takes personal responsibility for their share in financial and natural resource management; 5. Governance through mutual coordination. We believe successful CBNRM requires integrating business and finance with the creation of social and environmental value (whole system accounting), and that every individual needs to understand and take responsibility for improving the whole system.



A controversy on socio-economic livelihoods and a treat to sustainable conservation in Noth-Western Botswana

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There is extensive deterioration of the global biodiversity, as a result, conservation is a pressing issue across the world. In Africa, Botswana is not immune to unequitable economic distribution, mainstream land tenure systems and assimilative cultures which have systematically promoted marginalisation and exclusion of indigenous peoples and local communities' (IPLCs). As such, conservation efforts have been modelled to account and address socio-economic disparities for such rural poor.

In Botswana, like the case with many other African states, for example, there was ultimate government control of wildlife and other biological resources for conservation. This centralisation of biological resources brew a wave of illegal off take of elephant, rhino for ivory and other valuable species for trophy or bush meat that rolled down through Africa in the 1970s and early 1990s. These intensified efforts of law enforcement by conventional conservation agencies that were failing. It was recognised that the alienation of access by rural communities provided no incentive for community participation in law enforcement.

Community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) approach, was an attempt to re-create a set of socio-economic incentives that would motivate IPLCs living with wildlife to participate in preventing illegal off-take. It was also motivated by the peculiarity to redress the problems of rural poverty and inequitable access to wildlife resources. This had extensive implications for conservation efforts, which at most created pressure among rural communities to associate with wildlife resources as an allegiance of their heritage and an alternative for monetary local economy, and competing on wildlife resources and a diminishing turn to agricultural practices that in between have heightened the occurrence of human-wildlife conflicts for those who could not directly benefit from wildlife resources. Sustainable utilisation of biodiversity became necessary conservation effort incentivising communities to adopt sustainable utilisation practices.

This chapter is set to establish CBNRM framework dilemma in Botswana among IPLCs in the CB-NRM value chain and those outside the value chain but adversely affected by wildlife conservation efforts. The country has a history of well thought CBNRM program. However, some success recorded using this approach, in recent times, has shown some dissatisfaction on how CBNRM framework in the country is set up and, how it works in practice. Consequently, this dissatisfaction has led to non-benefiting IPLCs resorting to resentment towards conservation efforts as a disguise to their communal livelihoods. This has been justified by ever growing human wildlife conflicts and inadequate compensation from wildlife- human encounters.





Developing Community Conservancies and ICCAs in Zambia: A Whole-System Methodology

Hammer Simwinga (Foundation for Widlife and Habitat Conservation, Zambia)

FWHC has worked for decades with rural communities the North Luangwa ecosystem to support ecological conservation & livelihood development. Since 2011, FWHC has been developing an innovative community conservancy, the Mukungule Community Conservancy, using a whole-system, multi-stakeholder approach that incentivizes broader levels of engagement in CBNRM activities and links them to locally-owned, sustainable enterprise development. The community conservancy has been designed to engage all participants in focusing at the same time on economic success, ecosystem health, social cohesion, preservation of traditional culture, and joining scientific and indigenous knowledge. Our pioneering partnership with Zambia Forestry College is developing a unique field- and project-based curriculum for students that joins local indigenous with scientific expertise. Using the MCC as a training base and model, FWHC intends to support the development of community conservancies & ICCA networks throughout Muchinga province and in northern Zambia. To serve this purpose, FWHC and local communities are using MCC as a training and development center for community conservation and enterprise development. Our aim is to support indigenous communities in becoming financially self-sufficient stewards of their environments, traditional cultures and future development. This presentation focus on our whole-system methodology for community-conservancy development and how it compares to the framework promoted by the global ICCA Consortium.







The politics of CBNRM in Zambia

Rodgers Lubilo (Wageningen University, Netherlands)

The politics of CBRNM in Zambia is an attempt to unpack the various political processes, phases that have been followed over the many decades. The paper will provide a detailed historical background of, why and how CBNRM has been implemented in Zambia, the existing legal and policy framework, and highlight why despite increased local and international support CBNRM still continue to struggle. Community based natural resources management (CBNRM) is an approach to devolve management of natural resources especially wildlife in Zambia. This approach has been implemented through various models in as early as 1980s through initiatives such as Administrative Management Designs for Game Management Areas (ADMADE) and Luangwa Integrated Resources Development programme (LIRDP). CBNRM is designed to encourage, support, empower and generate multiple benefits to the local communities and people who live around with wildlife and other natural resources. CBNRM has been expanded to include other natural resources such as forestry, land, mining and fisheries, but its implementation still remains a centralised and elite controlled. Zambia's community based conservation continue to struggle due to inadequate policies and regulations to support fair and equitable revenue distribution. I would focus on what is happening now in Zambia and whether, and how, the policies are responding to the critiques of the politics of CBNRM in Zambia. The paper concludes with the currents efforts to develop an integrated policy that will support the implementation of community based natural resources management in the country.



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Navigating through the storm: Conservancies as local institutions for regional resilience in Zambezi, Namibia

Linus Kalvelage (University of Cologne, Germany)

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The economic shockwaves caused by the Covid-19 pandemic immediately affected tourism as a consequence of imposed travel bans. Attempting to prevent the spread of the disease, the closure of borders has left firms and regions decoupled from global networks. This disruption caused profound repercussions on regional and local economies, especially in rural areas with vulnerable social-economic structures and a high dependency on tourism. The tourism sector was severely affected by the travel bans imposed, as were regions characterised by tourism development, such as Zambezi in northern Namibia. The economy of the Zambezi region in northern Namibia is marked by high unemployment rates, poverty, and a high dependence on subsistence farming and agriculture for food security (HULKE and REVILLA DIEZ, 2022). Tourism is one of the few more globalised sectors in the region and the national government uses the policy of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) as a vehicle to achieve economic growth (KALVELAGE ET AL., 2020). Because of the reliance on tourism, the COVID-19 pandemic has left the conservancies as local institutions implementing CBNRM within 'a perfect storm' (LENDELVO ET AL., 2020). This article explores, firstly, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the tourism industry and CBNRM policy through its changing value distribution patterns and, secondly, tourism-agriculture linkages in the Zambezi region in north-eastern Namibia. Combining insights gained from the research on tourism global production networks (GPN) with a perspective on regional resilience, we examine the role of local, place-specific governance institutions to achieve regional resilience through value capture and distribution in the Zambezi region. With the support of the national government, conservancies, as local institutions, maintained the distribution of value from tourism throughout the pandemic and strengthened agriculture-tourism linkages to achieve long-term transformation. These findings suggest that local institutions are able to create regional resilience through their capacity to induce adaptation and adaptability.





Rebuilding community capitals: Does it take a Village

Brian Child, Leandra Metz, Tierney Shimansky, Aaron King (University of Florida, USA)

This review of empirical and theoretical work with CBNRM in southern Africa since the late 1980s suggests that participatory community-based CBNRM substantially outperforms representational committee-based CBNRM in terms of fiscal efficiency, equitable benefit sharing, and even social capital formation. We conceptualise these differences using the literature on democracy and organizational development.

The importance of deliberative face-to-face democracy, notably, is rarely incorporated into the vast majority of community projects by NGOs and development agencies, although Ostrom emphasised their importance for resolving common property dilemmas while never specifically mentioned the word democracy. Even academic scholarships seems to be skimming over instrumental relationship between scale, democratic structures and processes, and CBNRM performance.

We raise two related conceptual and empirical questions.

First, what is the relationship between community governance, social capital and CBNRM performance, and is social capital an input or output of effective CBNRM? How should we measure CBNRM performance and, in this context, how should we also measure social capital?

Second, we will assess the revenue distribution process and the scale of collective action (or intervention) as a key implementation mechanism for operationalizing the processes for re-building social, associational and natural capital.

The answers to these question lead to important recommendations for future research, with an emphasis on the theory and process of rebuilding social and associational capital, following the de-institutionalization of Africa's communal lands through slavery, colonial, and even conservation policy. We also recommend that issues of democratic theory, structure and process need to be integrated into CBNRM capacity-building processes.



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Different formulations for pursuing the coupled conservation and livelihoods goals has evolved over the years in the attempt to accommodate the shift towards people-centred approaches that gained impetus in the 1980s. Conservation organisations started to promote management of protected areas by means of sharing social and economic benefits with local constituents, mainly through Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM). Its implementation face challenges, success stories are seldom, especially in African countries where natural resource governance is complex and inequalities push to their extreme. In Southern Africa, 43% of the total land area correspond to protected area of different forms, parks, reserves, game management areas and a considerable number of transboundary conservation areas (TFCAs), most of them overlapping with poor rural settlements of which 40% are located in deserts and semi-arid areas. Competing for scarce resources such as water, struggling to produce food to overcome food insecurity while dealing with Human-Wildlife Conflict (HWC) and limited access to natural resource or unclear mechanisms of sharing the benefits, to diversify livelihoods are some of the issues shaping the complex and dilemmatic situation of most of the protected areas in Southern Africa. By searching for a framework that addresses the dilemma and embraces the complexity of reconcile both people's wellbeing and conservation goals, this paper discusses the experiences of implementing the ProSuLi project. ProSuLi explores the concept of the "Commons" as an alternative to the conventional public or private governance systems of natural resources management by widening the community of decision makers through an inclusive approach. It adopted the "commoning" process by promoting dialogue between multiple and potentially conflicting views, by diagnosing existing conflicts and collectively investigating management options and co-designing innovative institutional organizations. The paper analysis the trajectory, approaches used, the challenges and potential offered by the process for connecting local efforts into a self-organized network in order to facilitate the emergence of, and strengthen, local communities of practice. We postulate that such process of collectively investigating, promoting and monitoring a common goal among stakeholders, beyond each individual group's constraints or interests, can set the path for developing or strengthening the engagement of all relevant stakeholders into inhabited-protected areas governance.





Surviving Crises: Community Conservation in Namibia as a resilient idea

Richard Dimba Kiaka

(Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology, Kenya)

Community conservation programme, a leading form of CBNRM in Namibia, has been beset with a number of crises over the last two and half decades. Amongst the challenges are: unequal distribution of benefits from financial incomes; economic costs to pastoral communities arising from damages from wildlife; conflicts over leadership and conservancy governance; and lately loss of incomes due to COVID-19 pandemic. These and other setbacks have largely downplayed the value of ecological gains of the programme, contributing to dissipation of community participation. Despite the setbacks and significant reduction in community involvement, communal conservancy programme in the country continues in both discourse and practice. How can this resilience be explained?

I suggest in this paper that we can explain the resilience by considering the role of some key actors who repackage the purpose and relevance of the programme thereby eluding and maneuvering prevailing crises. I look at two categories of these actors in the Namibian communal conservancy programmme. First, are local traditional authorities who have re-assembled the purpose and relevance of the conservancy to address local political interests including securing communal land and using the secured territorial control over land to demonstrate their legitimacy to the central government and neigbouring communities. Second, are the national and global players in neoliberal conservancy industry including conservation NGOs, the Namibian government and trophy hunting and tour operators. This network of global actors owes part of its survival to the conservation of biodiversity that the conservancy programme supports. Through creation of success stories and the use of statistics of representation, their systemic defense of the programme reduces the inherent dissatisfaction to exaggerated cries from little pains.

I conclude that, in both scenarios, the resilience of communal conservancy programme has been largely a factor of power dynamics that change its purpose and relevance more to a political than an economic tool for enhancing subsistence of local communities.





Rethinking Community Based Natural Resource Management in Western Botswana

Robert K. Hitchcock (University of New Mexico, USA)

That CBNRM, in the context of climate change, worsens food availability in the countryside is a matter long agreed. To the people whose agriculture is weakened by drought, CBNRM initiatives proscribe foraging and hunting in forests, worsening hunger among frontier communities. What, however, has not been documented is what communities do to survive under these exclusionary regimes. What we want to do in this paper, is to revisit this question in light of recent research. We argue that frontier communities continue what might be termed poaching, targeting small game that come their way. The game is consumed and, in some cases, traded or battered for food. Importantly, however, we show how frontier communities turn, through strategies defined by gender and age, to insects, frogs and other creatures insignificant to proscribing authorities to support their lives. Going forward we recommend that CBNRM formally broadens food access to frontier communities so that they dont have to depend on these desperate strategies to survive climate change induced food insecurity.

Our data is drawn from the Zambezi Valley where we have been using an innovative methodology based on food calendars to assess what Tonga people consume in moments of prohibition exemplified by CAMPFIRE.





Learning with nonviolent communication to unpack human-wildlife governance systems to promote human-wildlife coexistence

Ruth Kansky (Stellenbosch University, South Africa)

One of the key challenges in mixed-use landscapes is how to manage human-wildlife coexistence - where humans tolerate potential negative costs from sharing the landscape with wildlife and where wildlife populations are sustainably managed. Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) is a widely used collaborative governance approach in southern Africa that aims to offset the costs of sharing the landscape with wildlife and promote coexistence by providing benefits from sustainable use of natural resources. Namibia's' CBNRM program is considered successful by many due to increases in wildlife numbers since independence and for producing substantial economic benefits for communities. However, HWC remains a key challenge. Viewing human-wildlife relationships as occurring within complex social-ecological systems and to further increase the toolkit to promote humanwildlife coexistence we developed a novel participatory learning process, which we implemented in communal conservancies in the Zambezi region of Namibia. The design of our program was informed by three elements, namely systems thinking, learning based approaches and nonviolent communication. The systems thinking perspective was applied to unpack the governance system to better understand challenges and how HWC is managed. The collaborative learning and dialogue process allowed community members to learn from each other and collaboratively unpack the governance system. Nonviolent communication or compassionate communication is a practical tool for respectful and empathic understanding between stakeholders and brings trust to learning processes. The program consisted of 11 weeks of ¹/₂ day workshops once a week, and took place between April – August 2019. Four groups of 15-20 participants from four different conservancies in the Mudumu Complex in the Zambezi region took part in the program. We transcribed the workshop dialogues verbatim and used deductive, qualitative content analysis to construct a coding tree with nine categories. We found 109 records where participants expressed appreciation for the workshops, 148 records expressing knowledge and learning, 120 records of questions asked of invited guests from conservancy management, 83 records of positive things that were working in the conservancy, 109 records of problems or things that were not working well, 44 records of attitude change, 79 records of behaviour change, 38 solutions and 25 records of social learning. In this paper we describe the program in detail and reflect on the program and its outcomes. We concluded that the program was generally successful and could be a useful tool to improve collaboration, understanding and tolerance between people and towards wildlife to promote human-wildlife coexistence.

Right-Based Fisheries Co-management as a Solution to Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in Africa

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African small-scale fisheries are structurally and operationally dispersed in villages and settlements along shores of both inland and marine fishing resources. Secondly, 'open access' has been a historical and developmental principal and management approach for small-scale fisheries on the continent. As a result, implementation of co-management, which proposes limitation of access and fishing effort has generally been met with resistance from fishers. This has led to failure to achieve the key expected outcome of co-management, which is sustainable levels and patterns of small-scale fisheries in Marine fisheries in Africa.

I argue that the institutionalisation of Rights-Based Management (RBM) in small-scale fisheries could hold the best hope for moving towards sustainable fisheries under the co-management approach in Africa. The organisation for Rights-Based Management could be linked to land based demarcation of traditional authority areas. Within their areas chiefs, through co-management committees in their areas, could have powers to control access and enforce technical (input) effort and output controls using their landing beaches. In countries such as Malawi where administrative decentralisation is being implemented, Districts have the powers to develop and institute by-laws that can be using to formulate and implement context specific regulatory frameworks such as Rights-Based Management and the rules thereof. For Rights-Based Management to work, legislation would also have to be promulgated that would require small-scale fishers to land and launch from specific beaches where the effort technical specifications (inputs) and the amount of catch (outputs) can be controlled and enforced, rather than the current systems that does not require fishers to operate from specific beaches. Without a system based on universal (i.e. that which has consensual buy-in by all fishers) control of the type and level of fishing effort, and output, sustainable fisheries management will never be achieved even under co-management. The saving grace is that most fishers realise and acknowledge that the current system of unlimited effort and unlimited output cannot continue much longer without permanently jeopardising the sustainability of small-scale fisheries. We must acknowledge that implementation of the RBM approach will not be easy given the historical laissez-faire approach to management of small-scale fisheries. (But) we have start somewhere and RBM co-management probably holds the best promise for finding a solution to this wicked problem.



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Since Namibia's Independence in 1990, several pieces of legislation have been introduced to support the land and natural resources rights of people living on communal land. These include the passing of the Nature Conservation Amendment Act 5 of 1996, the Traditional Authorities Act 25 of 2000, the Forest Act 12 of 2001 and the Communal Land Reform Act 5 of 2002.

In this paper I start with a brief overview of the abovementioned applicable law in relation to the protection of indigenous peoples' land and natural resources rights on communal land. I also revisit the debate on who is indigenous and who is not in the Namibian context and its importance in asserting indigenous peoples' rights over land and natural resources at an international law level. I then reflect on 4 Namibian case studies relating to indigenous peoples' efforts to assert their rights over land and natural resources. These are – the Khwe and their ongoing battle to receive recognition with regard to accessing their land and natural resources in Bwabwata National Park, the ongoing efforts of the Hai||om to have their ancestral land and natural resource rights over Etosha National Park and Mangetti West restored, the ongoing efforts of the !Kung community to assert their rights in the N#a Jaqna conservancy against illegal fencing by outsider livestock communities and the Ju|'hoansi community efforts to protect their land and natural resources from livestock communities that have invaded the Nyae Nyae Conservancy.

Against the overview of the applicable legislative framework and the case study discussions, I consider the shortcomings of the current CBNRM and communal land rights programme in protecting the land and natural resource rights of indigenous peoples in Namibia. I further consider the adoption of new legislation such as the Protected Areas and Wildlife Management Bill as an opportunity to reassess the shortcomings in an effort to effectively enforce of the law. I conclude my chapter with a number of recommendations on the way forward.







Mainstreaming Community Based Natural Resource Management in policies and institutional frameworks for climate change management: perspectives from the Great Limpopo trans-frontier conservation area, Zimbabwe

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Climate change poses one of the greatest challenges to community based conservation initiatives in Africa. With increasing trends in climate change related natural disasters in Africa, it is imperative to understand how local, national, regional and international policies are addressing community based natural resources management (CBNRM) through legislative and policy provisions in the context of climate change management. Community based natural resources management programmes play a critical role in promoting local community resilience under climatic change. Thus, stakeholders in the TFCAs have a mandate to interpret CBNRM strategies and adapt them to local conditions, and to inculcate them in local and national climate policies and action plans. To date, a few studies have focused on the extent to which local, national and regional climate change policy accommodate CBNRM initiatives in Zimbabwe. Using a case study of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA) component in Zimbabwe from the year 1992 to 2020, this paper seeks to (i) explore the extent to which local, national, regional and international climate change policies mainstream CBNRM, (ii) highlight the formal and informal institutions that relate to climate change management incorporate CBNRM principles and (iii) examine the practical climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies with a potential to create synergies from CBNRM. Research methods used include desktop research on documented national, regional and international policies legislation and policies as well as strategies for climate change adaptation and sustainable utilization of wildlife and forest resources within the semi-arid environment in the GLTFCA. This was augmented through key informant interviews with experts in the area and focus group discussions with community representatives. Data were collected between October 2019 and 2020 from Ward 15 (Malipati), Ward 13 (Chikombedzi) and Ward 6 (Chibwedziva) in the south eastern lowveld, Zimbabwe. Results showed the existence of diverse formal and informal institutions that relate to both climate change adaptation and mitigation and CBNRM. Local governmental institutions work in collaboration with NGOs and the local community to disseminate information and provide expert knowledge on climate change trends, practical adaptation and mitigation strategies for community resilience. Although local governmental institutions have received adequate information via their respective ministries from the national level in terms of climate change, more action is needed in terms of strengthening community based management initiatives to ensure sustainability of the projects and programmes.



Assessing the performance of a communitybased natural resources management programme in Zimbabwe

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The underlying philosophy for community-based natural resources management (CB-NRM) is that wildlife can pay for its survival through revenue from state-controlled consumptive hunting and tourism, shared with communities living with wildlife as incentive for reducing poaching and retaliatory killing of wildlife. Analyses of the performance of CBNRM thus tend to focus on the socio-economic outcomes and rarely consider the ecological conservation outcomes. To assess the assumption that commodification of nature works as a strategy to save wildlife, I analyse hunting data for Zimbabwe's CBNRM model, the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). The study used Mbire RDC CAMPFIRE records focusing on hunting quota allocation and utilisation, time taken to find trophy, incidents of illegal hunting, CAMPFIRE benefit distribution and human-wildlife conflict. Focus group discussions and a questionnaire survey were used to collect data on local people's attitudes towards wildlife. Data show that quotas were generally constant for most species except for baboon and buffalo, which fell drastically in six years. Quota utilisation averaged 62 % to 73 %. The size of trophy buffalo horn declined by 41.5 % while that of trophy elephant tusk decreased by 37.9 % in fifteen years. There was no clear trend in the average number of days taken to find trophy animals, which was a function of ecological and socio-economic factors. Illegal hunting and retaliatory killing of wildlife was evident. Human-wildlife conflict was prevalent and included crop damage, threat to humans, killing of livestock, human death, human injury, retaliatory killing, and dogs killed. Wildlife species involved in these incidents were in descending frequency: elephant, hippo, crocodile, buffalo, lion, python, bush pig, kudu, bees and baboons. Elephants were the main crop raiders followed by hippo, buffalo, bush pigs and kudu. Of the community share of income received 71.3 % was lost to the RDC, the CAMPFIRE Association and local management costs, and a mere 29.7 % went towards community development projects and no compensation was paid for losses due to wildlife (crop and livestock depredation). Consequently, local people pronounced CAMPFIRE dead and preferred to focus on agriculture. The findings show that hunting dynamics are a key indicator for the performance of wildlife-based CBNRM programmes and provides preliminary evidence that without concerted institutional monitoring, commodification of nature may not always work in the long term as a strategy to save wildlife.





Developing Community Conservancies and ICCAs in Zambia: A Whole-System Methodology

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That CBNRM, in the context of climate change, worsens food availability in the countryside is a matter long agreed. To the people whose agriculture is weakened by drought, CBNRM initiatives proscribe foraging and hunting in forests, worsening hunger among frontier communities. What, however, has not been documented is what communities do to survive under these exclusionary regimes. What we want to do in this paper, is to revisit this question in light of recent research. We argue that frontier communities continue what might be termed poaching, targeting small game that come their way. The game is consumed and, in some cases, traded or battered for food. Importantly, however, we show how frontier communities turn, through strategies defined by gender and age, to insects, frogs and other creatures insignificant to proscribing authorities to support their lives. Going forward we recommend that CBNRM formally broadens food access to frontier communities so that they dont have to depend on these desperate strategies to survive climate change induced food insecurity.

Our data is drawn from the Zambezi Valley where we have been using an innovative methodology based on food calendars to assess what Tonga people consume in moments of prohibition exemplified by CAMPFIRE.