

***EXPLORING THE EFFICACY OF COMMUNITY-BASED
NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN SALAMBALA
CONSERVANCY, CAPRIVI REGION, NAMIBIA***

Melissa de Kock



Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy (Community and Development) at the University of Stellenbosch

Supervisor: Professor Joachim Ewert

March 2007

DECLARATION

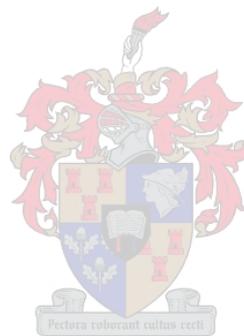
I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any University for a degree.

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Melissa de Kock

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Date

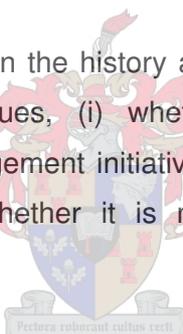


ABSTRACT

This study is titled “*Exploring the efficacy of community-based natural resource management in Salambala Conservancy, Caprivi Region, Namibia*”. Salambala was one of the first four conservancies to be registered in Namibia following the development of legislation which enabled local people on communal lands to obtain conditional rights for the consumptive and non-consumptive use of wildlife in their defined area, and thereby to benefit from wildlife.

Community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), an approach to natural resource management which rests on sustainable development, is the theoretical basis for this study. Characteristics of CBNRM, a brief history of its implementation and impacts in southern Africa and key principles for sustainable CBNRM initiatives shall be discussed.

The study includes a discussion on the history and development of Salambala, but focuses specifically on two issues, (i) whether Salambala is a sustainable community-based resource management initiative as per the principles required for sustainable CBNRM, and (ii), whether it is meeting its own stated aims and objectives.



This study demonstrates that Salambala Conservancy is adhering to the principles required for sustainable CBNRM and that it is, on the whole, achieving its aims and objectives. It is thus delivering benefits to the community which, currently, outweigh the costs of living with wildlife, and wildlife numbers are increasing. In addition, the vast majority of local people surveyed have support for the initiative. However, there are a few critical issues which must be addressed, such as human-wildlife conflict and the need to increase benefits through, for example, further tourism development, if Salambala is to continue on this path.

The methodology used during the study included interviews, the use of questionnaires on a sample of the population and extensive documentary analysis of both CBNRM and the history of Salambala’s development.

OPSOMMING

Die navorsing is getiteld “n Ondersoek na die doeltreffendheid van gemeenskapsbaseerde natuurlike hulpbronbestuur in die Salambala bewaar-area in die Caprivi streek in Namibië”. Salambala was die eerste van vier bewaar-areas wat in Namibië geregistreer is nadat spesifieke wetgewing ontwikkel is. Hierdie wetgewing het plaaslike inwoners in staat gestel om voordelike regte op gemeenskaplike grond te bekom om die natuur te verbruik (bv. vir jag doeleindes) of te gebruik (bv. vir toerisme), en so baat te vind by die natuur.

Gemeenskapsgebaseerde natuurlike hulpbronbestuur (GGNHB), ‘n benadering tot natuurlike hulpbronbestuur wat berus op volhoubare ontwikkeling, is die teoretiese basis van hierdie studie. Kenmerke van GGNHB, ‘n kort historiese oorsig van die implementering en impak daarvan in suidelike Afrika, asook sleutel beginsels vir volhoubare GGNHB sal bespreek word.

Die studie sluit ook ‘n bespreking in van die geskiedenis en ontwikkeling van Salambala, met spesifieke fokus op twee kwessies: (i) of Salambala ‘n volhoubare gemeenskapsgebaseerde hulpbron bestuursinisiatief is soos vervat in die beginsels vir ‘n volhoubare GGNHB; en (ii), of dit aan sy verklaarde doelwitte en oogmerke voldoen.

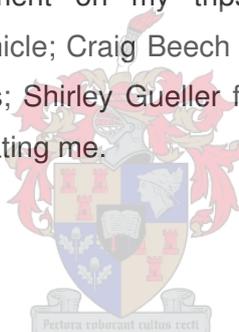


Die studie toon aan dat die Salambala bewaar-area voldoen aan die beginsels wat vereis word vir volhoubare GGNHB en dat dit, in die geheel gesien, sy beplande doelwitte en oogmerke bereik. Dit lewer dus voordele aan die gemeenskap wat op die oomblik meer is as die kostes verbonde aan ‘n bestaan na aan die natuur. Verder neem die wildgetalle toe en toon ‘n opname onder die plaaslike bevolking oorweldigende steun vir die inisiatief. Daar is egter ‘n paar kritieke kwessies wat aandag verg, soos die konflik tussen inwoners en die wildlewe, asook die behoefte aan meer voordele wat verkry kan word deur middel van, byvoorbeeld, verdere toerisme-ontwikkeling - sou Salambala voortgaan met hierdie onderneming.

Die metodologie wat in die studie gebruik is sluit in onderhoude, die gebruik van vraelyste op ‘n deursnit van die bevolking asook ‘n breedvoerige dokumentêre analise van beide GGNHB en die geskiedenis van die Salambala se ontwikkeling.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBNRM	Community-based natural resource management
CLUSA	Cooperative League of the United States of America
DEA	Directorate of Environmental Affairs
HAC SIS	Human-Wildlife Conservancy Self-Insurance Scheme
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IRDNC	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation Trust
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism
N\$	Namibian Dollar
NACOBTA	Namibia Community-Based Tourism Association
NACSO	Namibia Association of CBNRM Support Organisations
NNF	Namibia Nature Foundation
SADF	South African Defence Force
VDC	Village Development Committee
WWF-LIFE	Worldwide Fund for Nature - Living in a Finite Environment



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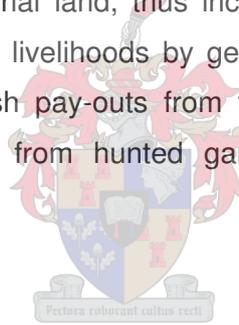
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the Salambala Conservancy, which is situated in the East of Namibia's Caprivi Region.

Salambala Conservancy, registered in 1998, was one of the first four Conservancies to be registered in Namibia. This followed the revision of legislation which enabled people living on communal land to register as a Conservancy and thus gain conditional use rights over huntable game, as well as to develop tourism opportunities within the conservancy (MET¹, 2005c; Corbett & Jones, 2000).

The Namibian Conservancy programme uses incentives to encourage local people to tolerate wildlife on their communal land, thus increasing land under conservation. Conservancies also supplement livelihoods by generating benefits for local people such as benefit distribution cash pay-outs from the Conservancy to each village within the Conservancy, meat from hunted game and employment within the Conservancy.



1. AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is two-fold:

- (i) To assess whether Salambala Conservancy is adhering to the principles of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) as determined in Chapter Two.
- (ii) To assess whether Salambala Conservancy is achieving its Aims and Objectives as described in the Constitution.²

¹ Ministry of Environment and Tourism

² Salambala Conservancy Constitution, 1999

2. STRUCTURE OF STUDY

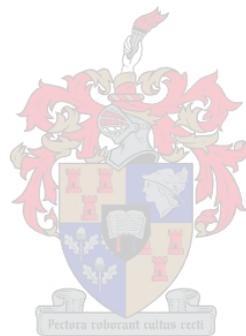
The overall theoretical view against which this project is discussed is that of CBNRM, an approach to sustainable development (Dickson and Hutton, 2000:1). CBNRM can be described as both as an approach to conservation and to rural development (Child and West Lyman, 2005; Fabricius, Matsiliza & Sisitka, 2002), whereby improved biodiversity management is incentivised through the receipt of benefits by local people (Murphree, 1991 cited in Murphree, 2005; Gibson and Marks, 1995). In *Chapter Two* a brief history of CBNRM and its implementation in southern Africa, the principles guiding the development of CBNRM initiatives, as well as the potential pitfalls are discussed.

The Methodology employed to obtain information for this study is discussed in *Chapter Three*. Research methods included structured and unstructured interviews with local community members and other stakeholders conducted on five trips to Namibia, four of which were to Salambala. Information was also gathered through telephone interviews and via email queries. An extensive review of documents and literature relating to CBNRM and to Salambala was conducted.

A brief overview of the evolution of Namibia's CBNRM programme, specifically with regard to Conservancies, is given in *Chapter Four*, as well as the geographical, socio-economic and legal context in which Salambala functions. The Chapter includes a synopsis of the Government legislation which enables people on communal land to benefit from the sustainable management of wildlife, the requirements in order for a Conservancy to be registered and key aspects of a Conservancy.

The results of my research are discussed in *Chapter Five*. Research covered topics including community participation in the Conservancy, benefits generated by the Conservancy and local peoples' experience of benefits, distribution and use of the cash payouts made to each village in Salambala from funds earned by the Conservancy; attitudes towards wildlife and the Conservancy; and whether wildlife is increasing as a result of local management. In addition, the history and development of Salambala Conservancy, key role-players and institutional arrangements are discussed. Chapter Five concludes with an assessment of whether Salambala is achieving its aims and objectives.

In the Conclusion, *Chapter Six*, I evaluate Salambala against the principles of sustainable CBNRM as determined in Chapter Two and discuss potential threats to Salambala's ongoing development and existence.



CHAPTER TWO

COMMUNITY-BASED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

*“Humanity stands at a defining moment in history. We are confronted with a perpetuation of disparities between and within nations, a worsening of poverty, hunger, ill health and illiteracy, and the continuing deterioration of ecosystems on which we depend for our well-being. However, **integration of environment and development concerns and greater attention to them will lead to the fulfilment of basic needs, improved living standards for all, better protected and managed ecosystems and a safer, more prosperous future.**” (Preamble of Agenda 21. UN, 1993a)*

1. INTRODUCTION

Our existence depends on the Earth’s capacity to support us and other species. The dwindling capacity will have tragic consequences for human beings and is already having tragic consequences for many species (Baillie, Hilton-Taylor and Stuart, 2004; Anderson, 2002:2). By destroying the environment, i.e. natural resources, we are stunting the potential and opportunities for human development (Woodhouse, 2000:142).

Sustainable development, as defined in “Our Common Future” (1987) (also known as the Brundtland Report) is **“development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”** (Woodhouse, 2000:158; Dresner, 2002:1). The goal of sustainable development is thus to “promote conditions that lead to a higher quality of life for human beings which maintain the capacity of the planet in the long term” (Anderson, 2002:1).

Community-based natural resource management³ (CBNRM) is one approach that is currently being used to try and achieve sustainable development in southern Africa (Dickson and Hutton, 2000:1).

In the Preamble to the *Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)* (concluded at Rio de Janeiro on 5 June 1992) (UN, 1993b), the traditional dependence by indigenous and local people on natural resources is recognised, as is the desirability of sharing the benefits which are derived from the conservation and sustainable use of natural resources equitably.

CBNRM is used to describe a number of conservation and / or rural upliftment projects (Fabricius, 2005). CBNRM entails the transfer of authority from State to local people over identified natural resources and the subsequent management of those natural resources by local people, in an effort to improve both biodiversity conservation through improved and sustainable use⁴ of those resources, and the socio-economic and political circumstances of the involved local people through control and management over the resources (Bwalya, 2003:42; Child and West Lyman, 2005; Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002; Wyckoff-Baird undated; Tsing, Brosius and Zerner, 2005; Jones and Murphree, 2004) . According to Child and West Lyman (2005:13), CBNRM is ultimately about political power over natural resources.

CBNRM includes wildlife management projects, community forest management, community-based fisheries management and community-based water management (Turner, 2004:2; Attwell, 2005).

CBNRM emerged in southern Africa in the late 1980s / early 1990s amongst government agencies and donors as a new way in which to approach natural resource management (Jones and Murphree, 2004:164; Attwell, 2005; Child, 2005a, 2003). Reasons given for the departure from existing exclusionary conservation

³ "Community", "conservation", "participation" and "development" are key, though elusive, concepts in a discussion of regarding local people and natural resource management. Please refer to Notes at the end of the chapter for definitions of these concepts.

⁴ Under Article Two of the CBD (UN, 1993b: 145) sustainable use is defined as: "The use of components of components of biological diversity in a way and at a rate that does not lead to the long-term decline of biological diversity, thereby maintaining its potential to meet the needs and aspirations of present and future generations."

practices to one which takes local people and their traditional knowledge⁵ into account (Colchester, 2004:145) include that governments did not have the capacity to manage and protect wildlife adequately (Jones and Murphree, 2004:164) in the structures inherited from “colonial administrations” (Colchester, 2004:145; Gibson and Marks, 1995:941), the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples in international human rights law, and the emergence of these peoples as a “social movement” (Colchester, 2004:145; Marks, 2005).

Various CBNRM programmes implemented in southern Africa are discussed briefly on page seven.

2. “COMMUNITY-BASED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT”: RATIONALE, KEY CHARACTERISTICS AND TYPES

CBNRM has two primary aims. To improve the socio-economic situation for rural communities, and to maintain or improve the natural resource base through sustainable management and use (Wyckoff-Baird, undated:1; Emerton, 2001:208; Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002:2).

Additional characteristics of CBNRM include the empowerment⁶ of local rural people through transferral of authority to them and the recognition of indigenous rights and knowledge (Barrow and Murphree, 1998:16; Tsing, Brosius and Zerner, 2005). It is a means to job creation, improved governance activity, participation⁷, democratisation and capacity building (Adams and Hulme, 2001b; Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002; Tsing, Brosius and Zerner, 2005; Child and West Lyman, 2005).

CBNRM is one type of “community conservation” where local people participate in conservation practices (Adams and Hulme, 2001a:193; Barrow and Murphree, 2001:13), as opposed to “fortress conservation” whereby people are kept separate

⁵ As promoted in The Kinshasa Resolution of 1975 which encouraged governments to enable communal lands to be brought under conservation without local people losing their ownership over it (Colchester, 2004).

⁶ “The increased ability of the poor to make political, social, or economic choices, and to act on those choices” (Kilby, 2003: 1).

⁷ An important aspect of participation is that it builds trust and confidence amongst all the stakeholders involved in the use and conservation of natural resources and makes decision making less exclusionary and a less elite activity. (Taylor, 2001:279).

from wildlife in an attempt to preserve resources (Adams and Hulme, 2001a:193; Jones and Murphree, 2004). Fortress conservation, which has dominated 20th Century conservation, does not usually allow for sustainable use practices (Adams and Hulme, 2001b:10).

Other types of community conservation include park outreach programmes and integrated conservation and development projects (Adams and Hulme, 2001a; Adams and Hulme, 2001b; Barrow and Murphree, 2001). These include, on the one side of the spectrum, projects which are designed simply to support conservation objectives and to assist in the conservation of biodiversity: at the far end of the spectrum are projects which aim to further rural development through the use of natural resources in areas adjacent to, or even unconnected to, protected areas. These last types of community conservation initiatives are CBNRM projects (Adams and Hulme, 2001a:194; Barrow and Murphree, 2001,13). *Salambala Conservancy*, the subject of this thesis, is an example of a CBNRM initiative.

A distinction must also be made between formal CBNRM and “everyday” CBNRM. Projects or programmes to encourage the sustainable use of resources, generally initiated by government agencies or donors / NGOs in conjunction with communities, are known as formal CBNRM. However the informal management of resources by communities, or “everyday” CBNRM is and has been widespread for generations (Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002:2; Adams and Hulme, 2001a:194; Turner 2004:4; Fabricius and Magome, 2005); and the “everyday” CBNRM institutions (often retaining elements of traditional authority) has formed the foundation of most rural livelihoods in southern Africa. External agencies such as the State, NGOs and donors have very little, if anything, to do with this type of CBNRM (Turner, 2004:4).

“Everyday” CBNRM or resource use is very important for rural livelihoods. Resources used include fuelwood, reeds, poles, etc. as building and fencing materials, wild spinaches etc, and materials for tools. Substitutes for these products are either hard to come by in rural communities or are too expensive. Also, these resources may play a role in culture through spiritual or traditional rituals use. Access to these resources is a means of livelihood diversification, and in some cases a means to survive for the poorest people (Shackleton and Shackleton, 2005:137; Magome and Fabricius, 2005:97). The subject of this study however is a *formal* CBNRM project.

In CBNRM the management of natural resources becomes the community's responsibility, within the structure of Government legislation, rather than solely the State's responsibility. The creation of enabling legal and policy instruments or revision of existing policy is often integral to the development of national CBNRM programmes (Barrow and Murphree, 1998:16; Jones, 1998).

The process is owned by the community and is planned by the community (often though with the assistance of external role-players such as Government agencies or NGOs) and the ownership of the resources and area lies with the community (either legally or de facto) (Barrow and Murphree, 1998:16). The importance of ownership is that if people own something (privately or communally) they will tend to look after it and protect it (Schutte, 2000:4).

One of the premises upon which CBNRM rests is that local communities are more interested than the State in sustainable use of resources, as they are the ones who are often the most affected by their increase or degradation. Local people are believed to be in a better position to manage the resources as they have an indigenous knowledge of the local systems, and can manage the resources better through traditional means of access (Tsing, Brosius and Zerner, 2005:1).

Natural resources will be only conserved as long as they are economically beneficial and can be used as a viable livelihood strategy by the local people, or culturally valuable for the community. Where the natural resources are of little or no benefit to local people, they will be lost or degraded. So, the more benefits that natural resources can generate for the community in question or the more value they have for the community in question, the more likelihood they have of being maintained and/or improved (Barrow and Murphree, 1998; Emerton, 2001; M.J. Murphree, 2005:105). The use of natural resources to derive economic benefits occurs through the commercialisation of the resource, e.g. hunting concessions or nature-based tourism enterprises (Barrow and Murphree, 1998:22; Jones and Murphree, 2004; Child, 2005a).

A key component of CBNRM is the incentivisation of sustainable use through receipt of benefits generated from wise natural resource management (Murphree, 1991 cited in Murphree, 1995; Gibson and Marks, 1995; Emerton, 2001; Jones and Murphree, 2004; Barrow and Murphree, 1998; Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2005). Often

living with wildlife has many negative consequences⁸ so the aim is to provide incentives⁹ which outweigh these negatives (Jones, 1998: 2; Gibson and Marks, 1995:945; Emerton, 2001:209). In addition, the link between wildlife and the received benefit must be made clear so that people can see the direct results of their wise (or not) management of the resources (Child, 2005a:25; Child and West Lyman, 2005:8).

There are a number of (potential) benefits, financial and other, to be obtained from CBNRM (Barrow and Murphree, 1998; Berkes, 2003; Turner, 2005), although the emphasis in CBNRM projects is generally on economic benefits in southern Africa even though these may not be the priority of the community (MJ Murphree, 2005). However, social and cultural benefits are also of great value, such as obtaining meat for consumption, and to which the local people may have in recent times been barred from accessing (Barrow and Murphree, 1998; Turner, 2005). The incentives and benefits will be different for different people and locations and situations (Emerton, 2001: 209).

Example of benefits include employment, meat and hides (from hunting/culling), financial benefits from trophy hunting, infrastructure development (schools, boreholes, etc.) brought about through or by the project, social empowerment (through participation, decision making, authority to manage the resources), capacity building and improved ecological services on local and global scale (Gibson & Marks 1995; Emerton, 2001; Berkes, 2003; Nott and Jacobsohn, 2005; Turner, 2005; Child and West Lyman, 2005).

It is important to note that rather than being the sole or primary source of income for rural people living on communal land, CBNRM can be and often is supplementary to people's livelihoods (e.g. farming) and is valuable as an additional strategy for diversification of livelihood opportunities (Magome and Fabricius, 2005; Weaver and Skyer, 2005; Fischer, Muchapondwa & Sterner 2005; Atwell, 2005).

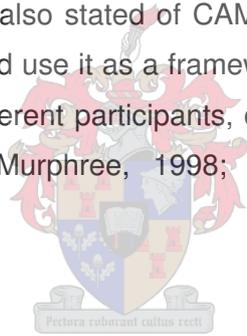
⁸ Such as wildlife crop raids, injury, death etc. These effects often lead to resentment by local people of wildlife and conservation agencies (Jones, 2004).

⁹ In order to incentivise communities to conserve resources, multiple-use rights over those resources can be granted (Barrow and Murphree, 2001:19).

Marshall Murphree, one of the initiators of Zimbabwe's Community¹⁰ Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) developed five principles for community resource management in southern Africa, (Murphree, 1991 cited in Murphree, 2005: 114-115; MJ Murphree, 2005:106), namely:

1. Effective management of natural resources is best achieved by giving the resource a focused value.
2. Differential inputs must result in differential benefits.
3. There must be a positive correlation between the quality of management and the magnitude of derived benefits.
4. The unit of proprietorship must be the same as the unit of production, management and benefit.
5. The unit of proprietorship should be as small as practical, within ecological and socio-political constraints. Large structures tend to increase the potential for inefficiency, corruption and the evasion of responsibility.

However, Murphree (2005:105) also stated of CAMPFIRE that one should not take the experience of one project and use it as a framework for another project area or a different situation. There are different participants, different situations, different aims and objectives (Barrow and Murphree, 1998; Magome and Fabricius, 2005; Fabricius, et al., 2005:275).



3. BRIEF HISTORY OF CBNRM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

CBNRM has been applied with varying levels of success in southern Africa. It has most often been applied to wildlife management, and is predominantly based upon the sustainable use of wildlife, i.e. trophy hunting, and nature-based tourism enterprises (e.g. joint-venture lodges, photographic safaris, etc.) which generate returns, mostly financial, for the local communities (Child, 2003; Jones and Murphree, 2004; Turner, 2004:2). However there has been some expansion into management of other natural resources such as forestry management and bee-keeping (Jones and Murphree, 2004; Jonga, 2006).

¹⁰ Originally this was called "Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources" but recently changed to "Community Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources" (Jonga, 2006).

The countries discussed below have well-established CBNRM programmes. In each case, the programme rested on the sustainable use and management of the wildlife resource.

3.1 Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE, both a rural development and a conservation programme (Jonga, 2006:1), is considered the forerunner of CBNRM initiatives in southern Africa (Child, 2003:1; Atwell, 2005) and has been used as a guideline for the development of CBNRM initiatives in the region (Murphree, 2005:105).

Wildlife populations have increased as a result of CAMPFIRE, and as a result of an increase of huntable game upon which the programme depends, communities have received increased income over the years (Child, 2005a:45; Jonga, 2006). In 1989, the gross income earned by the two initial districts was approximately US\$350,000 (Jonga, 2006:4). Although it is believed that CAMPFIRE has stopped operating effectively since land reform began in 2000 (Fischer, Muchapondwa and Sterner, 2005), on average, the gross annual income earned by the 16 involved major wildlife districts has been approximately US\$2.5 million since 2000. The total recorded revenue generated by CAMPFIRE districts between 1989 and 2003 is almost US\$30 million (Jonga, 2006:4). In an attempt to rectify the previous underpayment of funds to communities, the percentage of revenue which was returned to the community was increased from 50% to 55% in 2002 (Jonga, 2006:4).

3.2 Namibia

The Namibian Context is also discussed in Chapter Four.

The Namibian CBNRM has two components; that of the Conservancies, which was initiated in the late 1990s and the Community Forests, which was initiated in 2001. Both programmes allow for the sustainable use of natural resources in order to improve socio-economic circumstances for local people, and to improve management and conservation of natural resources (MET, 2000d).

There are currently 44 registered Conservancies in Namibia, generating an income of N\$20 million in 2005 (Diggle, Munali and Owen Smith, 2006:2). Salambala Conservancy was registered in 1998 and was one of the first four to do so (MET, 2005c). By November 2004, 13 Community Forests had been registered, with a further 15 in the developing stages (MET, 2005d).

The Namibian Conservancy programme enables local people living on communal lands to use wildlife and nature-based tourism enterprises as an additional livelihood strategy (Weaver and Skyer, 2005) if registered as a conservancy (Child: 2003:17). The community in a registered conservancy retains all the revenue generated from the conservancy, for example from hunting and tourism concessions and/or community campsites (Jones, 1998).

Since inception of the programme in the mid-1990s, the attitudes of many local people resident in the communal areas have changed from resentment of the state-managed wildlife (previously only the state got the benefits, whilst the community bore the brunt of its existence) to seeing wildlife as an asset of the community. (Weaver and Skyer, 2005:90). The change in attitude has resulted in a significant recovery of wildlife populations and the increasing populations have resulted in increased benefits for the communities – including cash pay-outs, job creation, tourism enterprise development, meat (from trophy hunting) (Weaver and Skyer, 2005:91; Nott and Jacobsohn, 2005:196). Income from wildlife and tourism to communities doubled each year for five years between 1997 and 2001 (Child, 2003:17). However, a problem identified was that Conservancy Committees tend to be accountable to donors and NGOs, rather than to the community (Child: 2003).

3.3 Botswana

Botswana's CBNRM programme was started in the early 1990s (Boggs, 2005). The first project, the Chobe Enclave Community Trust, was initiated in 1993. In 2003, 46 trusts had been registered, or were in the process of being registered involving approximately 40,000 people (Kalahari Conservation Society, 2006; Jones, 2004).

These Community Trusts receive the use of a demarcated area of land for consumptive or non-consumptive use of wildlife (Child, 2003:17; Jones, 2004). Decision-making occurs at village level (Atwell, 2005) and communities negotiate

with the private sector themselves (Child, 2005). The resultant joint ventures (between the private sector and communities) are key to income generation and economic growth for communities and have brought significant revenue to communities, in addition to improved natural resource management (Child, 2003:37). There is “substantial anecdotal evidence” that wildlife numbers are increasing (Child, 2005a:44). Benefits accrued are highest in areas with rich wildlife resources, and with low human populations (Atwell, 2005). Currently, 100% of the income generated returns to the communities.^{11 12}

3.4 Zambia

Zambia’s Administrative Management of Game Management Areas (ADMAGE) began in the early 1990s. However only 35% of the revenue generated returned to local people. This did not financially or socially empower communities appropriately, therefore the benefits were not high enough to outweigh the costs (Child, 2003:22; Marks, 2005:196). Marks (2005) states that ADMAGE was initiated as a top-down strategy that did not take the requirements of local people into account.

Another Zambian CBNRM programme, the Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Project (LIRDP) which began in a similar manner, that is, top down, changed course in 1996 when power was further devolved (from the chiefs) to village level. In addition, communities began receiving 80% of the revenues directly, and the approach was far more effective in terms of projects coming to fruition, participation, attitudes to CBNRM and wildlife and conservation of wildlife (Child, 2003:20-21), demonstrating how devolution of authority and increased revenues contribute to the success of a CBNRM project (Child, 2005b:246).

¹¹ Titus Gaothodogwe (Wildlife Officer, Community Extension and Outreach, Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Botswana), personal communication, 31/01/2006; Nathaniel Nuulimba (Advisor at the Land, Livelihood and Heritage Resource Centre, Botswana), personal communication, 05/02/2007.

¹² At the time of writing, however, a CBNRM policy was under development which, it is believed, will stipulate a reduction in the amount of revenue received by communities and will confer an as yet undetermined portion of the revenue to the Government (Titus Gaothodogwe (Wildlife Officer, Community Extension and Outreach, Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Botswana), personal communication, 31/01/2006; Nathaniel Nuulimba (Advisor at the Land, Livelihood and Heritage Resource Centre, Botswana), personal communication, 05/02/2007).

3.5 Common elements of CBNRM in these countries

Common factors are:

- Change in policy and legislation whereby authority was transferred under certain conditions (such as after the registration of a Trust or a Conservancy) to local people (Boggs, 2005; Jones, 1998:4; Child, 2003; Jonga, 2006; Murphree, 2005a; Jones and Murphree, 2004; Rihoy, 1995:15).
- "Aborted devolution"¹³ was identified as a problem¹⁴ in Zambia and Zimbabwe (Gibson and Marks, 1995; Corbett and Jones, 2000:14; Child, 2003:19; Marks, 2005; Murphree, 2005:129; Sibanda, 2005).
- Consumptive and non-consumptive sustainable use of resources, particularly wildlife, is key to the projects (Child, 2003, 2005a, 2005b; Jones and Murphree, 2004).
- Co-ownership and management of the resources by the local people (Jones and Murphree, 2004; Boggs, 2005; Fischer, Muchapondwa and Sterner, 2005).
- Use of benefits, usually financial, to promote conservation (Jones and Murphree, 2004; Jonga, 2006; Murphree, 2005a; Boggs, 2005).
- Increase in wildlife numbers in Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe as a result of co-management and receipt of benefits (Weaver and Skyer, 2005; Nott and Jacobson, 2005; Child, 2005:44; Jonga, 2006; Jones, 2004).

In Namibia, 100% of the revenue returns to communities; in Botswana, most is returned to communities; whereas in Zimbabwe, the community retains 55% of the revenue generated (Jones, 1998; Boggs, 2005; Jonga, 2006). In Zambia, although under ADMARE the communities received only 35% of funds generated, under the LIRDPA the communities receive 80% of the funds (Child, 2003).

¹³ Aborted evolution occurs when local people do not receive the authority but it is given to, for example, in the case of CAMPFIRE, the Rural District Council, or in Zambia, Chiefs (often Government appointed) were responsible for decision-making not local people. This can lead to the creation of a new bureaucratic elite, but the local people are no better off in terms of empowerment (Corbett and Jones, 2000:14; Child, 2003:19; MJ Murphree, 2005:106; Marks, 2005:197).

¹⁴ Aborted devolution can potentially result and has in resulted in communities feeling "cheated" because what is said (communities obtaining rights) and what really happens (rights not being totally devolved, stopping above them) are not in conflict. If this happens, communities could continue to feel the wildlife belongs to the State, and they therefore revert to the way they felt about wildlife beforehand, and, as a result, they return to poaching (Corbett and Jones, 2000:14).

CBNRM is evolving in southern Africa from First Generation to Second Generation CBNRM. In Second Generation CBNRM, attempts are made to rectify the problems identified in First Generation CBNRM, such as aborted devolution, and to build upon the successes achieved, such as the establishment of appropriate enabling policy and legislation. In Second Generation CBNRM, efforts are being made to devolve authority as far as possible (Jones and Murphree, 2004; Child, 2005b; Child and Dalal-Clayton, 2001:10), as it has been established that CBNRM is more effective when authority is devolved, not just to councils or chiefs, but to villages (Child, 2003).

4. PERFORMANCE OF CBNRM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: AN APPRAISAL

Broadly, CBNRM has had the following impacts in southern Africa:

Ecological Impacts

- Conservation (of wildlife) has become an acceptable and, in fact, attractive form of land use (evidenced in the amount of Conservancies, Trusts, etc. established since CBNRM was first initiated in southern Africa) (Jones and Murphree, 2004; Weaver and Skyer, 2005; Kalahari Conservation Society, 2006), which has led to more land being placed under conservation (as a result of the higher value on wildlife and the subsequent increased attraction for wildlife conservation) and created an environment conducive to wildlife and resource conservation, (i.e. reduced illegal and / or unsustainable harvesting of natural resources) (Jones and Murphree, 2004:74).

Socio-economic Impacts

- CBNRM has generated income for communities involved in community natural-resource management projects in areas of high wildlife value and tourism potential (Jones and Murphree, 2004:76). It is argued that the financial household benefits can be low (MJ Murphree, 2005:106). However that is relative to the economic standing of the households in question. For example, in 2003, registered members of the Torra Conservancy in Namibia received N\$630 from income generated by the Conservancy. This amounted to 14% of the average annual income (as derived by the International Institute for Environment and Development) (Mulonga and Murphy, 2003:13). In addition, revenue generated from CBNRM is often reinvested in the CBNRM initiative or a needed infrastructure project. Therefore, though there is no immediate change in the

economic situation for individuals, quality of life may be improved through obtaining and use of that infrastructure (Turner, 2005).

Other positive impacts brought about by CBNRM include increased skills and capacity, empowerment, livelihood diversification, strengthening of local institutions and governance (Jones, 2004:36).

However, Magome and Fabricius (2005:106) point out that the direct benefits received by local people participating in CBNRM initiatives are generally low, while the costs of living with wildlife are high. These costs include crop losses, personal injury and livestock loss from increased wildlife presence, and wildlife/livestock disease transmissions (Emerton, 2001, MJ Murphree, 2005). In addition, sometimes CBNRM initiatives require that local people change their existing practices (e.g. having to stop crop farming, grazing in certain areas, etc) or restricting local access to resources (MJ Murphree, 2005:106; Turner, 2005:57-58). Turner (2005) argues that formal CBNRM generates less revenue than agriculture and other activities which depend on “everyday” CBNRM/resource use. Both MJ Murphree (2005:106) and Turner (2005:57-58) state that it is rare that the local people are able to use the wildlife themselves; usually a safari operator obtains a concession to manage trophy hunting, in which case it is illegal for the local people to hunt for their own consumption. However, in programmes such as Namibian Conservancies, where hunting concessionaires are operating, locals receive the meat from hunted big game or have ‘own use’ quotas for local consumption (Nott and Jacobsohn, 2005; MET, 2005d). They are thus receiving meat they would not have received were it not for the Conservancy (as, without the development of the Conservancy, there would be little game to hunt / poach). In addition, Salambala Conservancy (as an example) can now provide their own meat for Traditional Festivals, whereas before the development of Conservancies they were not able to.¹⁵ Participating in CBNRM can, however, can take time away (e.g. attending meetings) from other livelihood strategies such as farming activities, resulting in a smaller crop yield (Magome and Fabricius, 2005).

Barrett et al (Berkes, 2003:625) argue that as state-driven fortress conservation underemphasised the role of communities, so the current CBNRM trend is to overemphasise it, when often, local level community institutions are only one aspect

¹⁵ Robert Sinyambo (Acting-Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006.

of a complex system and do not have the capacity to deal with the complexity of the conservation issue or problem effectively. Instead of placing all the authority or responsibility on one group (i.e. community or State), it should be shared among all groups involved in the initiative. Thus there is also a need for capacity building within the communities (Child and West-Lyman, 2005:11).

CBNRM is a slow process (Atwell, 2005). It takes time to plan and implement CBNRM initiatives in order for them to be sustainable and for benefits to be experienced by local people (Barrow and Murphree, 1998:86). It is often said to be ineffective or unsuccessful (particularly by conservationists) because results and benefits are slow in being realised (Adams and Hulme, 2001b:20; Jones and Murphree, 2004:86; Child and West Lyman, 2005:9). Projects are often expensive to implement and project managers and planners are sometimes put under pressure by donors to meet objectives within a relatively short time frame, e.g. three to five years (Adams and Hulme, 2001b:21; Jones and Murphree, 2004:86), although the project may only bear fruit in 10-20 years (Adams and Hulme, 2001b:21). Simply because a project does not fulfil donor requirements in terms of timeframe does not mean these projects are failures (Jones, 1999).

However, Child and West Lyman (2005:1) state that there is “growing evidence” that CBNRM is an effective strategy to not only uplift rural economies but also for conservation and can assist in rehabilitating damaged ecosystems. Magome and Fabricius (2005:106) believe, however, that although CBNRM plays a role in rural livelihood upliftment, CBNRM is “not the answer” to biodiversity conservation. However, it is important to bear in mind that formal CBNRM is a very localised strategy (Turner, 2005) and is one of a number of strategies to be considered for conservation initiatives and rural livelihood strategies (Hulme and Murphree, 2001; Adams and Hulme, 2001b). However it may not be suitable under all circumstances and is not the panacea for all conservation and / or rural development issues (Barrow and Murphree, 1998; Child and West Lyman, 2005; Fabricius, 2005; Adams and Hulme, 2001b:21).

5. GENERAL REQUIREMENTS FOR SUSTAINABLE CBNRM

There are a number of principles discernible from existing CBNRM projects and ones which have been highlighted by various authors, which contribute to the sustainability of CBNRM projects, including the following:

- The community must receive rights and authority over the land and resources on the land, to manage and benefit itself (Murphree, 1991 as cited Murphree, 2005; IIED, 1994; Gibson and Marks, 1995; Crook and Decker, 1996; Child and West Lyman, 2005:3; Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002:5; Fabricius et al., 2005:274).
- New legislation must be developed or existing policy revised, giving local people legal authority and responsibility to obtain rights over resources to manage and benefit. These policies must also be implemented (Child, 2005; Jones, 1998; Banda 2001; Corbett and Jones, 2000; Jones and Murphree, 2004; Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002:5; Child and West Lyman, 2005:11). Aborted devolution can occur if there is a gap between policy and the implementation thereof, and / or the responsibility to manage the natural resources is given to the community but they are not given the authority to make decisions regarding the resources (Fabricius, 2005; Corbett and Jones, 2000).
- There must be a diversity of livelihood strategies / options, so that if one strategy fails, the project will not collapse (Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002:4; Fabricius et al., 2005:272).
- The natural resource base (e.g. wildlife) upon which the communities rely for their livelihood must be maintained / improved in order to continue sustaining the project and the community (Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002:4; Fabricius et al., 2005:272).
- Local institutions comprising local people, which are effective and legitimate (in the eyes of the State and the community), must be established, if they are not in existence already, to govern and manage the resources. These institutions should be independent of external authorities, strong and adaptive and representative of the community and their requirements (Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002:5; Fabricius et al., 2005:275; Jones and Murphree, 2004:79-81; Child and West Lyman, 2005). Child (2005a:29) adds that they should also be democratic.
- The initiative, its aims, and the way it is implemented and managed must be determined by the community and it must be supported by the community

(Barrow and Murphree, 1998:21; Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002; Jones and Murphree, 2004; Fabricius et al., 2005:274; Crook and Decker, 1996).

- Participation by community members is thus integral to the development of institutions and projects (Fabricius, 2005).
- The target community must receive tangible benefits (economic, social, cultural, and spiritual) which outweigh any negative impacts, such as increased human / wildlife conflict (Barrow and Murphree, 1998:21; Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002:5; Fabricius et al., 2005:274). These benefits must be equitably distributed to at least the majority of the community (Barrow and Murphree, 1998:16). Therefore, a plan must be developed for equitable benefit distribution (IIED, 1994:64). This is a requirement of the Namibia Conservancy programme, too (MET, 2005b).
- Authority needs to be devolved to the lowest level where there is capacity (Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002:5; Fabricius et al., 2005; Child and West Lyman, 2005:7; Murphree, 2005; Jones and Murphree, 2004:79; Child, 2003; Corbett and Jones, 2000).
- CBNRM must be more productive and beneficial to the local people than alternatives such as livestock farming or agriculture, thus encouraging people not to participate in land-use practices which would negatively affect the wildlife resource (Barrow and Murphree, 1998:21; Turner: 2005). If competing livelihood activities are more productive/economically viable, the natural resources will not be maintained (Barrow and Murphree, 2004:21).
- There needs to be a sense of ownership by local people over the resource where wildlife is seen as a private good not a State asset (Child, 2003; Weaver and Skyer, 2005:90; Barrow and Murphree, 1998:20).
- External facilitation is important for the development of projects, but NGOs should not drive the process but offer “light-touch¹⁶”, long-term facilitation (Jones, 1998; Child and West Lyman, 2005:2; Fabricius, Matsiliza and Sisitka, 2002:5; Fabricius et al., 2005:274).
- External funding must not be allocated from the top-down with the majority going into facilitation and coordination, but rather directed at projects on a local level (Child and West Lyman, 2005).

¹⁶ “Light-touch: facilitation: where facilitators work directly with community members and not only the local leadership or government authorities (Jones and Murphree, 2004:85).

- Exit strategies must exist for donors / NGOs so that the project will become self-sustaining at some point (Atwell, 2005). If projects continue to be dependent on donor funds, when the money stops, so will the project.
- There must be investment in capacity building (Child and West Lyman, 2005:11; IIED, 1994:71) to complement devolution and to strengthen community institutions so that they can manage the resources effectively (Child: 2003).
- To avoid conflict over who is meant to manage and benefit, the community that will obtain rights and authority and will benefit from the management of the resource, and the extent of the geographical area over which the community will have rights, must be clearly defined, ideally by the community itself. If an external agency defines the community, often people who would not previously have identified themselves with one another will find themselves called a “community”. If the community defines itself, there is greater potential for developing an authority with required external and internal legitimacy (Jones and Murphree, 2004; Atwell, 2005).

6. POTENTIAL PITFALLS OR CONSTRAINTS TO SUSTAINABLE CBNRM

Though Murphree’s (Murphree, 2005) five principles are spoken of a great deal, they are rarely applied (MJ Murphree, 2005:106; Child and West Lyman, 2005). In addition, the following have been identified as potential constraints to sustainable CBNRM projects:

- Too few benefits for the amount of people or if the natural resources are of little or no benefit to local people (Atwell, 2005; Gibson & Marks, 1995; Barrow and Murphree, 1998). Even in cases where significant benefits are being generated by CBNRM for a community as a whole, population increases are reducing benefits for individual members of the community as they have to be shared amongst more people. Also, successful programmes encourage other people to move to area in hope of sharing in those benefits (Magome and Fabricius, 2005).
- If political support is suddenly withdrawn, there is a risk it could collapse (Atwell, 2005).
- If there is a gap between policy and the implementation thereof, and/or the responsibility to manage the natural resources is given to the community but they are not given the authority to make decisions regarding the resources (Fabricius, 2005).

- There is often an imbalance of power between communities and the private sector partners to whom they lease their concessions (hunting, tourism etc). This can be addressed by the facilitation and technical advice and support from an external agency (Jones and Murphree, 2004:84).
- Where empowerment is simply the co-option of local elites (by external agencies) for initiatives which thus remain top-down approaches (Metcalf, 1996:1).
- Assumption that local people will take on the responsibility of natural resource management simply because they are given the opportunity to participate and benefit from the resource base, when other key issues are unresolved or ignored (such as land tenure and ownership of the resource for example) (Fabricius, 2005).
- Where those who do not contribute to the success of the project receive the benefits and therefore have no reason to contribute to the project, or to sacrifice an activity as others do to ensure the success of the project (Gibson and Marks, 1995). This can lead to over-utilisation of the resource and reduced benefits for the community (Ostrom, 2002). Ways in which to overcome this problem are to ensure only members of the project receive benefits, and that there is effective monitoring of the resource and enforcement of rules governing the use of the resource (Dietz, Ostrom and Stern, 2003: 1908).

In addition, as a community is rarely homogenous, conflict amongst members is to be expected (Jones and Murphree, 2004), and can be caused by the project itself, for example, regarding how to use the benefits, or over land or authority. This conflict can have an effect on the efficacy of the project (Magome and Fabricius, 2005) in terms of people refusing to adhere to the rules such as no poaching, or grazing cattle in certain areas, etc, or simply trying to sabotage the project. Other potential constraints include a lack of understanding of cultural and traditional social structures by external facilitators, weak local institutions, and the temptation towards corruption after years of marginalisation (Fabricius, 2005).

It is also important to bear in mind that these projects can be affected by a myriad external factors, such as political change, natural ecosystem dynamics, climate change, etc. (Magome and Fabricius, 2005).

7. CONCLUSION

As discussed above, there are many variables which may contribute to the sustainability of a CBNRM initiative. However, the following can be distilled as key requirements for sustainable CBNRM projects:

1. Development and implementation of enabling policy enabling local people to legally obtain use rights and authority over identified natural resources in order to manage the resources and benefit from those resources.
2. Local people must receive benefits, be they financial or non-financial, the key being that these benefits must outweigh the costs of living with wildlife and the project. The link between wise resource management and the receipt of benefits must be made clear. If the community do not receive benefits, or they do not outweigh the costs, or if the members receive benefits but are not aware they result from sustainable resource management, there is no incentive to adhere to the project.
3. Local people must be the ones who decide how to use and manage the land and resources, so authority should be devolved to local people as far as possible. The community must support the initiative and there should be active participation in it by community members. The project should not be controlled from above (e.g. state, chiefs, or even a committee if it does not interact with the local people/ground level).
4. Local institutions comprising local people, that are effective, legitimate (in the eyes of the State and the community) and representative of the community must be established, if they are not in existence already, to govern and manage the resources. These institutions should be independent of external authorities, strong and adaptive.
5. Indigenous wildlife numbers and other natural resources must increase and be conserved / maintained, as the project and the receipt of benefits is dependent on upon it.
6. The project must not be reliant on one type of livelihood (only hunting, only a campsite, etc), so if that project fails, or has to stop, the whole project comes to a standstill.
7. The local people must own, or have *de facto* ownership over the resource in question, and they should be aware of this ownership and feel a sense of ownership over the resource.

8. To avoid conflict over benefits or resource use, the community must be defined, so, too, the area and resources over which authority is granted.

Notes

Development: Development can be used to describe virtually anything – a child's development, economic development, a building development and societal development. In this context, development is a process of social change where the aim is the improvement of the welfare of society / community (Thomas, 2000).

Community: Communities can be defined by geographic locality (spatially), simply by virtue of the fact that people live in the same place (village, suburb, etc.), according to social and cultural constructs or practices, such as kinship or tribal links or bound by the same beliefs, morals, traditions, etc. though they may or may not necessarily live in the same area, and in economic terms, where people, for example, have the same ownership rights over resources, or use the same resources (IIED, 1994:4). It is important to be aware that, in the context of CBNRM, communities are not necessarily homogenous units, and may comprise people of different ages, gender, power, ethnicity often, wealth and/or social standing (Metcalf, 1996:1). Communities are constantly changing, and are not single cohesive groups (Berkes, 2003:623). Just because individuals can be classified as part of a particular community on the basis of geographic, socio-cultural or economic terms does not mean they will all have the same views on issues, such as natural resource management, but the more homogenous a community the more effective the natural resource management is likely to be (assuming they have ownership over the resource and responsibility for it) (IIED, 1994).

Conservation: Passmore's definition of conservation is defined as "the saving of natural resources for later consumption" (as cited in IIED, 1994:6). This can include protection, rehabilitation, enhancement of wildlife populations and sustainable use. It is not only the creation of protected areas and preventing people from using the resources inside that area (Barrow and Murphree, 1998).

Participation: Local participation as defined by Cernea (1985) (cited in IIED, 1994:vii) entails "Empowering people to mobilise their own resources, be social actors, rather

than passive subject, manage the resources, make decisions and control the activities that affect their lives." Participation assists to strengthen the capacity of local people to take responsibility for their natural resources, and can assist in planning and implementation of initiatives (Barrow and Murphree 1998). There are varying levels of "participation" (as described by Pimbert and Petty in IIED, 1994:19 and Barrow and Murphree, 1998), from passive participation where people are simply told what is happening or has happened, to self-mobilisation and active participation, where people take decisions without external actors directing them to.

However, participation is not a guarantee of equity. Some people can dominate activities being louder or more confident than others (Barrow and Murphree, 1998). In addition, sometimes people refer to "participation" when all that has happened is that local leadership has been "co-opted" into the process by the outside implementers of the project (Berkes, 2003: 627). This does not mean that the level underneath that leadership is aware of the process and is participating in it.

Management: This entails controlled human use of natural resources, both non-consumptive and consumptive use. Effective management will result in the ability to use the resource sustainability - today and in the future, while ineffective management will lead to its degradation and ultimate decimation (IIED, 1994:5).



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION

Information pertaining to CBNRM in general was gathered over a two year period. Research on Salambala Conservancy commenced in March 2005 following a meeting in Windhoek with a Worldwide Fund for Nature - Living in a Finite Environment (WWF-LIFE) representative and a resultant meeting with a University of Namibia representative who had previously conducted research in the Salambala area. Four field visits to Salambala Conservancy took place over the following year and a half, amounting to approximately six weeks in the field.

From the outset, the aim was that the research conducted should be useful for NGOs and other external stakeholders working in the area, but most importantly for the community of Salambala. I therefore requested guidance from WWF-LIFE and the Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation Trust (IRDNC), an NGO which facilitates the development of community conservancies in the Caprivi and the Kunene, on the type of information that may be of value.

2. RESEARCH QUESTION

This study investigates whether Salambala Conservancy is (i) fulfilling the requirements for a sustainable CBNRM project (as identified in Chapter Two, the Literature Review), and (ii) fulfilling its “Aims and Objectives” as stated in its Constitution. I endeavoured to establish whether both people and wildlife are benefiting (or not) from the community management of the natural resources.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

There are a number of considerations to take into account when determining the appropriate research methods for a study, for example: the research question, the

study subject(s), stakeholders, how the data will be collected, and the timeframe (Babbie and Mouton, 1998). Multiple research methods were employed in this study and were ones I considered most appropriate for the circumstances. These methods included interviews,¹⁷ document analysis and participant observation.

Four visits to Salambala Conservancy were carried out between October 2005 and August 2006. The first field trip was to meet with the Conservancy Executive Committee and introduce myself and my research proposal to its members, to request their permission to conduct such research, and to explore their needs and interest in the potential research.¹⁸ As communication had been difficult in terms of introducing myself to the Acting Chairman of the Conservancy via fax or telephone, the IRDNC assisted me in setting up this introductory meeting with the Executive Committee.

At these initial meetings with the Executive Committee, I gathered information on topics including the background to Salambala's development, funds generated by the Conservancy, institutional arrangements, challenges faced and benefits experienced. During this trip, I also interviewed IRDNC representatives to obtain their perspectives on conservancy development in general and Salambala, specifically. I visited the WWF-LIFE offices in Windhoek to gather further information on the points mentioned where I was given access to a vast amount of documentation, including minutes of meetings and workshops, correspondence, government documents, grant proposals and donor reports.

During the following field trips I interviewed community members, in both structured and unstructured interviews, and obtained further information from the IRDNC and Salambala offices, and from other NGO representatives working in the area. Between trips, additional information was gathered by means of an extensive literature review. Telephonic and electronic interviews were also conducted.

¹⁷ A list of people consulted, excluding the names of community members interviewed, is attached as **Appendix 1**.

¹⁸ Meetings held 04/10/2005 and 05/10/2005. Attendees were Robert Sinyambo (Vice / Acting Chairman), Cecilia Nzehenqwa (Treasurer), Raymond Munyaza (Committee member), Edina Siyoka (Secretary), Bornface Saisai (Vice Treasurer), Carol Murphy (IRDNC), Melissa de Kock, researcher.

3.1 Interviews / discussions

I consulted a total of 145 people during my research. These consultations took the form of structured interviews (questionnaires), semi-structured interviews, informal data-gathering discussions and, especially at the outset of the project, exploratory discussions. In some cases I had specific questions to which I required answers (verifying information gathered from other people or documents, structure questionnaires); in other cases, it was a free-flowing discussion. In all cases the interviews / discussions were an evolving process as the answers generated further questions. These discussions and interviews took place face-to-face, over the telephone or via email.

People from the following sectors were consulted during my research:

Name of organisation / group	No.
Government	1
NGOs	8
Civil Society	1
Executive Committee members	6
Management Committee members	14
Community members (Structured questionnaire) from 4 villages	80
Community Members ¹⁹ (semi-structured interviews) from 10 villages	35 ²⁰
Total	145

Table 1: Sector breakdown of people consulted during the study

During meetings with the Executive Committee on my follow-up field visits I verified information I had gathered (from documents and interviews with other people) and obtained updates on matters which had taken place in the intervening months, in addition to seeking answers to questions which had arisen from further research.

During July and August 2006, I conducted 80 interviews with local community members from four (4) villages, of approximately 35 minutes each. Please see

¹⁹ Topics discussed included benefits, feelings towards increased wildlife, challenges they experienced.

²⁰ Including the Ex-Acting Chairman, the Senior Game Guard and a Community Resource Monitor.

Appendix 2 for the questionnaire, which was piloted prior to conducting the interviews. The four villages were Ngoma, Ikumwe, loma and Muyako. The number of people selected from each village was based upon the population estimates of the villages I obtained from Indunas, the Executive Committee, the Secretary of the Bukalo Khuta and an estimate drawn from the 2001 Census. I selected a large village, a small village and two medium-sized villages.

Number and distribution of people interviewed was as follows:

Village	Pop. Size (estimate only)	No. people interviewed
Ngoma	1,200	32
Muyako	900	19
Ikumwe	800	17
loma	600	12
Total	3500	80

Table 2: Number and distribution of people interviewed in each village

In each village I attempted to get a cross-section of society, (i.e. young, old, male and female) in order to adequately represent views of the conservancy across the spectrum. This did, however, impact on findings regarding the conservancy development as some respondents were still in school at the time of conservancy formation and thus too young to have participated in those initial meetings.

The gender and age representation of respondents in each village was as follows:

Age & gender distribution of respondents in each village							
	18-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-90	Total
Ngoma							
Female	2	3	3	3	1	2	14
Male	3	5	5	2	1	2	18
Muyako							
Female	3	2	1	1	2	0	9
Male	3	2	2	0	2	1	10
Ikumwe							
Female	2	1	3	2	1	0	9
Male	1	3	1	0	2	1	8
Ioma							
Female	1	1	1	1	2	0	6
Male	0	2	1	1	0	2	6

Table 3: Age and gender distribution of respondents in each village

Given the time constraints, the estimated knowledge of the demographics and population sizes in each village, in addition to the how busy the community members' lives are (farming, attending church meetings, other daily livelihood activities), I used a combination of non-probability sampling techniques in selecting subjects (based upon their availability/presence when I was in the village and what knowledge I had of the demographics of the village (Babbie and Mouton 1998: 166). My goal was to obtain feedback from people of all ages and both genders.

The discussions with Management Committee members were simply establishing how the money from the Benefit Distribution pay-out had been used in each village and how the community had been informed of the pay-out; and verifying how decisions were made regarding how the money was spent (unless the Committee members also happened to be part of the survey sample).

People on the whole were outspoken and did not appear to temper their views and opinions, even when making a statement the Committee may not have approved of. This approach indicated people were not saying what they thought I, or the Committee, wanted to hear.

3.1.1 Need for a Translator

I required a translator when speaking to the majority of local community members. Thus I acquired the services of two individuals for the two separate field trips where I interviewed community members.

In December 2005, I obtained the assistance of a person whose first language is Subia (the language spoken in Salambala) and who comes from the area (but not the Conservancy), and who had previously worked on another research project in the area. However, when I visited the area in May 2006, the Committee requested that the next time I conducted interviews I use a local conservancy member to do the translating for me. I requested that the Committee assist me in selecting such an individual, which they did. In both cases I discussed the questionnaires / questions with the translators to ensure clear understanding on their part of the questions. Interviews with NGO members and the Executive Committee were conducted in English.

3.1.2 Obtaining permission to talk to Community Members

Prior to interviewing community members, we first sought out the Indunas of each village to introduce me and my research and explain that I had the support of the Conservancy Committee but was not in any way affiliated to the Committee. I explained that they could speak freely. I then requested permission to speak to the villagers. When speaking to each villager we went through the same process of introductions.

3.1.3 Analysis of data gathered from questionnaires

In order to analyse the information obtained from the interviews, I created separate Tables in Microsoft Excel for each question, as per the examples on the following page (*Tables 4 and 5*).

Question 12: Are you aware of any benefits produced as a result of the conservancy?			
Respondent	Yes	No	Notes
Respondent 1	x		
Respondent 2	x		
Respondent 3	x		
Respondent 4	x		
Respondent 5	x		
Respondent 6	x		
Respondent 7	x		
Respondent 8	x		
Respondent 9	x		
Respondent 10	x		
Respondent 11	x		
Respondent 12	x		
Respondent 13	x		

Table 4: Example of data analysis method

Question 13: Please list the benefits you are aware of					
Respondent	Money	Meat	Employment (Long and short terms jobs)	Training	Other
Respondent 1	x		x		
Respondent 2	x	x	x		
Respondent 3	x	x	x		
Respondent 4	x	x			
Respondent 5	x	x			
Respondent 6	x	x			
Respondent 7	x	x			
Respondent 8	x	x			
Respondent 9	x	x			
Respondent 10	x	x			
Respondent 11	x	x			
Respondent 12	x				
Respondent 13	x	x			x
Respondent 14	x	x	x		

Table 5: Example of data analysis method

Once I had input all the data gathered during the interviews, I counted the number of people who had responded in the same manner and obtained my results, as discussed in Chapter Five.

3.2 Analysis of literature / documents

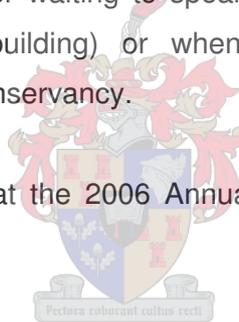
A Literature Review (Chapter Two) was conducted. However, a vast amount of information was also gathered which was not used in the Chapter, but assisted in giving me the required background information for the research – both in terms of

general CBNRM literature and more specific information pertaining to Conservancies in Namibia in general and to Salambala's development. I was given access to a vast amount of documents (grant applications, donor reports, correspondence, contracts, minutes of meetings and workshops, etc.) by various stakeholders including the IRDNC, WWF-LIFE and the Salambala Committee. In addition, archived news reports, donor press releases and various websites (such as the Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism website) enabled me to obtain an understanding of the context in which Salambala has developed.

3.3 Participant Observation

During my visits, I also had an opportunity to observe people in their everyday activities, such as ploughing, planting, milling and sorting maize, mending fishing nets and interacting with one another. This took place while I was waiting for people to be ready to speak with me or waiting to speak to the Induna (outside the sub-khuta, the local community building) or when I accompanied a local NGO representative in visits to the Conservancy.

Observations were also made at the 2006 Annual General Meeting (AGM) which took place on 8 August 2006.



3.4 Developing relationships

My developing relationships with various individuals working in the area gave me further insight into the area, the organisations which play in a role in Conservancy development, the difficulties of operating in the Caprivi and local politics.

In addition, the fact that I appeared to have the support of both WWF-LIFE and the IRDNC, both of which are respected by the Conservancy Executive Committee, quite likely contributed to the open manner in which the Executive Committee received me.

In the same vein, that I had both the consent of the Executive Committee and the Indunas in the villages in which I interviewed people also enabled my access to people and their time.

4. ACTIVITIES AND TIMEFRAME

DATE	ACTIVITY
September 2004 – October 2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentary analysis regarding CBNRM in general
March 2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting with Chris Weaver (WWF-LIFE) • Meeting with Alfons Mosimane (UNAM) • Visiting conservancies and community-based tourism enterprises in Namibia
April – September 2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gathering background information on Conservancy development, Namibia's CBNRM programme, Salambala Conservancy. • Making contact with the IRDNC in Caprivi
October 2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field visit to the Caprivi and Salambala Conservancy • Meeting with the Executive Committee • Meeting with IRDNC staff members working on Conservancy development in East Caprivi • Meeting other relevant stakeholders (e.g. the ex-Acting Chairman of the Conservancy) • Working in the WWF-LIFE office in Windhoek for a day sifting through and copying relevant information from their files (Minutes, Contracts, Correspondence, etc)
November 2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data analysis
December 2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field visit to the Caprivi • Interviewing local stakeholders to obtain their views on the conservancy, wildlife, crop damage, etc (e.g. local community members, Indunas of some villages, Management Committee representatives of some villages). Verifying / cross-referencing data collected.
January – April 2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data analysis • Writing literature review

May 2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field visit to the Caprivi • Meeting with Executive Committee and IRDNC / WWF-LIFE staff. Verifying cross-referencing data collected.
May-June 2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amending literature review • Data analysis
Mid July – mid August 2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field visit to the Caprivi • Structured Interviews with community members • Meeting with the Executive Committee • Meeting with NGO staff (WWF-LIFE / IRDNC) • Verifying information gathered
September – October 2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data analysis • Verifying and cross-checking final information • Concluding research document

Table 6: Table depicting Research Activities and Timeframe

5. CONSTRAINTS



Time

Any time that a community member took to speak to me was time away from their fields or other daily activities which contributed to their livelihoods. I have thus a great amount of gratitude for the people who took the time to speak to me. The timing and duration of my field visits were determined by my job requirements. Thus my longest field trip was three weeks and my shortest was four days.

Accessibility

As Salambala is either incredibly sandy in winter, or very muddy in summer, access to villages, particularly in summer was difficult. I was loaned suitable vehicles on both field visits which made it easier to travel to the villages.

CHAPTER FOUR

NAMIBIAN CONTEXT

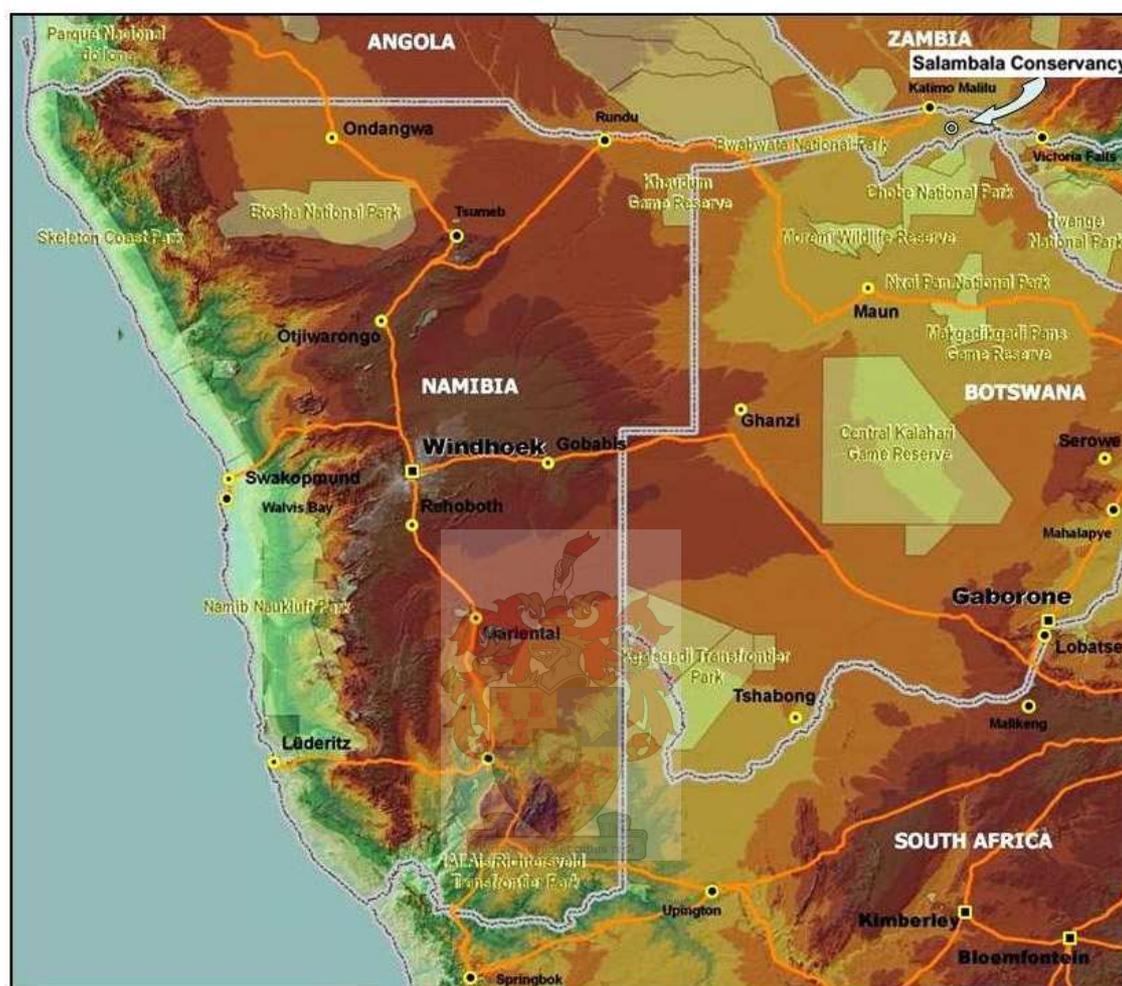


Figure 1: Map of Namibia

(Map courtesy of Peace Parks Foundation)

1. EVOLUTION OF NAMIBIA'S CBNRM PROGRAMME

Prior to colonisation the use of wildlife and other natural resources in Namibia was regulated through local institutions and taboos, low-tech hunting methods and lower populations. However, when control was transferred to the State and resource use by local people was made illegal, people had little reason to manage the wildlife sustainably as they were not benefiting from wise use. Illegal hunting thus occurred and wildlife numbers decreased. Increasing human populations and drought further exacerbated the problem (Jones, 1998).

The Namibian CBNRM Programme was formally initiated in the years following Namibia's Independence in 1990, when the Government transferred the same rights regarding wildlife enjoyed by commercial (mostly white) farmers since the 1960s to people living on communal land. Thus, people living on communal lands were able to obtain conditional rights to manage wildlife for their own benefit enabling them to derive an income from hunting concessions and / or tourism (Blackie, 1999; Corbett and Jones, 2000; Jones, 1998).

The Namibian Government's CBNRM programme aims to "improve the quality of life of rural Namibians by empowering people to care for their natural resources and to derive benefits from these resources". It has three elements:

- Natural Resource Management;
- Rural development; and,
- Empowerment and capacity building (MET, 2005d).

There are two aspects to the Namibian CBNRM Programme: Community Conservancies, which involve wildlife management; and the establishment of Community Forests,²¹ which allow for local management of forestry resources (MET, 2005a). This study focuses on the Conservancy programme, and specifically Salambala Conservancy.

The Conservancy programme incentivises local people to become more tolerant of wildlife and to develop a more positive attitude to wildlife given the benefits they receive (cultural, social and economic benefits) from the sustainable management of wildlife, thus stopping the decline of wildlife numbers on communal lands (Jones, 1998:2).

Development of CBNRM policy in Namibia was guided by the outcome of participatory "socio-ecological" surveys undertaken by the then Ministry of Wildlife Conservation and Tourism, which later became the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET), between 1990-1992 in conjunction with the Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation Trust (IRDNC) and other NGOs which identified issues the communities had with regards to wildlife, conservation and the Ministry. These surveys resulted in a number of community conservation projects

²¹ Whereby local people obtain management rights over forest resources under the Forestry Act No. 12 of 2001 (MET, 2005a).

which aimed to address the issues raised. These projects were pilot projects for the CBNRM programme. The experiences from these projects in terms of community organisation, benefit distribution plans and private sector partnerships, assisted the development of the new legislation for community involvement in wildlife management. The policies were therefore a result of the needs identified by the communities and not dictated by Government officials. (Jones, 1998:4)

The development of CBNRM policy was also influenced by common property management theory, in addition to the positive experiences of a community-conservation project in North-West Namibia²² and of freehold / commercial farmers who had been granted use rights over certain wildlife, and lessons learnt from other CBNRM programmes in the region (such as CAMPFIRE) (Jones, 1998; Nott and Jacobsohn, 2005; Weaver and Skyer, 2005).

A lesson from CAMPFIRE was that authority and rights to benefit should be devolved as far as possible, i.e. to community members and not only to traditional authorities or councils, in order to benefit as many local people as much as possible (Nott and Jacobsohn, 2005). CAMPFIRE personnel in fact advised the Namibian officials that communities should retain 100% of the revenue, and not have to share it with the State so as to have the maximum impact for local people (Jones, 1998:3).

There are currently 44 conservancies registered in Namibia. The funds generated in 2005 through this programme amounted to N\$20 million (Diggle, Munali and Owen Smith, 2006:2).

From a social perspective, the Namibian Conservancy programme has empowered rural people and encouraged the growth of democracy at a local level (e.g. election of committee members and decision making about use of funds obtained through the conservancy) (Nott and Jacobsohn, 2005: 194). From a biodiversity perspective, conservancies complement Namibia's State protected areas by increasing the amount of land under conservation, often forming corridors between protected areas through which wildlife can disperse (Nott and Jacobsohn, 2005: 194; Weaver and Skyer, 2005: 90).

²² This included the establishment of a network of game guards by local communities, with assistance from the IRDNC, and a pilot tourism project to generate revenue (Jones, 1998).

Problems encountered have included:

- Weak downward accountability in conservancy committees; generally accountability is upwards to NGOs, government (Child, 2003).
- As a result of increased wildlife in the conservancies, human-wildlife conflict is increasing. However, ways to mitigate the impacts of human-wildlife conflict are being investigated (in the Caprivi and the Kunene), for example the implementation of a compensation / insurance fund (Nott and Jacobsohn, 2005: 196).

2. ENABLING LEGISLATION

The following “empowering” legislation, of which the Nature Conservation Ordinance (No 4 of 1975)²³ forms the foundation, is key to the development of the Conservancy programme (Weaver and Skyer, 2005:90; Jones, 1998; Blackie, 1999):

- *1992: Policy Document approved by the then Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism* which provides for the establishment of conservancies. Although primarily relating to conservancies on commercial land, this document also makes provision for the establishment of conservancies on communal land (Jones, 1998).
- *1995: Policy on Wildlife Management, Utilisation and Tourism in Communal Areas* which provides a framework for granting rights over wildlife to communal land residents through the conservancy structure (thus enabling implementation of 1992 policy document) (Jones, 1998).
- *1996: The Nature Conservation Amendment Act (Act 5 of 1996)* which amended the Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1975 to enable communal land residents to obtain the same rights over wildlife and tourism as commercial farmers. In order to obtain these rights, a conservancy must be formed and registered with the MET, and registration is conditional upon fulfilment of certain requirements (listed below). This act also gives conservancies the right to have

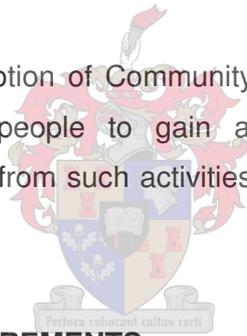
²³ The Nature Conservation Ordinance (No 4 of 1975) enabled freehold farmers to obtain use rights over wildlife on their farms (Jones, 1998).

commercial tourism concessions in the conservancy (Government of Namibia, 1996; Jones, 1998).

Conditional rights under the new legislation enable conservancies to:

- Sustainably use (consumptively and non-consumptively), manage and benefit from wildlife within the conservancy area;
- Decide how the wildlife will be used;
- Enter into agreements with private sector partners (for both hunting and tourism concessions);
- Establish tourism facilities within the conservancy;
- Retain the revenue generated from these activities; and,
- Propose recommendations to the MET for hunting harvesting quotas (MET, 2005b). (As the MET remains legally responsible for the nation's wildlife; it must ensure that wildlife is managed sustainably. The MET therefore makes the final decision with regard to hunting quotas (MET, 2005b).)

Another key policy is the Promotion of Community Based Tourism Policy of 1995, which aims to enable local people to gain access to tourism development opportunities in order to benefit from such activities on their communal land (Jones, 1998).



3. CONSERVANCY REQUIREMENTS

Attaining rights to use wildlife sustainably is conditional upon a community registering their communal area as a Conservancy. In order to register a Conservancy, people living on the communal land must apply to the Minister (of Environment and Tourism) and submit the following information regarding the proposed Conservancy:

- Names of committee members;
- Constitution;
- Geographic boundaries; and,
- A membership list (Government of Namibia, 1996; MET, 2005b).

The Minister must be satisfied that:

- The committee is representative of the community;
- The Constitution provides for the "sustainable management and utilisation of game";

- The committee is able to manage any funds generated;
- There is a plan providing for the equitable distribution of benefits to members;
- The geographic area is adequately identified (in consultations with neighbours and the Regional Councillor); and,
- The area is not a game park or reserve (Government of Namibia, 1996).

4. KEY ASPECTS OF A CONSERVANCY

- Conservancies are multiple-use areas (i.e. they are not people-exclusion zones, apart from some areas in certain Conservancies zoned exclusively for wildlife, e.g. as in Salambala Conservancy²⁴. People live within the Conservancy boundaries and continue their usual subsistence farming activities in addition to undertaking wildlife management and tourism activities) (MET, 2005a).
- The conservancy committee, in consultation with the community, decides how to spend wildlife revenues. The revenue generated by the wildlife (from sale of wildlife, hunting, etc.) is used for community projects and / or distributed to villages / households / members (MET, 2005b).
- The community retains all revenue from hunting and tourism (Jones, 1998).
- The community defines itself and the geographical area of the area. A conservancy, and who will obtain rights and who will benefit, is not defined according to political or administrative boundaries (Corbett and Jones, 2000:15), nor by the boundaries of the Traditional Authority (Murphy, Nhetha and Mwilima, 2006).
- A key component of the programme is the leading role played by the community – it decides whether or not to form a conservancy, determines the boundaries and memberships, and elects a committee (Jones, 1998:7).

5. THE CAPRIVI REGION

The Caprivi Region (or Strip as it is commonly known) stretches like a finger from the main body of Namibia between Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Caprivi is 14,528km² and comprises 1.8% of Namibia (Urban Dynamics and Desert Research Foundation, 2004).

²⁴ Salambala Conservancy Constitution, 1999

In East Caprivi, where Salambala is situated, the Caprivi Strip is approximately 100km wide north to south and is bordered by Zambia and the Zambezi River to the north, Botswana and the Chobe River to the south (*Figure 2*). East Caprivi has the highest rainfall in Namibia, with an annual average of more than 600mm (Mendelsohn, Jarvis, Roberts and Robertson, 2002). Thus, unlike many other areas in Namibia, it is conducive to agriculture. However, farming is determined by rains and, if the rains fail, the majority of the subsistence farmers would be destitute.

The population of the Caprivi is approximately 79,000 people. This area is more densely populated than Namibia as a whole: 5.5 people per km² compared to 2.1 people per km². The annual growth rate is 1.8%. The average household is 4.7 persons; 49% of households are headed by women (Urban Dynamics and Desert Research Foundation, 2004). The average annual income per capita is N\$1,598 (which equates to N\$4.38 per day) (Urban Dynamics and Desert Research Foundation, 2004), whereas the Gross National Income (GNI) per capita is approximately N\$19,435 (US\$2,990) (World Bank, 2006). The vast majority of people in this region (89%) use wood and / or charcoal for cooking and 73.5% of households live in traditional dwellings. Seventy-eight percent (78%) of population over 15 years is literate. Life expectancy in this region is 43 for women and 41 for men, and the HIV/AIDS rate is 40% (Urban Dynamics and Desert Research Foundation, 2004).



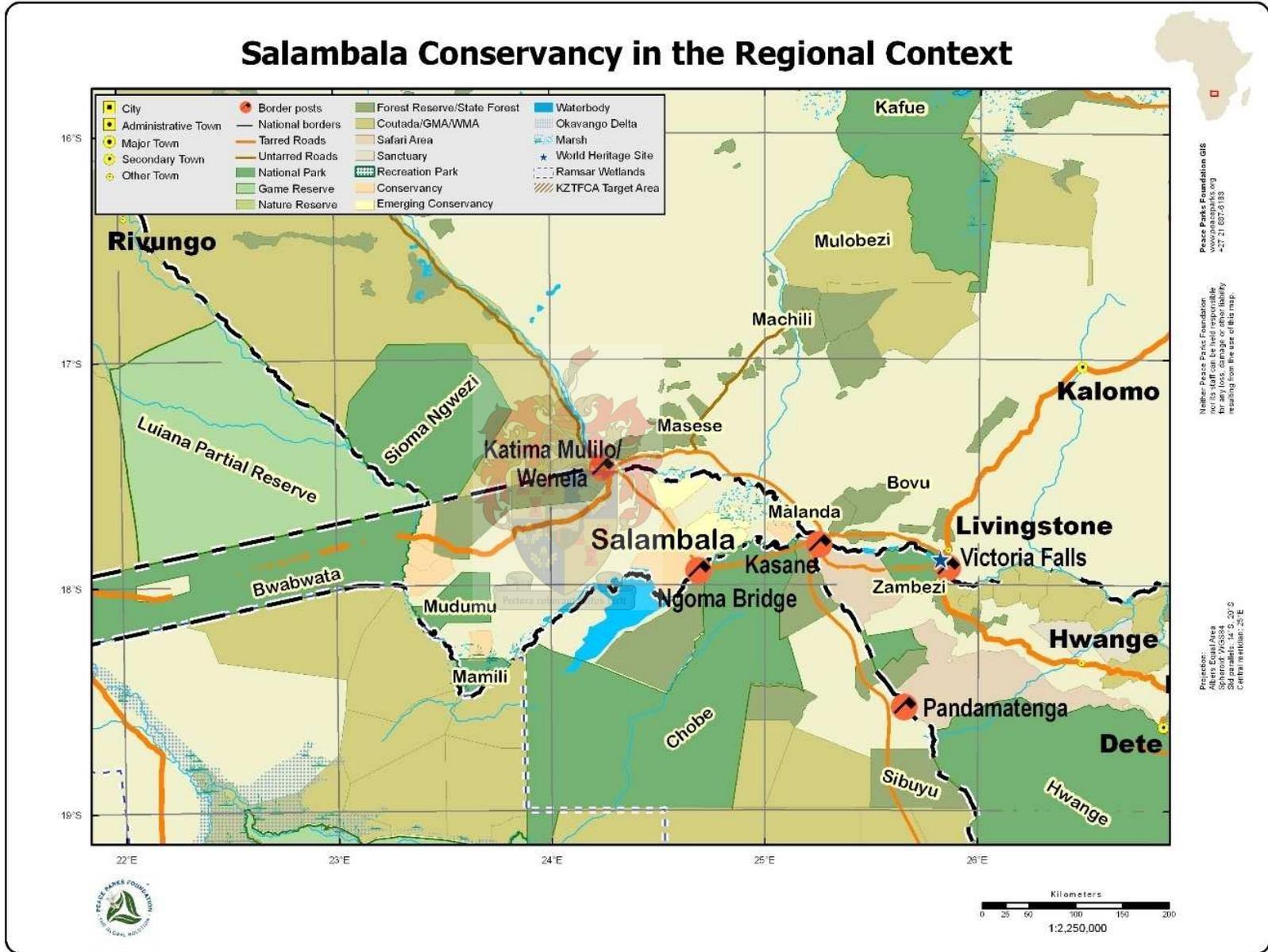


Figure 2: Map of Salambala Conservancy in a regional context

(Map courtesy of Peace Parks Foundation)

6. SALAMBALA CONSERVANCY IN CONTEXT

Salambala Conservancy is situated in East Caprivi, south-east of Katima Mulilo, and borders on Botswana and the Chobe River to the south. It is one of seven registered Conservancies in East Caprivi. Another 10 Conservancies in this area are currently being developed (Diggle, Munali and Owen Smith, 2006:2).

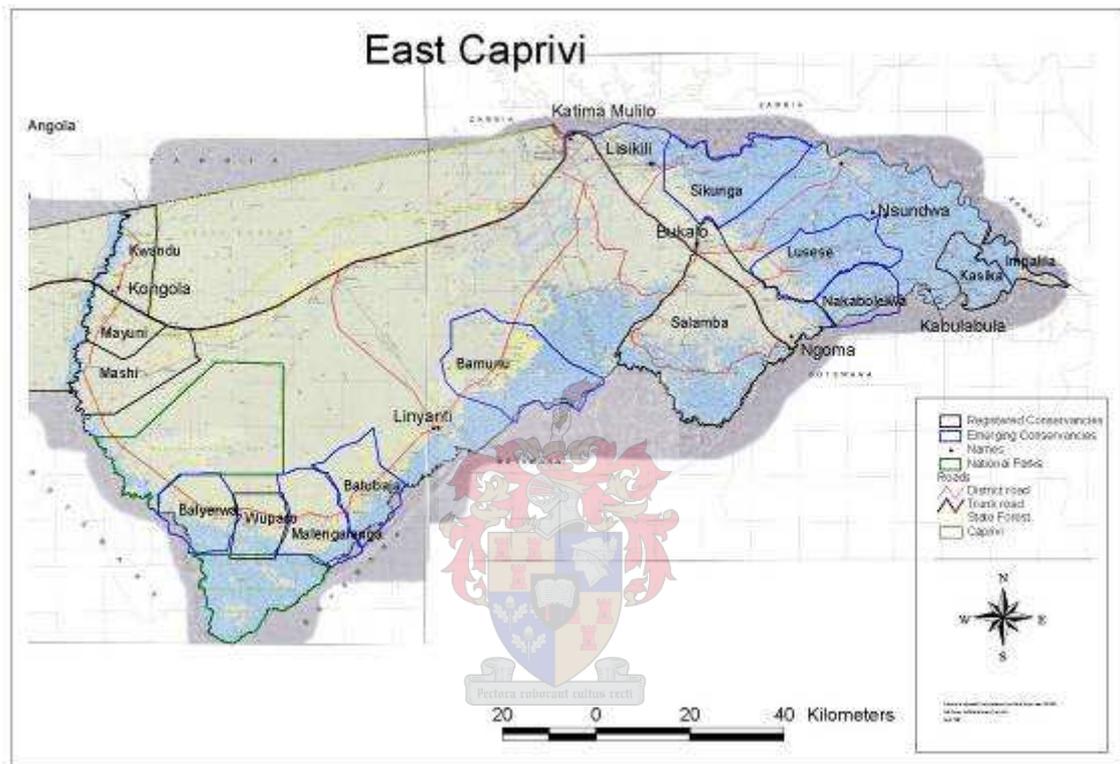


Figure 3: Map of East Caprivi

(Map courtesy of the IRDNC)

Salambala, which is 930km²,²⁵ has a population of 8,020 people in 1,597 households (Humphrey and Humphrey, 2003 in Mulonga and Murphy, 2003:21). On average, there are five people in a household in Salambala. The population density in the area is +/- 8.5 people per km². The majority of the population comprises Basubia (which is under the leadership of the Bukalo Traditional Authority).

In this study, the term “*community*” refers to all people living within the geographical boundaries of Salambala Conservancy.

²⁵ Salambala Conservancy Constitution, 1999

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY: SALAMBALA CONSERVANCY

1. INTRODUCTION

In the 1950s, there were fewer people and many natural resources in the Salambala area. Wildlife numbers started to decline in the 1960s with the onset of increased hunting and improved hunting methods (there are anecdotal accounts of South African Defence Force (SADF) members stationed there using helicopters and machine guns to hunt wildlife). In addition, the increase in numbers of local population contributed to declining wildlife numbers (Murphy, 2002b:1 Jones, 1998).

Salambala Conservancy was gazetted as a Conservancy (as per the requirements of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) discussed in Chapter Four) on 19 June 1998. An inauguration ceremony was held on 23 January 1999.²⁶ Please refer to *Figure 4* for a map of Salambala. It was one of the first four conservancies to be registered in Namibia, and the first in the Caprivi (MET, 2005c). It has been self-sustaining since September 2002²⁷ and is considered to be one of the more successful conservancies in Namibia (Murphy, Nhetha and Mwilima, 2006:4).

According to the Salambala Conservancy Constitution²⁸ attached as **Appendix 3**, the Conservancy comprises two main areas:

- A 14,000ha “core conservation area” (or core wildlife area) which is exclusively zoned for wildlife and tourism. No people are meant to reside within it, and no livestock is meant to be grazed there.
- The remaining 79,000ha is a “multiple-use” area which allows for wildlife management, human habitation and local farming activities.

²⁶ Salambala Conservancy Management Plan, 2005; Minutes of Salambala’s Annual General Meeting, 8 December 1999.

²⁷ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005.

²⁸ Signed 1996, but adopted at the first AGM held on 8 December 1999 (Minutes of Salambala’s Annual General Meeting, 8 December 1999.)

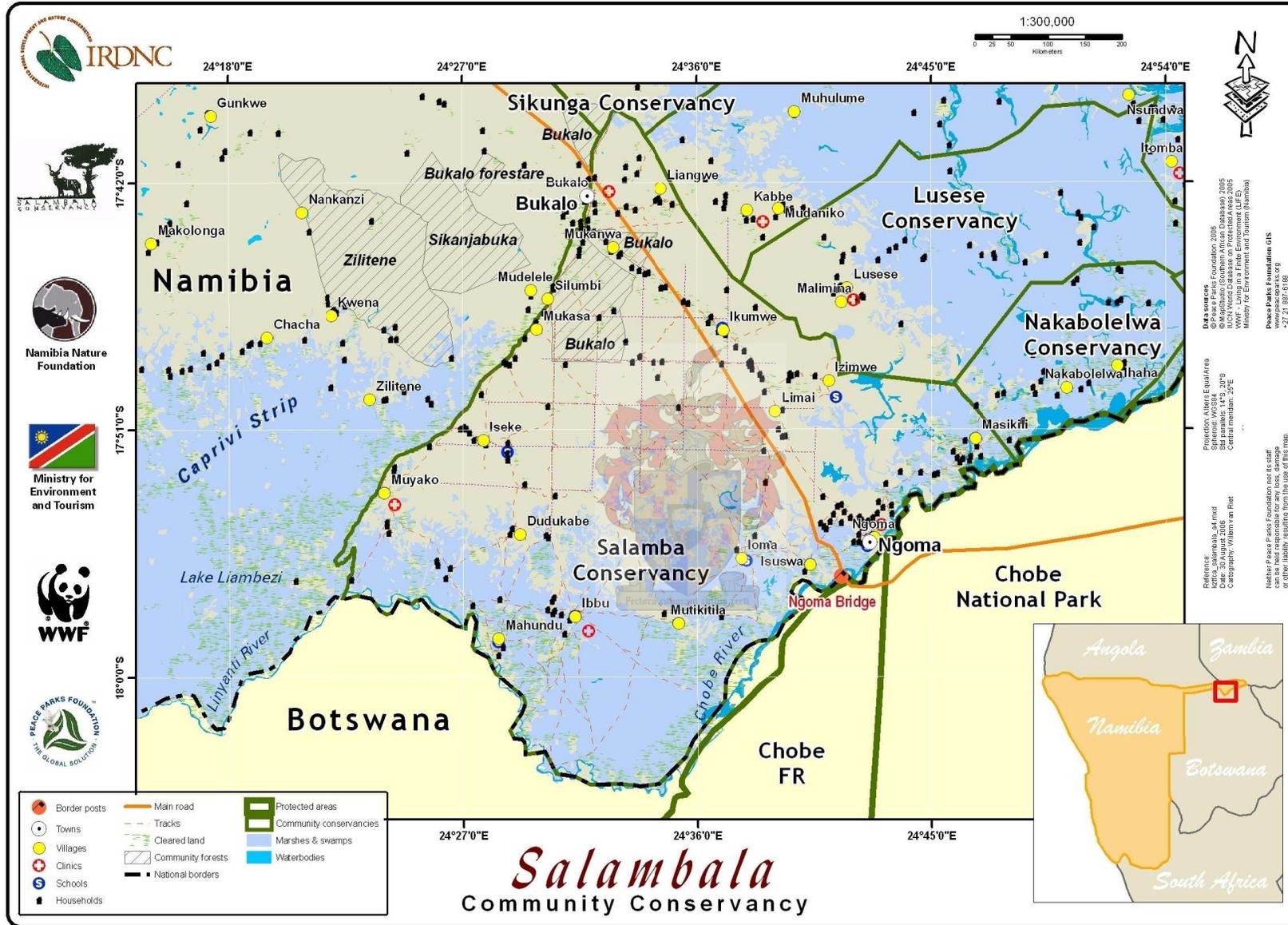


Figure 4: Map of Salambala Conservancy

Map courtesy of Peace Parks Foundation, data courtesy of the Namibia Nature Foundation

2. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CONSERVANCY

The purpose of the Conservancy, as stated in the Salambala Conservancy Management Plan²⁹ is: “To bring back and conserve Wildlife and Natural Resources sustainably, so as to improve the livelihoods of Salambala members and their future generations through benefits.”

According to the Salambala Conservancy Constitution, the primary aims and objectives of the Conservancy are:

- “To create an environment conducive for the return of game to the Salambala area”. This includes reducing poaching and increasing awareness amongst community members of the importance of wildlife.³⁰
- “To manage Salambala’s wildlife and other natural resources in accordance with an approved management plan in a sustainable manner to maximise the return of benefits to the communities in and around the Salambala area.”
- “To protect Salambala’s wildlife and plants for future generations of Namibia’s residents, particularly those living in East Caprivi.”
- “To develop tourism accommodation and guided tours for tourists in the conservancy to derive benefits for the communities.” The Management Plan expands on this topic to say that Conservancy tourism products should be “well developed, managed and marketed” and be ones that “last long and generate income for the community”.

3. BACKGROUND

3.1 History of Salambala

In 1988 the Bukalo Traditional Authority (Khuta) requested that the Government (at the time it was still the colonial South African Government) establish a national park in the Salambala Forest and adjacent areas. This request was rejected.³¹

²⁹ Salambala Conservancy Management Plan, 2005.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Minutes of the First Workshop on Formation of the Salambala Conservancy. June 13-14, 1995; Correspondence from Mr Chris Weaver, WWF-LIFE, to Ms Gail Super, Office of the Attorney General, Government of Namibia, 16 July 1998.

In 1993, the Khuta approached the Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation Trust (IRDNC)³² to discuss the potential of creating a conservancy in the Salambala area. A committee was appointed by the Khuta to drive this process in 1994 (Murphy, 2002b). The MET, the IRDNC and Worldwide Fund for Nature – Living in a Finite Environment programme (WWF-LIFE) assisted in the early development and formation of the conservancy (NACSO, 2005). The Conservancy's development was primarily funded by grants from WWF-LIFE until September 2002 when it became self-sustaining.³³ Initially it was planned to create a Conservancy only in and around the Salambala Forest³⁴, which was traditionally the hunting ground of the Basubia Chief and where hunting was regulated by the Chief.³⁵ It was subsequently decided to expand the conservancy and make the Forest the Core Wildlife Area.³⁶ In 1996 an exchange visit by members of the conservancy committee to a CAMPFIRE project was facilitated (and funded by WWF-LIFE and the Rossing Foundation) in order for the committee to see the opportunities presented by CBNRM and learn from people who were already participating in and implementing CBNRM (Murphy, 2002b). The first trophy hunt was held in 1999 (Murphy, 2002b:17). This first hunting season generated N\$180,000 for Salambala.³⁷

Approximately 1,950 people are Conservancy members³⁸ (IRDNC, 2005). Of the respondents who participated in this study, 56.25% of respondents in this study said

³² The IRDNC is a local NGO working with communities and natural resource management in the Kunene and Caprivi regions in Namibia.

³³ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005.

³⁴ Minutes of the First Workshop on Formation of the Salambala Conservancy. June 13-14, 1995.

³⁵ *ibid.*

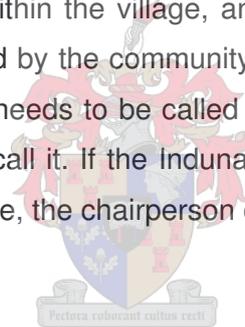
³⁶ Minutes of the Second Workshop on Formation of the Salambala Conservancy. August 14-16, 1995.

³⁷ Grant Proposal to WWF-LIFE: Assisting the Salambala Conservancy to reach Operational and Financial Sustainability, September 1999; Minutes of Salambala's Annual General Meeting, 8 December 1999.

³⁸ Members of the Conservancy obtain the rights to manage and benefit from wildlife (Salambala Conservancy Constitution, 1999). However, in reality everyone living within Salambala has access to the benefits through village benefit distributions. Members can attend Conservancy meetings and vote on Conservancy matters such as the election of Committee members (Salambala Conservancy Constitution, 1999). Again, in reality, many non-members participate. In conversations with local people it was clear that many people felt that by virtue of living in Salambala they were Conservancy members. However, those people who have formally become members of the Conservancy have also agreed to abide by the laws of the Conservancy, such as not hunting wildlife (Salambala Conservancy Constitution, 1999).

they are members of the Conservancy. However, it transpired on further questioning that at least 10% of them believed they were members by virtue of the fact that they lived in Salambala, but had not formally joined the Conservancy. Thus formal membership amongst respondents is 46.25%. The Management Committee is trying to increase membership through meetings to raise awareness of the Conservancy.³⁹ Currently though there is little reason for people to be members as the benefits from the Conservancy are distributed to each village within the boundaries, so non-members and members alike share the benefits. However, only members will be eligible for compensation for livestock loss through the soon-to-be implemented Human-Animal Conservancy Self-Insurance Scheme (HAC SIS).⁴⁰

Stakeholders involved in the Salambala Conservancy area include the Indunas – local traditional leaders/senior headmen – and the Village Development Committees (VDC) which are not officially connected to the Conservancy, though in some cases VDC members are also Management Committee representatives. Each village has a VDC which oversees matters within the village, and which reports to the Induna of the village.⁴¹ The VDC is elected by the community, whereas Indunas are appointed by the Khuta. When a meeting needs to be called of the villagers, either the Induna or the VDC representative can call it. If the Induna isn't there, or if for some reason there isn't an Induna of the village, the chairperson of the VDC can call it.⁴²



3.2 Institutional Arrangements

The Management Committee, which meets quarterly, is the overall decision-making authority in the Conservancy. The Committee, in conjunction with the MET, is responsible for protecting wildlife, increasing numbers and protecting the wildlife habitat and other natural resources.⁴³ Its role is also to increase the community's awareness of wildlife and conservation (Diggle, Munali and Owen Smith, 2006:3).

³⁹ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005.

⁴⁰ Robert Sinyambo (Acting-Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/98/2006

⁴¹ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Grant Proposal to WWF-LIFE: Assisting the Salambala Conservancy to reach Operational and Financial Sustainability, September 1999; Salambala Conservancy Management Plan, 2005.

According to the Constitution, Salambala's Management Committee should have 41 members, 40 of whom proportionately⁴⁴ represent the 18 villages within Salambala, and one non-voting member who represents the Bukalo Khuta (Traditional Authority).⁴⁵ However, one of the villages, which had one Committee member, has withdrawn from Salambala and has become a part of another, adjoining conservancy (Murphy, Nhetha and Mwilima, 2006). There is thus one less member on the Committee.⁴⁶

An Executive Committee of nine is elected from the Management Committee and meets monthly. The Executive Committee undertakes the actual day-to-day implementation of Conservancy activities (which are determined at Management Committee meetings and according to the priorities as per the Management Plan) and reports to the Management Committee.⁴⁷

Management Committee members are democratically elected at community meetings for a term of three years.⁴⁸ However, the Management Committee in office during the survey period had been so for almost five years. There had been some upheaval in that the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman were both suspended in 2004 for alleged mismanagement (of the Conservancy vehicle and funds)⁴⁹ and the individual nominated to stand as Acting Chairman resigned the following year following community unhappiness with his Chairmanship.⁵⁰ It was decided at the AGM on 8 August 2006 that community elections for a new Management Committee would be held before the end of 2006. These elections took place in January and February 2007⁵¹, only slightly later than planned.

Since the first Management Committee was formed in 1994, it has undergone a number of transformations. The original Committee, appointed by the Khuta in 1994,

⁴⁴ The larger villages, such as Ngoma, have four representatives; the small villages, such as Isuswe, have only one (Salambala Conservancy Constitution, 1999).

⁴⁵ Salambala Conservancy Constitution, 1999; Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005

⁴⁶ Daisy Nhetha (IRDNC), personal communication, 09/2006.

⁴⁷ Salambala Conservancy Constitution, 1999; Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005, 23/07/2006

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Minutes of Salambala's Annual General Meeting, Salambala Campsite, 8 August 2004.

⁵⁰ Minutes of Salambala's Annual General Meeting, Salambala Campsite, 8 August 2005.

⁵¹ Raymond Munyaza (ex-Executive Committee member), personal communication, 15/02/2007.

was disbanded in January 1995 (by the Khuta) as it was not sufficiently representative of the community. A second Committee was formed a few months later (again by the Khuta) and this Committee evolved into third Committee in 1997 with further representatives joining it. This Committee was thus larger as well as more representative of the villages in Salambala. The Committee was further enlarged in 1999, again to ensure proper representation of the community.⁵² Three elections to appoint a Committee have been held since then.⁵³

Thus the Committee has evolved from one which was appointed by the Khuta, to one where community members elect and appoint the Committee members themselves. In addition, gender representation on the Committee has vastly improved since the initial Committee, which was comprised exclusively of men.⁵⁴ By July 1999, female representation on the committee was 25% (WWF-LIFE, 1999) and in the previous Management Committee there were more women than men.^{55 56}

3.3 Relationship with the Traditional Authority

There is a close relationship between the Salambala Conservancy management and the Bukalo Traditional Authority (Murphy and Mulonga, 2002a). The Traditional Authority led by Chief Liswani III championed the development of the conservancy and continues to support its development. Sanctioning of a Conservancy by the Traditional Authority can strengthen the committee institutionally, as it then has authority from the State, the Traditional Authority (Corbett and Jones, 2000) where in some case the Chief plays a role of 'patron' of the Conservancy⁵⁷ (Nott and

⁵² Correspondence from Mr Chris Weaver, WWF-LIFE, to Ms Gail Super, Office of the Attorney General, Government of Namibia, 16 July 1998; Correspondence from the Munitenge Royal Establishment to Mrs Pendukeni Ithana, Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, 7 April 1998; Grant Proposal to WWF-LIFE: Assisting the Salambala Conservancy to reach Operational and Financial Sustainability, September 1999.

⁵³ Minutes of Salambala's Annual General Meeting, 30 July 2002; Correspondence from Raymond Kwenani to the Chief Warden, Ministry of Environment and Tourism, 29 December 2002; Raymond Munyaza (ex-Executive Committee member), personal communication, 15/02/2007.

⁵⁴ Minutes of the Second Workshop on Formation of the Salambala Conservancy. August 14-16, 1995.

⁵⁵ Salambala Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006.

⁵⁶ There was no information available about the gender composition of the Committee elected in January / February 2007 at the time of writing.

⁵⁷ However if the Traditional Authority is weak or doesn't have much support from the Conservancy constituency, it is often perceived as a threat (Nott and Jacobsohn, 2005).

Jacobsohn, 2005), in addition to the community which elected them. This is the case in Salambala.

The Traditional Authority has rights to decide how communal land is allocated and how it is used (i.e. for grazing, agriculture, settlement, etc.)⁵⁸ (Murphy, Nhetha and Mwilima, 2006:5). When the Conservancy was formed, the Traditional Authority instructed the people living in the Core Wildlife Area to move out “to allow for the development of the area for the interest of the majority of the residents of the said area”. The Traditional Authority also took on the responsibility for resettling the people who resided inside the Core Wildlife Area⁵⁹ (Jones, 1998).

The Traditional Authority has however used its power to stop one of the villages in the Conservancy, Sikanjabuka, which does not fall under its authority, from receiving a benefit distribution to which the village was rightfully entitled for, apparently, no other reason than Sikanjabuka falling under a different Traditional Authority. Sikanjabuka has since withdrawn from Salambala and joined another conservancy, which is affiliated to “its” Traditional Authority⁶⁰ (Murphy, Nhetha and Mwilima, 2006).

However, a good relationship with the Traditional Authority and Indunas is important in Salambala. The Indunas, as head of their villages, call the meetings at which community members are informed of conservancy matters on behalf of the Management Committee members.⁶¹ In addition, if people have been found grazing their cattle in the core area (which is not permitted) the Traditional Authority fines the transgressors to encourage them not to do it again.⁶²

⁵⁸ Minutes of Governor Area Meeting No. 1 with Salambala Conservancy to resolve Core Wildlife Area Conflict. 7 July 1997.

⁵⁹ Correspondence from the Munitenge Royal Establishment to the Regional Governor, 16 July 1997.

⁶⁰ A community member interviewed (Anonymous, personal communication, 06/10/2005) is strongly of the belief that the Traditional Authority is too involved in Conservancy affairs, and if this is the case then the imminent move from Bukalo where the Conservancy currently has an office in the Traditional Authority’s building, to Ngoma where the Conservancy is currently building an office, is a positive development.

⁶¹ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006; Correspondence from the Munitenge Royal Establishment to Mrs Pendukeni Ithana, Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, 7 April 1998.

⁶² Simeon Masese (ex Vice-Chairperson, Salambala Conservancy Committee), personal communication, 02/08/2006; Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006

3.4 Conflict in the Core Wildlife Area

The Constitution includes the following Clause regarding dispute resolution and conciliation: “The committee or conservancy member(s) to first try to resolve dispute through negotiation and ‘amicable accommodation’. If this doesn’t work, the people having the dispute should appoint a conciliator to assist them, or the committee can appoint a conciliator if requested to by at least three committee members. Members can apply to the court if the committee doesn’t uphold the principles of the constitution.” This however only refers to disputes amongst members as only members of the Conservancy are bound by the Constitution. Disputes between members and non-members are not accounted for. Thus, though the Conservancy has endeavoured to institute a means of dispute resolution, it has no impact on a dispute which has constrained the development of the Conservancy. This dispute, which involves four people (and their households) who refused to move from the Core Wildlife Area, remains unresolved to this day.

When development of the Conservancy first began, 17 families were living in the Salambala Forest, which was to be the Core Wildlife Area of the Conservancy.⁶³ The majority of them (about 60 people) moved voluntarily from the core area when the Conservancy was formed. The four families who refused to resettle did so despite the fact that their remaining in this area had a negative effect on the development of the Conservancy, delaying its proclamation and resulting in a loss of income for the Conservancy and thus impacting on the other 8,000 people in the Conservancy area. This issue has involved falsifying names on a petition to prevent the continued development of the Conservancy, allegedly sabotaging the fence of the Core Wildlife Area where wildlife was translocated, sabotaging water points in this area, deliberately removing trees from the lodge site which had been identified for development, constructing a cattle kraal on the site and an increase of livestock in the area. One person who had initially moved out at the IRDNC’s expense moved back in, despite being given a job with the Conservancy which was conditional on his moving out.⁶⁴

⁶³ The Traditional Authority had given permission for people to settle temporarily in the Forest in the 1970s as there was widespread flooding elsewhere in the area (Minutes of the First Workshop on Formation of the Salambala Conservancy, June 13-14, 1995).

⁶⁴ Correspondence from David Peddie to the Salambala Management Committee, 26 September 1997; Quarterly Report to WWF-LIFE: Conservancy Formation and Natural Resource Management in the Salambala Forest. For the period 1 April – 30 June 1997; Quarterly Report to WWF-LIFE: Conservancy

It was decided in the initial stages of Salambala Conservancy's development that in order to reduce the impact on as many people as possible the boundaries of the proposed Core Wildlife Area would be realigned. This Core Wildlife Area was essential in terms of creating an area conducive to wildlife introductions and tourism development and thus creating income-generating opportunities through wildlife. The Management Committee subcommittee appointed to establish the new boundaries of the Core Wildlife Area visited the Indunas of each of the villages involved to determine the realignment of the boundary. The result of these consultations meant that far fewer people would ultimately be affected and would not need to move. (This act of consultation also demonstrated the Committee's desire to have community participation in the Conservancy development process.) However those affected still refused to move from the Core Wildlife Area.⁶⁵

The dispute continues to this day despite the fact that the Traditional Authority requested that the households relocate outside of the Core Wildlife Area⁶⁶, that the Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation sent letters requesting that the families move out, and that assistance was sought from the Attorney General's office to have the families resettled.⁶⁷ This matter has had a serious effect on tourism development in the Core Wildlife Area. The private sector company, Mackenzie Peddie (Southern African Fieldsport Safaris), that had expressed interest in building a lodge there and had signed a Letter of Intent to this effect (dated 4 September 1996)⁶⁸ withdrew its offer as a result of the delays and problems which appeared to have no resolution.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, this belief appears to be correct. Ten years later

Formation and Natural Resource Management in the Salambala Forest. For the period 1 July – 30 September 1997; Minutes of Governor Area Meeting No. 1 with Salambala Conservancy to resolve Core Wildlife Area Conflict. 7 July 1997; Minutes of Governor Area Meeting No 2 with Salambala Conservancy to resolve Core Wildlife Area Conflict. 8 July 1997; Correspondence from the Munitenge Royal Establishment to Mrs Pendukeni Ithana, Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, 7 April 1998.

⁶⁵ Minutes of Governor Area Meeting No 2 with Salambala Conservancy to resolve Core Wildlife Area Conflict. 8 July 1997.

⁶⁶ Correspondence from the Munitenge Royal Establishment to the Regional Governor, 16 July 1997.

⁶⁷ Correspondence from Ms Iivula Ithana, the Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation to Mr T. Mambiana, Mr P Masibi, Mr C. Nzwila and Mr F. Sinvula, 19 February 1998; Correspondence from Mr Chris Weaver, WWF-LIFE, to Gail Super, Office of the Attorney General, Government of Namibia, 16 July 1998.

⁶⁸ Letter of Intent signed by Mackenzie Peddie (Southern African Fieldsport Safaris), 4 September 1996.

⁶⁹ Correspondence from David Peddie to the Salambala Management Committee, 26 September 1997.

this matter has still not been resolved. It was estimated that this joint venture would have resulted in 35 jobs for local people, in addition to N\$200,000 – N\$250,000 per year in direct benefits.⁷⁰

3.5 External support and facilitation

NGOs have assisted Salambala's development in a number of ways, where the NGOs have played a facilitative and supportive role.⁷¹ At the outset, the Bukalo Khuta requested assistance from the IRDNC to develop a conservancy in the forest. The IRDNC and the MET brought WWF-LIFE into the project.⁷²

As discussed in Chapter Two, NGO assistance, as long as it is not prescriptive, is important in CBNRM initiatives. Assistance from NGOs was also identified by community members as a factor contributing to the development of the Conservancy during Participatory Livelihood Workshops conducted under the auspices of the WILD Project in February 2002 (Murphy, 2002b). Assistance included facilitation, assistance in finalising Conservancy Management Plan and the Constitution, and funding (WWF), technical assistance and training for the community game guards, community resource monitors, financial management assistance and support to institutional strengthening (IRDNC), grant administration (Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF)), raising awareness of tourism in the conservancy, advise and training on tourism activities (Namibia Community-Based Tourism Association (NACOBTA)), training and facilitation of exchange visit (the Rössing Foundation)⁷³ (Murphy, 2002a).

⁷⁰ Correspondence from Mr Chris Weaver, WWF-LIFE, to Gail Super, Office of the Attorney General, Government of Namibia, 16 July 1998.

⁷¹ Daisy Nhetha (IRDNC), personal communication, 05/2006.

⁷² Minutes of the First Workshop on Formation of the Salambala Conservancy. June 13-14, 1995.

⁷³ Grant Application to WWF-LIFE: Conservancy Formation and Natural Resources Management in Salambala Forest, 6 October 1995; Salambala Conservancy, 1999b; Salambala Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005, 23/07/2006; Daisy Nhetha (IRDNC), personal communication, 05/2006.

Further support has come from the Government. The MET assists through advising on monitoring resources, problem animal control, law enforcement, contribution to wildlife restocking and setting hunting quotas.⁷⁴

3.6 Livelihoods

Key livelihoods strategies in Salambala include farming of maize (consumption and selling of surplus), farming livestock and salaried labour or “piecework”. Other crops include mahangu and sorghum (Murphy and Mulonga, 2002a:1).

Of the local people interviewed during this study, 98.75% said crop farming (maize, sorghum and mahangu) was their main livelihood activity and only 1.25% said their salaried job was their main source of income. 22.5% received a supplementary income from crafting, piecework, selling vegetables, baked goods, knitted goods, harvesting and sale of grass, reeds and poles, and employment with the conservancy / allowance from the Conservancy for those on the Management Committee (which is a direct benefit from the Conservancy). Fishing was also named as a livelihood activity, as well as receipt of the government pension.

Other avenues for livelihood diversification for people in the Conservancy are also being investigated, such as a Conservation Farming Project (implemented by WWF-LIFE and the Cooperative League of the United States of America (CLUSA)) and the Committee is investigating an aquaculture project.⁷⁵

The Conservation Farming project involves the growing of chillies and other vegetables, which has generated a little over N\$10,000 in its first season (2006) for the approximately 50 farmers involved in the project.⁷⁶ Farmers involved in the project are trained in improved farming techniques by farmer-trainers from Zambia, and these local farmers are to train other local farmers, with support from the

⁷⁴ Grant Proposal to WWF-LIFE: Assisting the Salambala Conservancy to reach Operational and Financial Sustainability, September 1999; Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005, 23/07/2006.

⁷⁵ Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006.

⁷⁶ Ron Phillips (WWF/CLUSA), personal communication, 31/08/2006.

Zambian farmer-trainers.⁷⁷ The project, thus, not only entails supplementing the livelihoods of the farmers, but improving skills too.

WWF-LIFE / CLUSA are trying to expand the project and the existing farmers hold meetings in villages explaining the project and the potential benefits in order to recruit other farmers.⁷⁸

Though the Conservancy has little to do with the project in terms of operations, the Management Committee signed the Agreement with CLUSA to initiate the project.⁷⁹

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

As discussed in Chapter Three, one of the aims of this study is to establish whether Salambala is fulfilling its stated Aims and Objectives, and whether both people and wildlife are benefiting from community management of the natural resources.

During interviews with local people I investigated the following:

- Whether people living in Salambala Conservancy were aware of the Conservancy and what it was/did;
- Whether the respondents participated in decision-making in the Conservancy;
- Whether they were aware of and experienced any benefits of the conservancy;
- How the funds from the Benefit Distributions had been used and whether the people were aware of how the funds were used;
- Whether people experienced more wildlife in the area and their attitude towards wildlife;
- People's views on ownership of wildlife; and
- Their attitude towards the Conservancy.

⁷⁷ Ron Phillips (WWF/CLUSA), personal communication, 31/08/2006; individual farmers, during community interviews during July / August 2006.

⁷⁸ Ron Phillips (WWF/CLUSA), personal communication, 31/08/2006.

⁷⁹ Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006.

4.1 Awareness

One hundred percent (100%) of the respondents in this survey were aware that their village (the area in which they resided and farmed) was part of Salambala Conservancy.⁸⁰

In terms of knowing what it a Conservancy is, i.e. where wildlife is managed and protected for the conservancy members' benefit:

- 91.25% of the respondents knew it was a place where animals are “kept” and protected. This included:
 - 10% who also called it a place where animals *are managed for community's benefit*.
 - 1.25% who described it as a place where people and wildlife live together.
 - 3.75% said it was a place where *all* natural resources (i.e. not just wildlife) are protected. (Of these, one respondent also said it “united people”.)

- Only 8.75% of the respondents said they did not know what a conservancy is.

Fifty percent (50%) of the respondents could name the villages on or near the boundaries or describe where the boundaries were (in terms of landmarks like the Chobe River, Lake Liambezi). Twenty five percent (25%) had little knowledge of the extent of the conservancy, only knowing the villages in their own vicinity, and 25% only knew their own village was part of Salambala Conservancy. However, contributing factors to this lack of knowledge could be that 18.75% of the respondents said they were too young (still at school at the time of the conservancy formation) and thus did not / were not able to attend the initial meetings. In addition a further 12.5% were not in Salambala at the time of those initial meetings.

4.2 Participation and Decision-making

The formation of the Conservancy and the establishment of the Conservancy boundaries was a consultative process. At the outset of the development, the Committee met with the local community and Indunas in each of the villages in the

⁸⁰ However, in Bukalo in general discussions (not the structured questionnaire) two of the eight people spoken to had no knowledge of the Conservancy.

proposed Conservancy area to discuss the proposed development and raise awareness of what a Conservancy entailed and the potential benefits a Conservancy could bring.⁸¹ At these meetings, the Committee also requested and obtained feedback and input from the broader community regarding conservancy formation and management.⁸²

Sixty percent (60%) of respondents in this study said they had taken part in those meetings. Of the 40% who said they did not attend the initial, introductory meetings, 18.75% of the respondents said they were too young at the time of conservancy formation and 12.5% were not in Salambala area at the time of the meetings. Only 8.75% said they were not at meetings because they were not invited or were not aware of the meetings.

In terms of decision-making in the Conservancy, the Executive Committee and Management Committee makes decisions pertaining to general Salambala Conservancy matters such as the budget allocations, negotiations and entering into contracts with the hunting concessionaire, entering into contracts for Conservancy development projects (such as the Conservation Farming project where the Conservancy entered into a contract with CLUSA), and making policies with regard to the use of the Conservancy vehicle.⁸³ The Committee then gives feedback to the villages. However, had the response from the community been overwhelmingly negative to any decisions made, they would have sought an alternative, if possible.⁸⁴

However, with regard to matters such as the use of village Benefit Distribution payouts, this is a local community decision where the people in each village decide how to spend the money themselves (discussed in *point 4.3*). The Constitution was also formulated with broader community participation, where the draft was discussed at community workshops and comments incorporated. The second draft was translated

⁸¹Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006; Correspondence from the Munitenge Royal Establishment to Mrs Pendukeni Ithana, Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, 7 April 1998; Minutes of the First Workshop on Formation of the Salambala Conservancy. June 13-14, 1995.

⁸² Minutes of the First Workshop on Formation of the Salambala Conservancy. June 13-14, 1995.

⁸³ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005, 23/07/2006.

⁸⁴ Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman, Salambala Conservancy Committee), personal communication, 09/08/2006.

into the local language and copies distributed to villages for further comment. The final copy was also distributed to villages.⁸⁵

4.2.1 Elections of Management Committee Members

The community has an active role in deciding who represents them on the Management Committee. The Management Committee is elected by community members,⁸⁶ through voting at village meetings.⁸⁷ However, if the majority of the Committee feels a particular representative is not fulfilling his/her tasks, the individual can be removed from the Committee and the village holds new elections to appoint another representative.⁸⁸ Please refer to *Figure 5* for a graphic representation of participation by the respondents in the last elections (prior to the elections in January/February 2007).⁸⁹

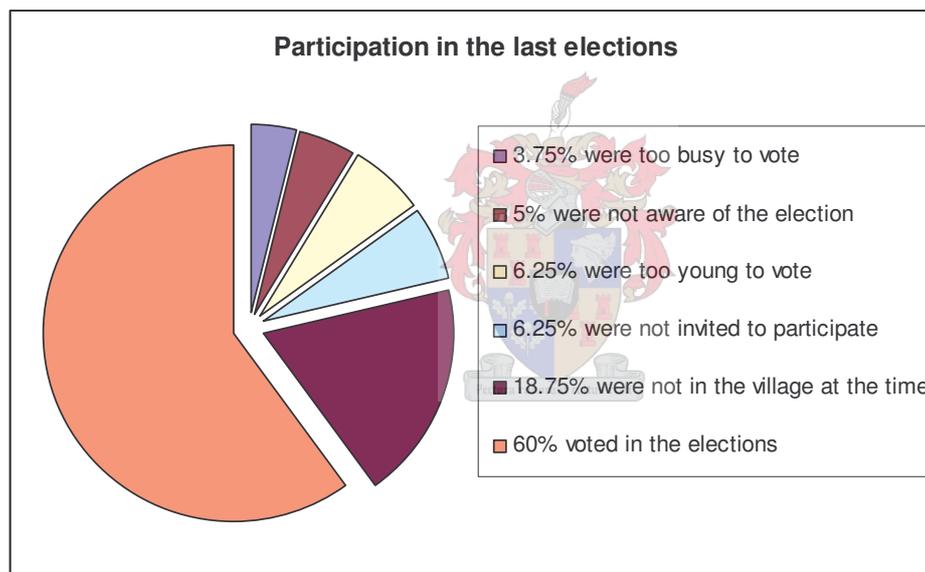


Figure 5: Graph depicting respondents' participation in the last elections

⁸⁵ Correspondence from the Munitenge Royal Establishment to Mrs Pendukeni Ithana, Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, 7 April 1998; Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005, 23/07/2006.

⁸⁶ Salambala Conservancy Constitution, 1999

⁸⁷ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005, 23/07/2006.

⁸⁸ Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), 09/08/2006.

⁸⁹ Please note that this survey was conducted before the new Committee elections were held in 2007, thus, questions regarding to voting referred to the elections preceding the 2007 elections.

One hundred percent (100%) of respondents said they would vote in the next elections⁹⁰ (conditional upon their availability and awareness of the election date).

4.2.2 *Attending meetings where decisions are taken, and participating in decision-making*

Of the respondents, 68.75% said they had attended meetings where decisions were made about the conservancy and participated in the decision-making, as per *Figure 6* below.

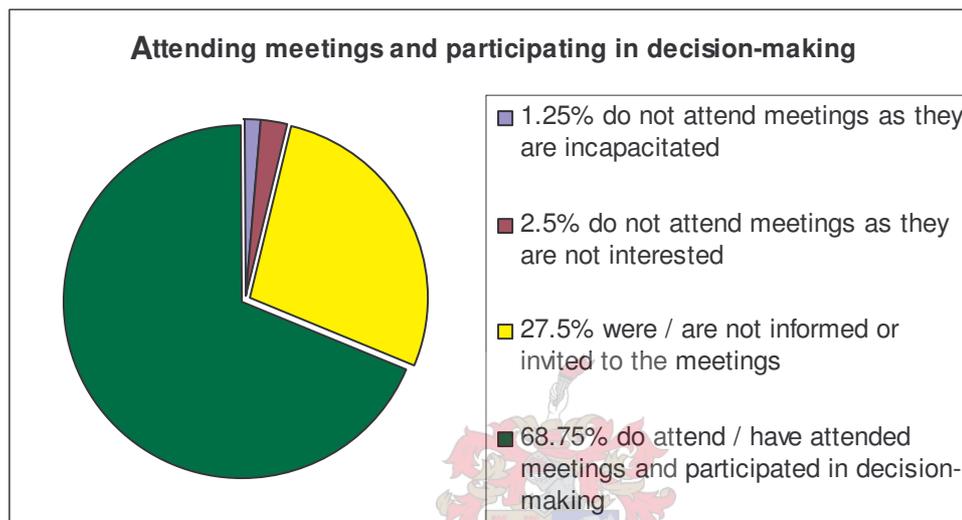


Figure 6: Graph depicting the percentage of respondents who attend meetings and participate in decision-making

Sixty seven and a half percent (67.5%) said these meetings took the form of local village meetings. Thirty seven and a half percent (37.5%) said they attended both village meetings and AGMs, 28.75% said they had only attended village meetings, 38.75% said they had attended AGMS once or more often and 1.25% said they had not attended a village meeting pertaining to conservancy decisions, only an AGM.

Of those respondents who had attended meetings, 56.25% said they had actively voted on Conservancy matters (either at village meetings or at the AGMs). The remaining respondents who had attended meetings said they had participated in discussions on Conservancy matters but that voting had not taken place.

⁹⁰ However one person interviewed but not part of the sample said they would never vote in elections again as he / she is not receiving benefits and is therefore not interested in the Conservancy.

Decisions and discussions at the village meetings included topics such as a site for the new campsite, infrastructure development, wildlife management (how to stop poaching) and how to stop cattle going into the core area. Wildlife management was the most common topic of discussion.

Of those who said they had not participated in decision-making or attended meetings at which Conservancy matters were decided, 27.5% said it was because they were not informed or invited to the meetings. Only 2.5% said it was because they were not interested and 1.25% said they chose not to go as they are incapacitated.

Ten percent (10%) of the respondents said they did not attend AGMs because transport was a problem. The AGMs are held at the Campsite in the core area each year and it is a great distance to travel there on foot from most of the villages in the Conservancy. Salambala only has one vehicle, but the IRDNC has previously assisted in transport.

4.3 Benefits to Community



According to the Salambala Conservancy Constitution “The conservancy committee shall endeavour to ensure that all members receive similar or equal benefits.” Everyone who lives within the Conservancy can receive the primary benefits, such as meat and the money from benefit distribution pay-outs.

Benefits generated by the conservancy include:

- Meat for traditional ceremonies and festivals
- Meat from hunted big game
- Employment
- Money, which has been used by villages in different ways as listed on pages 66-69
- Game viewing for local people.

The Constitution also describes various cultural benefits which could be generated by the Conservancy, including children being able to see wildlife, and, through increased tourism, an increased demand for crafts and other cultural activities such as

traditional dancing.⁹¹ Traditional dancing, however, does not take place in the Conservancy at this time.

Other benefits stemming from the Conservancy development have included the purchase of netballs, volley balls and soccer balls for some schools, bought with conservancy money, computers for two schools donated by the current hunting concessionaire, local crafters being commissioned to make elephant-hair bracelets for hunting clients, donation of salt blocks to encourage wildlife and donation of office equipment to the Conservancy office by the first hunting concessionaire.⁹²

100% of the respondents⁹³ said that they were aware of benefits to the community which were being (or had been) generated by the conservancy, depicted in *Figure 7*.

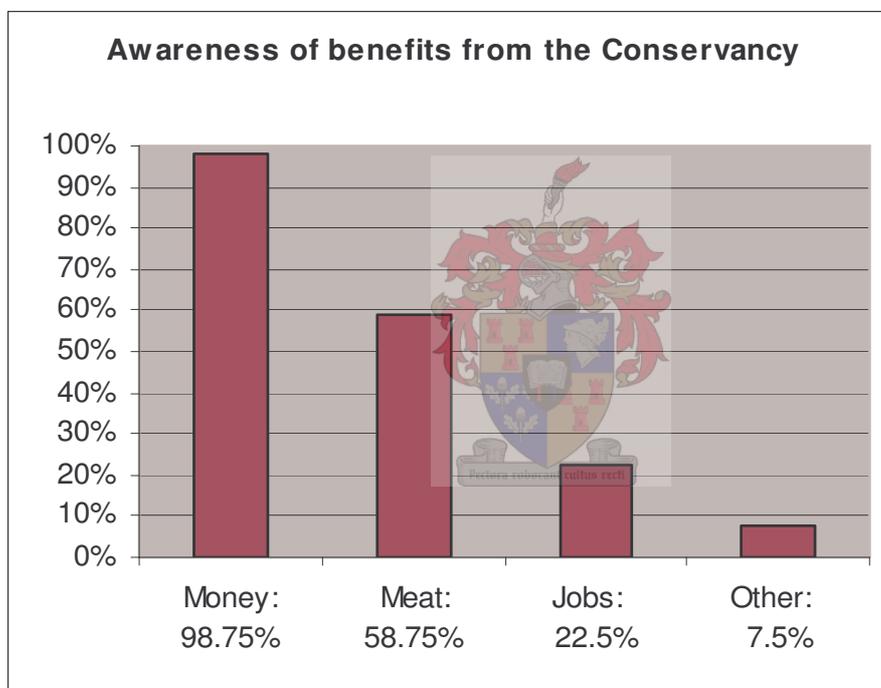


Figure 7: Benefits from the Conservancy listed by respondents

Respondents said that meat was received from hunted game distributed to villagers, and at traditional events such as the festival of the Chief. “Other” benefits listed include computers, development projects and children being able to view wildlife.

⁹¹ Salambala Conservancy Constitution, 1999

⁹² Minutes of Salambala’s Annual General Meeting, 8 August 2005; Correspondence from John Wambach to the Salambala Conservancy: “Year Report 2001: We Se Adventure Africa”, 15 October 2001.

⁹³ However two people with whom I spoke in Bukalo said our conversation was the first time they had ever heard of “benefits” from the conservancy.

4.3.1 Benefit Distributions

The benefit which is the most far-reaching, in terms of the amount of community members it affects and which has the greatest potential to benefit the majority of the community is the Conservancy cash payout, known as “benefit distributions”. The benefit distributions are paid out to the Conservancy villages from the funds generated by the Conservancy and remaining after operational costs, etc. have been paid. The money is presented to each village’s Induna, a VDC member and/or a Management Committee member, who are jointly accountable for the money.^{94 95} The village members decide how to spend the money and / or whether to open a bank account and deposit the funds⁹⁶ (Strauss, 2001). Thus far, four benefit distribution pay-outs have been made (2001, 2002, 2005 and 2006).⁹⁷

These pay-outs are dependent on whether the conservancy has sufficient funds to undertake one, so the amounts distributed vary on each occasion.⁹⁸ The Khuta also receives the same amount given to each village at each distribution.

The purpose of the benefit distributions in Salambala, in addition to improving the standard of living for community members, is to encourage, with incentives, community members to tolerate and conserve wildlife⁹⁹ (Mulonga and Murphy, 2003).¹⁰⁰ It was stated at the AGM in 2000 that it was believed that the (first) benefit distribution “would generate goodwill towards the conservancy and raise awareness of importance of conservancy”.¹⁰¹

When the Management Committee decides that there are sufficient funds to make a pay-out, villages are sent letters from the Committee informing them of the date and

⁹⁴ A case where money went missing is in Bukalo. Allegedly the Induna, a local Councillor and the Secretary to the Khuta were using it for themselves. When this was discovered they had to pay it back.

⁹⁵ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006; Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006

⁹⁶ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005

⁹⁷ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006 and Carol Murphy (Conservation International), personal communication, 30/10/2006.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Thus echoing one of Professor Marshall Murphree’s five principles as mentioned in Chapter Two (Murphree, 1991 cited in Murphree, 1995).

¹⁰¹ Minutes of Salambala’s Annual General Meeting, 7 December 2000.

venue of the distribution. In addition, an announcement is made on the radio in this regard.¹⁰²

A problem identified in terms of the cash benefit distribution is that, despite the discrepancy in sizes of villages, each gets the same amount. However, a concern is that if distributions were to be based upon the size of the villages, those receiving the lesser amount would become disgruntled and revert to unsustainable resource management.¹⁰³

Benefit Distribution pay-outs since formation of Conservancy:¹⁰⁴

2001	16 villages and the Khuta each received N\$2,000; two of the smallest villages shared a pay-out, each receiving N\$1,000 (Mulonga and Murphy, 2003)	N\$36,000
2002	Each of the villages and the Khuta received N\$2,500	N\$47,500
2005	Each of the villages (except Sikanjabuka) and the Khuta received N\$1,500. In addition, the Khuta received a further N\$20,000	N\$47,000
2006	Each village and the Khuta received N\$1,000. The Khuta has already received N\$5,000 over and above the amount which is to be disbursed.	N\$23,000

Table 7: Benefit distributions made by the Conservancy to Conservancy villages to date

Of the N\$153,500 paid out in this manner, N\$121,500 has been distributed directly to the community and Traditional Authority has received N\$31,500. Over and above the regular distributions received by the Traditional Authority, a further N\$20,000 was given to it by the Conservancy in 2005: N\$10,000 as a donation towards the Festival of the Chief and N\$10,000 to upgrade the ceremonial buildings (the Mataitai) used in traditional events.¹⁰⁵ A further N\$5,000 was given to the Khuta in 2006 towards the

¹⁰² Minutes of Salambala's Annual General Meeting, 7 December 2000; Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006

¹⁰³ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006

¹⁰⁴ Information obtained from the Executive Committee Financial Records.

¹⁰⁵ Minutes of Salambala's Annual General Meeting, 8 August 2005; Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005, 23/07/2006; Robert Sinyambo (Acting-Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006.

Festival of the Chief.¹⁰⁶ The funds received by the Traditional Authority equates to more than 20% of the total funds distributed.

The Conservancy Committee agreed to the Traditional Authority's request for these funds because the Traditional Authority initiated the Conservancy in the first place and without them there would be no Conservancy.^{107 108} In addition, when someone contravenes Conservancy rules, the Committee can request assistance from the Traditional Authority to coerce them to comply.¹⁰⁹

Over and above distributing the above funds to the community, the Committee has also invested N\$100,000 in an investment policy for Salambala Conservancy (in 2005) to "plan for the future",¹¹⁰ thus indicating a desire to diversify income streams in the future and to reduce the risks of having all of income derived from one source.

It is important to bear in mind that the money distributed may not amount to very much individually or even on a household level (approximately N\$77 per household including the 2006 distribution¹¹¹). However, the funds have enabled the villages to construct projects such as meat markets, maize storage facilities, or teachers' houses, which benefit the whole village and which may not have been possible without that money, and thus without the development of the Conservancy.

Ninety seven and a half percent (97.5%) of respondents know that money had been given to their village by the Conservancy.

- 33.75% of respondents were aware that there had been three benefit distributions to date. (At the time the survey was conducted; only three benefit

¹⁰⁶ Information obtained at the AGM, 8 August 2006; Robert Sinyambo (Acting-Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Sinyambo (Acting-Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006.

¹⁰⁸ I was also informed that the Traditional Authority is to the community what a father is to his child (Robert Sinyambo (Acting-Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006.)

¹⁰⁹ This became a contentious issue at the AGM in 2006, with accusations being made that the Traditional Authority was engendering corruption.

¹¹⁰ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005.

¹¹¹ Using the population estimate from the Central Bureau for Statistics (2001) used by Humphrey and Humphrey, 2003, quoted in Murphy and Mulonga, 2003.

distributions had taken place. The fourth distribution took place in October 2006¹¹²).

- 10% of respondents said their village had only received funds from the Conservancy once.
- 31.25% said money had been received twice.
- 5% said four times or more.
- 17.5% did not know. Of these one respondent said that as he / she doesn't benefit personally, he / she is not interested in the money being given to the village, and another said he / she was not invited to meetings where money is discussed.

Please refer to *Table 8, below and* on the following pages, for a summary of how the villages have used the money they have received from the Conservancy.

BENEFIT DISTRIBUTIONS: 2001, 2002, 2005:

HOW EACH VILLAGE HAS USED THE FUNDS RECEIVED FROM THE CONSERVANCY

VILLAGE	 <p>2001 / 2002 USE¹¹³ (previously documented)</p>	<p>2001-2005 USE¹¹⁴ (verifying previous information regarding use of 2001 and 2002 pay-outs and establishing how subsequent benefit distributions where used)</p>
Khuta	Distributions used for Chief's festival ¹¹⁵	2005: N\$1,500 for Chief's festival N\$10,000 for ceremonial buildings outside Khuta building and N\$10,000 for Chief's Festival. 2006: N\$5,000 for Chief's Festival.
Bukalo	Used N\$1,200 to construct a small sub-Khuta building. Remaining money given to Councillor of Katima Rural constituency	Bank – nothing further spent and the funds were recovered from the Councillor. ¹¹⁶ However possible future plans are to build a meat market, or teachers' houses.

¹¹² Carol Murphy (Conservation International), personal communication, 30/10/2006.

¹¹³ Mulonga and Murphy, 2003; Murphy and Mulonga, 2002b.

¹¹⁴ Information gathered from Management Committee members at AGM 8 August 2006.

¹¹⁵ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005.

¹¹⁶ Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman) Salambala Conservancy, personal communication, 09/08/2006.

VILLAGE	2001 / 2002: USE	2001-2005 USE
Bwara	Money divided between four villages, each getting N\$500	Some funds were used to repair the borehole, the remainder in the bank. There are plans to start a project to grow and sell vegetables.
Ibbu	Full amount deposited into bank account	N\$1200 used for school rooms. The remainder is in the Bank.
Ikumwe	Full amount deposited into bank account. And then an open Meat Market was built with both amounts – N\$4500	Distributions 1 and 2 used to build the Meat Market. Distribution 3 was deposited into the Bank. Plans to buy zincs for the sub-Khuta.
Ioma	Deposited into bank account - planned to be used for a maize grinding mill	Money deposited into the bank. Plans for either a grinding mill or a borehole
Iseke	Money divided between 20 smaller villages, each receiving N\$100	Built teachers' houses with Benefit Distribution 2. Rest is in the bank. Planning to build more houses. Plans to initiate gardens to grow and sell vegetables and / or initiate a brick making project.
Isuswa	Deposited money into an account belonging to the school	Banked it. Then withdrew it and Induna kept it – Isuswe residents can get cash loans of this money from the Induna, they pay interest on the loans. When profit made from this 'micro-finance' project then will bank it. Planning to build teachers' houses with profits.
Izimwe	Money was kept by the Induna.	It was banked, then used to build borehole at the school. Also used for school books for learners. Rest in bank.
Limai	Not clear where money was.	Bank. Planning to build a borehole.

VILLAGE	2001 / 2002: USE	2001-2005 USE
Mahundu	Deposited into a bank account	Bank. Plans to buy engine to pump water to village.
Marasburg	Used to build teachers' houses (Ngoma)	Bank. Except for first benefit distribution which contributed to building teachers' houses at Ngoma. Planning to buy transformers for electricity for village, with Govt assistance, but just an idea at present.
Masikili	Deposited into bank account	Bank. Plans to build a school as currently the school is just grass, poles etc., the people want a more permanent school structure (bricks, zincs).
Mutikitila	Deposited into bank account	Bank. Plans to buy a hammer mill for grain.
Muyako	Built grain storage	Used to build Grain storage and the sub-Khuta. All spent.
Ngala	Used money for a village celebration	Distributions 2 and 3 in the bank. Plans to buy a tractor for the community to assist in ploughing.
Ngoma	Used the money to build teachers' houses	Distribution 1 used to build teachers' houses. The remainder is in the bank. There are plans to build a sub-Khuta.
Sikanjabuka	Money kept in a post office account - plans to build earth dam.	Committee withheld 2005 benefit distribution on instructions from Khuta (Murphy, Nhetha and Mwilima, 2005)

¹¹⁷ This village is now joining another conservancy currently being established. It is the only village in Salambala which has loyalty to another Traditional Authority, a fact which has caused tension in the past with the Bhukalo Khuta, even though Traditional Authority jurisdiction is not meant to define conservancy boundaries.

VILLAGE	2001 / 2002: USE	2001-2005 USE
Silumbi	Split money with Tolo. N\$100 being kept by the Indunas	Money is currently in the bank. Distribution 1 divided with Tololi, but received the full Distribution for 2 and 3. Initially used money to buy maize and sell to villagers at small profit but stopped as too many people were taking grain on credit and not paying back. Plans to build a meat market with remaining money.
Toloi	Money kept by those who had received it.	1st distribution shared with Silumbi. All money received in the bank

Table 8: Table of how each village are using the benefit distribution pay-outs

4.3.1.1 Knowledge of how the money is used

Overall, 76.25% of respondents have a good idea how the money was being used in their villages and 23.75% of the respondents don't know what the money was / is being used for.



The largest village, Ngoma, had the greatest number of people who weren't aware how the funds were used. This may have to do with the size of the village which could make communication with all community members more difficult than in a smaller one.

Of those who do know how it is being used, 98% believe it is being used well/correctly. Some of the reasons given were that there was something to be shown for the money, the buildings/facilities constructed were needed, and that the facilities were for the benefit of everyone in the village. However one respondent who was not impressed with the way the funds were being utilised (or not as was the case, the funds were in the Bank), said that the money is meant to be used for village development projects, and currently it is "idle" and "useless".

Muyako: The money was used to build a grain storage facility and the sub-Khuta. It was all spent.

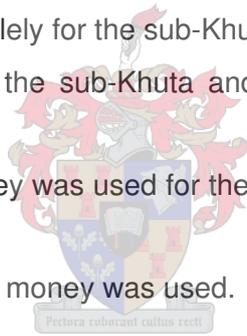
- 79% of the respondents know that the grain storage was built with money from the conservancy.
- 84% of the respondents know that money from the conservancy was used for the sub-Khuta.
 - 42% are aware that the money was used for the grain storage facility and the sub-Khuta.
 - 10.5% believe it was spent on building the grain storage facility only.
 - 16% believe it was used for the grain storage facility, the sub-Khuta and the remainder is in the bank.
 - 10.5% believe it was used for the grain storage facility, the sub-Khuta and the remainder used for Independence Day celebrations.
 - 16% believe it was used for the sub-Khuta only.
- 5.25% don't know how the money was used.

Ikumwe: The money was used to build the meat market (First and Second Distributions). The rest is in the bank. There are plans to use the Third and Fourth distributions for the sub-Khuta building.

- 64% of the respondents are aware that the money was used for the meat market.
- 53% are aware that funds are in the bank.
 - 35% know that the money was used to construct the meat market and that the rest is in the bank.
 - 23.5% know the money was used to construct the meat market.
 - 6% believe the money was used for the meat market and the sub-Khuta and that the rest is in the bank.
 - 11.75% believe it is all in the bank.
- 6% believe it was used for the Festival of the Chief.
- 17.75% don't know how the money was spent.

Nqoma: Money was used to build teachers' houses. The rest is currently in the bank. There are plans to build a sub-Khuta.

- 6.25% are aware that the money was used for the teachers' houses and the rest is in the bank.
- 37.5% are aware that funds were used for the teachers' houses.
- 28% are aware that funds are in the bank.
 - 18.75% are aware that the money was used to build houses for teachers.
 - 9.25% believe the money was used to construct teachers' houses, the sub-Khuta and that the rest is in the bank.
 - 3% believe the money was used for teachers' houses, used to initiate a vegetable garden project and that the rest is in the bank.
 - 6.25% believe it was used for the sub-Khuta and the rest is in the bank.
- 6.25% believe it was used solely for the sub-Khuta.
- 3% believe it was used for the sub-Khuta and to fund a vegetable gardening project.
- 3% believe some of the money was used for the Festival of the Chief and that the rest is in the bank.
- 43.75% do not know how the money was used.



loma: The money is in the bank. There are plans to buy either a grinding mill or build a borehole.

- 91.67% know the money is in the bank.
- 8.33% do not know how the money is being used.

4.3.1.2 Deciding how to spend the money

- 68.75% of the respondents said they had a say in deciding what to do with the money.
 - 40% who said they had voted in order to decide how to spend the money.
 - 28.75% said they attended meetings and took part in discussions.

- 31.25% said they did not play a role in deciding how to use the money.
 - 26.25% said they were not aware / invited to the meetings.¹¹⁸
 - 5% were either not in the village at the time of the meetings or were otherwise occupied.

4.3.1.3 Personal experience of Conservancy benefits

Although the benefits from the conservancy are primarily distributed on a village level (individuals do not receive cash in hand), 46.25% of the respondents said they personally benefited from the conservancy.

The individuals who said they personally experience benefits from the conservancy listed the following as key benefits:

- Meat - from hunters or at the festivals (51%).
- Village development / money from conservancy seen as a personal benefit (43.25%).
- Employment, including short-term labour (30%).



Other benefits mentioned were:

- Game viewing (5.5%).
- Training (5.5%).
- Children seeing the wildlife (5.5%).
- As poles, grasses etc now protected, can harvest sustainably for profit (3%).
- Children having access to computers donated by the hunting concessionaire (3%).
- Sale of crafts at Ngoma Craft Centre (3%).
- Transport in the Salambala vehicle (3%).

Of the respondents, 43.25% named more than one benefit as being a personal benefit.

¹¹⁸ Including those who weren't aware how the money spent.

4.3.2 *Employment in the Conservancy*

The following jobs have been created in and by the Conservancy and are filled by local community members¹¹⁹ (Salambala Conservancy Management Plan 2005):

- 9 game guards (to monitor and protect wildlife)
- 3 resource monitors (assist crafters, etc.)
- 3 campsite attendants
- 1 water attendant (operates engines in core area to pump water into the pan)
- 1 Treasurer
- 2 Secretaries
- 1 Conservancy Manager (the post is being filled by an Acting Manager; applications are currently being considered for this post).

In addition, Management Committee members obtain an allowance from the Conservancy.

Those who suffered most because of conservancy development, i.e. having to resettle from the Core Wildlife Area, receive first consideration for employment.^{120 121}

In 2004 Salambala Conservancy salaries amounted to N\$175,459 and in 2005 N\$129,459 was paid to people employed by the Conservancy.¹²² In 2006, money paid to employees of the Conservancy will amount to N\$220,032, as per *Table 9* on the following page. All Salambala Conservancy employees are local community members.

¹¹⁹ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006.

¹²⁰ Correspondence from the Munitenge Royal Establishment to the Regional Governor, 16 July 1997.

¹²¹ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005

¹²² Salambala Conservancy Financial Records 2004 / 2005 obtained from the IRDNC

Salaries of people currently employed by the Conservancy.¹²³

EMPLOYMENT TYPE	No	Monthly Salary	Annual Salary	Total
		(p/p)	(p/p)	
N\$				
Community Resource Monitors	3	400	4,800	14,400
Game Guard (senior)	1	650	7,800	7,800
Game Guards	8	600	7,200	57,600
Camp Attendants	3	412	4,944	14,832
Water Attendant	1	400	4,800	4,800
Secretary 1	1	650	7,800	7,800
Secretary 2	1	600	7,200	7,200
Treasurer	1	600	7,200	7,200
Vice-Treasurer	1	500	6,000	6,000
Chairman (Acting)	1	600	7,200	7,200
Executive Committee	3	300	3,600	10,800
Management Committee Representatives	37	150	1,800	66,600
Conservancy Manager (Acting)	1	650	7,800	7,800
Total (N\$)				220,032

Table 9: Salaries of people currently employed in the Conservancy

Short-term jobs for local community members have also been created through the Conservancy development for projects such as constructing the game-holding pens, the game hide, the fence for the core area, making cut lines in the core area, construction of the campsite, upgrading the road into the campsite, etc. Sometimes the work is done on a “food for work” basis, not a cash payment.¹²⁴

Employment for local people has also been generated by the hunting concession. In 2001, 11 community members were employed for three elephant hunting safaris. These individuals received training in cooking, camp maintenance, and tracking and skinning of elephants. The salaries paid to these people in 2001 amounted to N\$5,768. In addition, the Hunting Concessionaire also employed two people permanently in his camp as caretakers at that time.¹²⁵ Currently, the hunting operator

¹²³ Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman) Salambala Conservancy, personal communication, 09/08/2006

¹²⁴ Grant Application to WWF-LIFE: Conservancy Formation and Natural Resources Management in Salambala Forest, 6 October 1995; Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005.

¹²⁵ Salambala Conservancy and We Se Adventure Africa, 1999.

employs six staff employed from the Salambala Conservancy community in the hunting concession campsite.¹²⁶

Employees such as the Treasurer, secretaries, resource monitors and game guards have received training from the IRDNC. The Management Committee members have also attended training workshops through WWF-LIFE and NACOBTA,¹²⁷ and the game guards have received training from the IRDNC.¹²⁸

4.4 Wildlife and Natural Resources

The Conservancy is trying to increase wildlife numbers in the Conservancy and to encourage wildlife movement into and through the Conservancy from other areas, such as Chobe National Park, by reducing poaching and conserving other natural resources.¹²⁹

In order to encourage wildlife into the Conservancy, salt was placed previously at certain places, such as water holes, by the hunting concessionaire¹³⁰ and a pump was installed in order to have year-round water in the pan.¹³¹

Efforts to prevent poaching and to encourage tolerance of wildlife include holding meetings (Committee and game guards) with the community (village by village) to discuss the importance of wildlife, how to protect it, and to sensitise them to the benefits received from wildlife in Salambala. This was also done at the inception of the conservancy.¹³² The game guards also try to raise awareness about the

¹²⁶ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*

¹²⁸ Martin Nandou (Senior Game Guard, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 01/08/2006.

¹²⁹ Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006; Martin Nandou (Senior Game Guard) Salambala Conservancy, personal communication, 01/08/2006.

¹³⁰ Salambala Conservancy 1999b; Correspondence from John Wambach to the Salambala Conservancy: "Year Report 2001: We Se Adventure Africa", 15 October 2001.

¹³¹ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006.

¹³² Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman) Salambala Conservancy, personal communication, 09/08/2006; Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006; Martin Nandou (Senior Game Guard) Salambala Conservancy, personal communication, 01/08/2006.

importance of these other natural resources; that they should not be over-harvested a without those natural resources wildlife will not be able to survive in Salambala.¹³³

At these village meetings, the game guards also try to educate people about wildlife corridors and try to encourage people not to plough or live in known wildlife corridors, both for their own safety and that of their crops, and in order to encourage wildlife movement.¹³⁴ This is a matter to be taken up with the Khuta which allocates land for grazing, farming and settlement; the Khuta could be requested not to allocate land in wildlife corridors.¹³⁵

One of the objectives in the Management Plan refers to natural resources, and according to the Executive Committee¹³⁶ the Conservancy has power over all natural resources including trees, grass and reed. However the Forestry Department actually manages the permits for poles, grass, and etc.¹³⁷ The game guards do assist in protecting the other natural resources by working with the Forestry Department, under whose jurisdiction these resources technically fall. For example, if they find someone cutting poles without a permit they report the transgressor to the Forestry Department.¹³⁸

If the Conservancy were able to issue the permits for those resources, that would be an additional revenue stream and an added incentive to conserve the habitat for wildlife. However, in order to obtain user rights over forest resources, a community forest would need to be established in Salambala. Two areas in Salambala (Bukalo and Muyako) have proclaimed or are in the process of proclaiming community forests which overlap some areas of Salambala and extend beyond the boundaries.¹³⁹ This can also cause conflict and confusion as some people may find themselves part of both a conservancy and a community forest, with two committees, two management

¹³³ Martin Nandou (Senior Game Guard, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication., 01/08/2006

¹³⁴ Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman) Salambala Conservancy, personal communication, 09/08/2006.

¹³⁵ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*

¹³⁷ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005.

¹³⁸ Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman) Salambala Conservancy, personal communication, 09/08/2006; Martin Nandou (Senior Game Guard) Salambala Conservancy, personal communication, 01/08/2006; Jester Matengu Sankwasa (Induna of Mutikitila), 28/12/2005

¹³⁹ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006, following a conversation between a Forestry Representative and the Committee while I was in the office.

plans, and information being disseminated about community benefits and rights from two different sources. I believe there needs to be a more harmonised approach between these two elements of the CBNRM Programme in Salambala.

4.4.1 Increased wildlife in Salambala

Although there are no recent scientific data of accurate wildlife numbers in the Conservancy, there is a vast amount of anecdotal information indicating that wildlife numbers have increased.

It is known that in 1995 there were only seven impala in the Salambala area and in 2002 there were between 200 and 250. Currently there are between 500-700 resident impala. In addition, in 1997, there were no resident elephant, though elephants would make night time crop raids. There is now a seasonal population of between 1,000 and 1,500 (NACSO, 2005).¹⁴⁰ More than 200 impala have been relocated to Salambala since inception of the Conservancy, and this has obviously contributed to the increased numbers in the area (Murphy and Mulonga: 2002a; Murphy, 2002b). In addition, wildebeest have been relocated into Salambala¹⁴¹ and seven giraffe donated by the MET were translocated to Salambala in August 2006.¹⁴²

Furthermore, 86.25% of the respondents said that they had noticed an increase in wildlife since the implementation of the Conservancy. Only 6.25% said they hadn't noticed an increase and 7.5% weren't sure one way or the other. Many respondents said they had noticed an increase in elephants in particular.

Bi-annual game counts are conducted by the game guards and MET, but these are more of a monitoring function to establish wildlife trends, rather than a means to obtain accurate game numbers.¹⁴³ Game counts are undertaken in the wet and the dry seasons each year by the Salambala Community game guards (and game guards from other conservancies also assist), accompanied by people from the MET and IRDNC.¹⁴⁴ The game guards compile information from physical sightings of

¹⁴⁰ Chris Weaver (WWF-LIFE) personal communication, 19/06/2006.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*

¹⁴² Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006.

¹⁴³ Simon Mayes (NNF) personal communication, 25/09/2006; Chris Weaver (WWF-LIFE) personal communication, 19/06/2006.

¹⁴⁴ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006.

wildlife on patrol in addition to counting spoor, also noting animals are sighted most frequently.¹⁴⁵ Monthly auditing of wildlife is also carried out through the Event Book, which together with the information from the game counts also assist in setting the hunting quota.¹⁴⁶ Based upon the results of these game counts and the Event Book, the Salambala Conservancy Management Committee submits a request to the MET for a certain hunting quota. MET then either approves or amends the requested quota.¹⁴⁷

An example of the trends in impala population gathered from the game counts over the years in the wet and dry seasons is shown in *Figure 8* below.

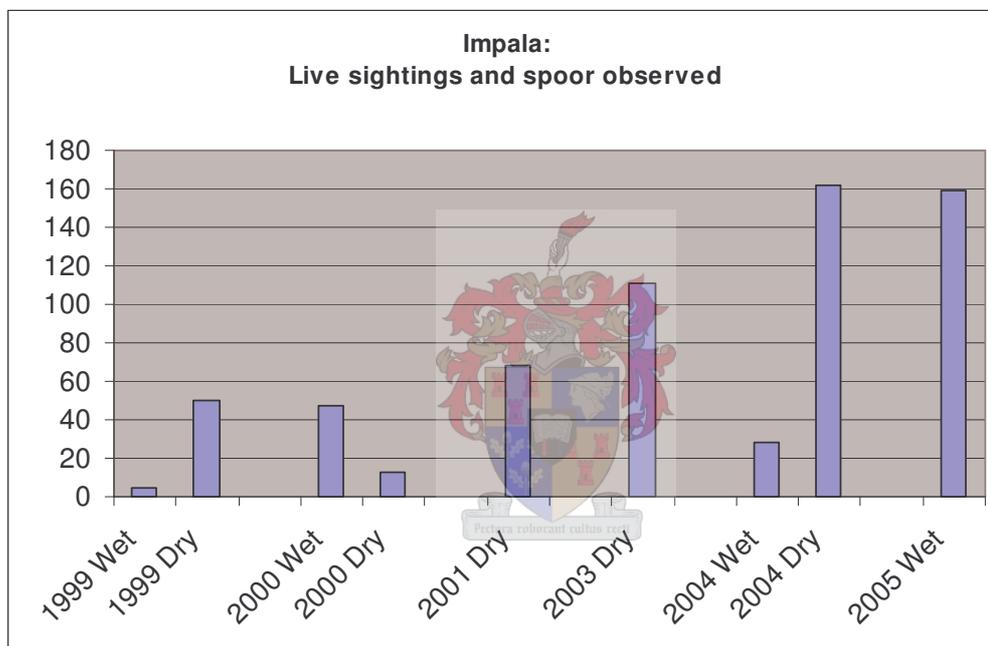


Figure 8: Game counts of impala: 1999-2005

(Data courtesy of the Namibia Nature Foundation)

¹⁴⁵ If the spoor of the live animal is already counted, then obviously the guards do not count the animal itself and vice versa (Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005; Martin Nandou (Senior Game Guard, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 01/08/2006).

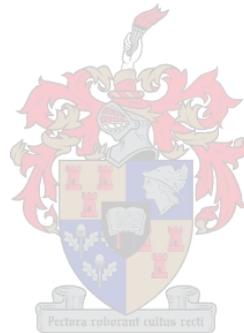
¹⁴⁶ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006.

¹⁴⁷ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2006.

These data, however, are not used to estimate population numbers as there are too few live sightings for this. It is used by the conservancy (and other stakeholders) to chart the changes in wildlife over time.¹⁴⁸

A way in which to judge whether huntable wildlife has increased is to look at hunting quotas and how they have changed over the years. Hunting quotas are agreed to by the MET, which allows hunting on a *sustainable* basis.¹⁴⁹ The assumption, therefore, can be made that if it was believed that hunting that number of animals was not sustainable, the MET would not agree to the quota. Judging from the hunting quotas which have increased considerably since the Conservancy first obtained a quota (in 1999), one can see a clear rise in wildlife numbers. Please refer to *Table 10* on the following page.

In 1999¹⁵⁰ the only big game which could be hunted were four elephants, whereas the 2005-7 quota included elephants, buffalo, lion, kudu, plains zebra, impala, warthog and duiker.¹⁵¹



¹⁴⁸ Simon Mayes (NNF) personal communication, 25/09/2006.

¹⁴⁹ The Hunting Quota is subject to review annually and adjustment if required (unrealistic or unsustainable) (Salambala Conservancy, East Caprivi Floodplains. "Hunting Opportunities for 2005-2009." 14 November 2004; Memorandum of Agreement between Salambala Conservancy and Classic Safaris, 13 April 2005).

¹⁵⁰ Salambala Conservancy and We Se Adventure Africa, 1999.

¹⁵¹ Robert Sinyambo (Acting-Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006; Addendum to Memorandum of Agreement between Salambala Conservancy and Classic Safaris, 2006.

Quota over the years:

Species	1999 ¹⁵²	2002 ¹⁵³	2005-7 ¹⁵⁴
Elephants	4	4	7 ¹⁵⁵
Buffalo		2	11 ¹⁵⁶
Lion		1	2
Kudu			1
Plains Zebra		5	10
Impala		5	10
Warthog		2	9
Duiker			2
Hyena			5
Side-striped Jackal			2
Baboon			6

Table 10: Hunting Quota: 1999, 2002, 2005-7

It is thus clear that huntable wildlife have increased significantly over the years.

4.4.2 Monitoring of wildlife and other natural resources

The monitoring of wildlife and natural resources is conducted by the community game guards and resource monitors.

Salambala Conservancy employs nine game guards who, working in 12 day shifts, three people per shift, conduct daily fixed foot patrols in the core area and broader Conservancy to monitor wildlife trends (live sightings and spoor), keep a record of

¹⁵² Salambala Conservancy and We Se Adventure Africa, 1999.

¹⁵³ Correspondence from Mr Ben Beytell, the Ministry of Environment and Tourism to Salambala Conservancy. 15 January 2002.

¹⁵⁴ Memorandum of Agreement between Salambala Conservancy and Classic Safaris, 13 April 2005; Addendum to Memorandum of Agreement between Salambala Conservancy and Classic Safaris, 2006

¹⁵⁵ 6 Trophy and 1 Non-trophy / for the Traditional Authority.

¹⁵⁶ 7 Trophy and 4 Non-Trophy / for the Traditional Authority.

human-wildlife conflict incidences, species hunted by the hunting concessionaire, poaching incidents and any other major threats to the wildlife in the Event Book.¹⁵⁷

The Event Book, however, is more than just a record of events. It can be a planning tool, a communications tool, and importantly it is a means to adaptive management¹⁵⁸ (Diggle, Munali and Owen Smith, 2006:7) if properly used.¹⁵⁹ It is currently used in Salambala for both wildlife and crafts. It enables the Conservancy Management to monitor the effect their management strategies are having, identify any problems, any gaps in the strategy, and adapt it as required. For example, if the goal is to reduce poaching, and from events recorded in the Event Book it is clear that poaching is increasing, then Management should rethink its strategy.

If an animal has been hunted by the trophy hunter, the game guards accompany the hunter to the carcass to ensure the proper procedure is followed in terms of the meat distribution, retaining the tusks for MET, etc. Sometimes it is necessary to guard the carcass (if it was an elephant or buffalo that was hunted) to make sure the meat isn't stolen if the meat is destined for the Festival of the Chief or another event and isn't being distributed to the community as often happens, too.¹⁶⁰

Community resource monitors monitor natural resources such as trees, palms, and thatch grass, used for craft products. They also try to encourage sustainable use of the natural resources amongst crafters (including training crafters in sustainable harvesting, for example to improve harvesting techniques so as to cause the least damage) (Suich and Murphy, 2002:8).¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005, 23/07/2006; Martin Nandou (Senior Game Guard) Salambala Conservancy, personal communication, 01/08/2006; Richard Diggle (WWF-LIFE) personal communication, 09/08/2006; Information from a presentation: *Using the Event Book System in Caprivi – Mind Maps, Implementation and Adaptive Management* given at the SASUSG Annual Members Meeting, May 18-21 2005, Gondwana, Namibia by Richard Diggle.

¹⁵⁸ Information from a presentation: *Using the Event Book System in Caprivi – Mind Maps, Implementation and Adaptive Management* given at the SASUSG Annual Members Meeting, May 18-21 2005, Gondwana, Namibia by Richard Diggle.

¹⁵⁹ Richard Diggle (WWF-LIFE), personal communication, 22/10/2006

¹⁶⁰ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006; Martin Nandou (Senior Game Guard, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 01/08/2006.

¹⁶¹ Othelia Sakachala (Community Resource Monitor, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 27/07/2006; Candy Diggle (IRDNC), personal communication, 03/08/2006; Presentation: *The Role of the Women in Resource Management Team in the IRDNC, Caprivi*. Presentation for VSO National Conference, 5th – 6th September 2005. By Candy Diggle, IRDNC.

4.4.3 Community attitude towards wildlife

Local people interviewed were overwhelming positive towards wildlife and increasing the numbers of wildlife in the Conservancy, as per *Figure 9*.

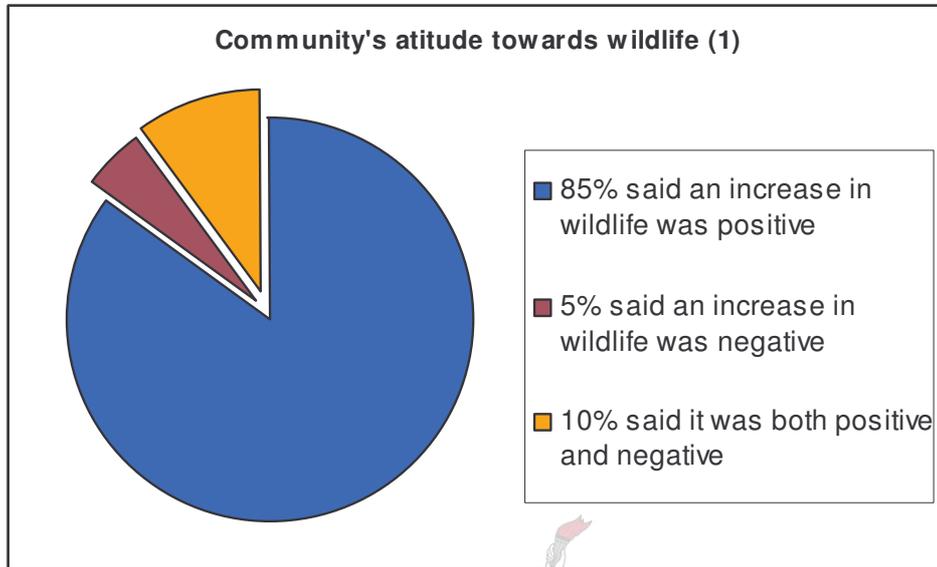


Figure 9: Community's attitude to wildlife (1)

Of those who said an increase in wildlife was a positive development:

- 91% (77.5% of total respondents) said that more wildlife means more tourism, thus more money and development for the conservancy.
- 42.5% (36.25% of total respondents) said that if there was more wildlife then the children could see the animals and learn about them (i.e. from personal experience and not just in books).
- 11.75% (10% of total respondents) said that more wildlife meant more meat for the conservancy.
- 10.25% (8.75% of total respondents) said that more wildlife meant improved game viewing (for the residents).

The reason given for an increase in wildlife being a negative development was the crop damage caused by more wild animals.

The majority of the respondents would like wildlife to increase in the conservancy, as per *Figure 10*.

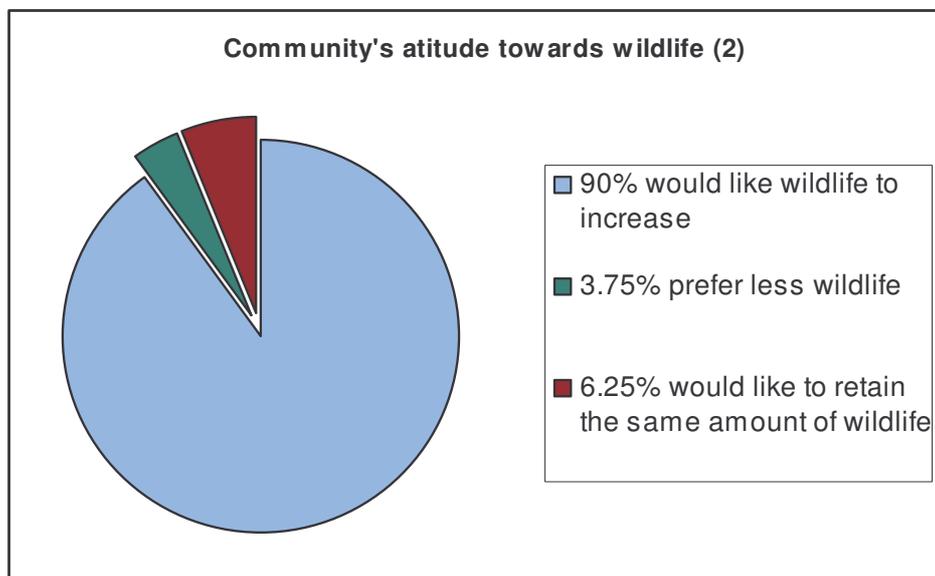


Figure 10: Community's attitude to wildlife (2)

Ninety percent (90%) of the respondents would like wildlife in the conservancy to increase for the following reasons:

- To increase hunting and tourism so that the conservancy could generate more money and thus more development in the area¹⁶² (68.75% of total respondents).
- So children can see and learn (32.5% of total respondents).
- To get more meat (15% of total respondents).
- To create jobs (5% of total respondents).
- For game viewing (2.5% of total respondents).
- Because wildlife is a part of the culture (2.5% of total respondents).

The reason given by those who prefer less wildlife in the conservancy (3.75%) was crop damage. Those who would like to retain the same amount of wildlife in the conservancy as currently said it was because on the one hand they would like to continue receiving benefits from the conservancy, but did not want human-wildlife conflict to increase.

¹⁶² Participants at the Participatory Livelihood Workshops conducted under auspices of the WILD Project in February 2002 said that before the conservancy there was no development in the conservancy area (Murphy, 2002:7).

However, even amongst those who were in favour of increased wildlife in the Conservancy, the following sentiments arose:

- Elephants can be a problem
- More species are required, not just more of the same, especially elephants. They believed rhinos, for example, could bring more money from hunting / tourism. The desire to see giraffes was also mentioned.
- The need for compensation for crop damage.

However, 100% of respondents said it was important to have wildlife in the conservancy area, for the following reasons:

- For money and the development of conservancy (75%).
- For children to see and learn¹⁶³ (46.25%).
- For meat (18.75%).
- To increase job opportunities (7.5%).
- Cultural benefits¹⁶⁴ (5%).
- That's how it is supposed to be (part of creation) (1.25%).

Even those who thought an increase in wildlife was a negative consequence in terms of crop damage acknowledged the importance of wildlife in the Salambala area.

Although 72.5% of respondents said they had always know the importance and value of wildlife, only 20% had been aware of the financial benefits and value associated with wildlife (having learnt this through school, parents and / or association with people from Botswana). Thus, in addition to the 22% who had become aware of the value of wildlife through the Conservancy, 52.5% of respondents had learnt the financial value of wildlife. Thus, in total, 80% of respondents said they had learnt the financial value and importance of wildlife through the Conservancy.

4.4.4 Ownership

A sense of ownership is key to protecting and improving the resource, as was discussed in Chapter Two.

¹⁶³ A reason previously given for desire to have more wildlife in their area by people in CBNRM projects in Caprivi and Kunene is so that their children may see them (Ashley, Barnes and Healy, 1994:23).

¹⁶⁴ A participant in the Participatory Livelihood Workshops conducted under auspices of the WILD Project in February 2002 said: "if animals go we will lose our culture" (Murphy, 2002:7).

In Salambala, 87.5% of respondents believe that the people of Salambala own the wildlife.

- 81.25% of respondents said they, the community, own the wildlife in Salambala (“us”).
- 2.5% said the Chief and the community own the wildlife.
- 3.75% believe that the Conservancy members own the wildlife.

For the rest:

- 7.5% said that the Namibian Government / MET own the wildlife in Salambala (which is technically true).
- 2.5% believe that the wildlife is owned jointly by the MET, conservancy members and the community.
- 1.25% believes that the Conservancy Committee (only) owns the wildlife.
- 1.25% believes the wildlife is owned by God and the MET.

4.4.5 Benefits and wildlife tolerance

Community awareness of the correlation between wildlife and benefits received from the Conservancy is important so people in order to encourage a change in attitude towards wildlife, from resentment to at least tolerance (Jones, 1999). The link between the benefit distributions and wildlife was made at the initial Conservancy meetings, so it is now assumed the community is aware that the pay-outs arise from good management of wildlife.¹⁶⁵ In addition, as previously discussed, Salambala’s game guards reiterate the connection at village meetings too.

This link is clearly seen by community members as 98.75% of the respondents said that they feel positive towards wildlife as a direct result of the benefits experienced and / or potential benefits. Only 1.25% of respondents were not positive, the reason being that the benefits are too few.

According to Diggle, Munali and Owen Smith (2006:1) people in the Caprivi have become more “elephant-tolerant” as a result of the Conservancy approach to wildlife

¹⁶⁵ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006.

- Building of capacity for ongoing management of region's wildlife and tourism resources (Transfrontier Conservation Consortium, 2006).

The Caprivi is central to this project, because it is the pathway between Angola, Botswana and Zambia in terms of wildlife movements and for tourists. It is thus noteworthy that Salambala Conservancy has forged relations with its neighbouring Chobe Enclave Community Trust, a CBNRM project in Botswana, and meetings and exchange visits have taken place between the two over the years.¹⁸⁷ The communities are members of a transboundary forum in which the two communities (Chobe Enclave and Salambala) participate, facilitated by the IRDNC. Discussions have been had between the two groups regarding the encouragement of wildlife movements and that wildlife should not be limited to the borders of countries.¹⁸⁸ As it is, wildlife moves seasonally between Chobe National Park and Salambala Conservancy (Humphrey and Humphrey, 2003 in Mulonga and Murphy, 2003). In addition, the two organisations want to collaborate on issues such as cattle theft and fire management in order to improve cross-border relations so that each group is aware of what the other is doing and can work together to solve problems.¹⁸⁹

It is significant for the KAZA TFCA that cross-border cooperation, which is important for the success of the project, at the grass-roots level is already taking place. In addition, the fact that the communities are already encouraging transboundary wildlife movement is also positive. Thus, the institutional structures and tolerance of increased wildlife are already in place and will not have to be initiated from the beginning, nor as a top-down initiative.

¹⁸⁷ Minutes of Salambala's Annual General Meeting, 7 December 2000; Minutes of Salambala's Annual General Meeting, 8 August 2005.

¹⁸⁸ Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006; Carol Murphy (Conservation International), 03/10/2005.

¹⁸⁹ Robert Sinyambo (Acting Chairman, Salambala Conservancy), personal communication, 09/08/2006.

5. FULFILMENT OF CONSERVANCY OBJECTIVES

Salambala is succeeding in achieving three of the four Aims and Objectives, as discussed below.

1. *To create an environment conducive for the return of game to the Salambala area.*

The development of the Conservancy has led to the creation of a 'wildlife-friendly' environment in the Salambala area. There is an awareness of the importance of wildlife, and an acknowledgement of the need for it to be in the area, despite the damage to crops. People are positive towards wildlife and recognise the importance of wildlife existing in Salambala. The game guards and the Committee are holding meetings to create and awareness of, or further enhance the importance of wildlife in the Salambala area and the role it plays in community livelihoods. In addition, the benefits received by community members have made people more positive or tolerant towards wildlife.

This is evidenced by the following:

- 85% of the respondents said an increase in wildlife was positive, with a further 10% stating an increase in wildlife had both positive and negative elements.
- 90% of the respondents said they wanted to see more wildlife in the Conservancy for increased benefits through, for example, increased hunting and tourism so that the conservancy could generate more money and thus more development in the area. Thus the majority of people are in favour of increased wildlife numbers in the conservancy.
- 100% of respondents recognised the importance of wildlife in terms of the benefits generated.
- 80% of respondents said they had learnt the economic value of wildlife through the Conservancy.
- 98.75% said they felt positive about wildlife as a result of the economic and other benefits.

Thus it is clear that the establishment of the Conservancy and the benefits received thus far, in addition to the potential benefits, have created the required environment for the return of game. However, in order to maintain this environment, the benefits

experienced by the community which are generated by the conservancy need to increase or stronger human-wildlife conflict mitigation strategies need to be implemented. Increased conflict and marginal benefits may lead to resentment of wildlife.

2. *To manage Salambala's wildlife and other natural resources in accordance with an approved management plan in a sustainable manner to maximise the return of benefits to the communities in and around the Salambala area.*

Judging from the hunting quotas which demonstrate an increase of wildlife over the years, as well as feedback from villagers interviewed, the Conservancy is managing wildlife sustainably. Of the respondents, 86.25% said they believed wildlife numbers were increasing, and the amount of wildlife which can be hunted per year has increased markedly, thus indicating an increase in the amount of huntable game in the Conservancy.

The management of the wildlife is returning benefits to the community. One hundred percent (100%) of respondents are aware of benefits generated by the Conservancy. Although the largest benefit is in the form of a cash pay-out to the village, almost half of the respondents, 46.25%, said that they personally benefit from the Conservancy. Considering that the primary form of distribution takes place at a village level, and not on an individual or even household level, this is a significant amount of people.

The increase in wildlife is also benefiting the Conservancy from a cultural perspective. In previous years the Khuta had none of their own game to harvest for their traditional festivals and had to request game (such as elephant and buffalo) from external sources,¹⁹⁰ whereas now Salambala Conservancy can assist in providing the meat for the festival.

In addition to benefits such as meat from hunted animals, over the years, the Conservancy has generated an income for the community which is not likely to have been generated if people had only continued with their farming activities. In 1998, the Conservancy's income was N\$10,378 and in 2002, income had grown to N\$345,000

¹⁹⁰ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 04/10/2005; Minutes of the First Workshop on Formation of the Salambala Conservancy. June 13-14, 1995.

(NACSO, 2005). Currently the Conservancy is assured an annual income of N\$590,000.¹⁹¹

N\$121,500 has been distributed directly to the community since 2001. Employment within the Conservancy is a further benefit experienced by some people and their households. Though the funds distributed would be insignificant if divided amongst all the people living in the Conservancy, the money has predominantly been used for needed village development projects such as a maize-grinding mill and a meat market which is not likely to have been built without the funds generated from the conservancy.

In 2004/2005 N\$304,918 was paid to local community members in the form of salaries and / or allowances by the Conservancy, and in 2006, N\$220,032 will be earned by Conservancy staff. In addition to the 62 people who currently earn an income from the Conservancy, a further six people are employed by the hunting concessionaire, and further people have been employed to undertake short-term labour required by the Conservancy (fencing, roads, etc.).

The Conservancy has also enhanced opportunities for the 80 crafters who sell their products at the Ngoma Craft Centre and are supported by the Conservancy's community resource monitors. In the year between July 2005 and June 2006, sales generated N\$18,427 for these crafters.

In addition, approximately 50 farmers currently participate in a Conservation Farming project which has generated extra income the farmers and improved their farming methods. Although Salambala Conservancy does not play an active role in the project, it arguably would not have been implemented in Salambala if the Conservancy structures were not in place.

Employees of the Conservancy have also received training as a result of the Conservancy development.

¹⁹¹ Amendment to Hunting Agreement, Salambala Conservancy, 2006.

3. *To protect Salambala's wildlife and plants for future generations of Namibia's residents, particularly those living in East Caprivi.*

Salambala Conservancy's game guards and resource monitors are endeavouring to protect natural resources from illegal and unsustainable harvesting. This occurs both through their creating an awareness within the community (at village meetings) of the importance of wildlife and other natural resources, and monitoring of resources, such as occurs on daily patrols undertaken by the game guards and in the Event Books. The community resource monitors also educate community members who make crafts on the importance of sustainable harvesting.

4. *To develop tourism accommodation and guided tours for tourists in the conservancy to derive benefits for the communities.*

Salambala Conservancy is not currently achieving this Objective. The only tourism enterprise operating is currently running at a loss. In order to diversify income streams and to increase benefits to the community, profitable tourism enterprises need to be developed. According to the Directorate of Environmental Affairs (DEA) Discussion Paper Number 63 (Mulonga and Murphy 2003:21), Salambala has the "richest diversity of bird life in Namibia, with more than 400 species being documented". The area around the existing Salambala campsite was identified as an important area for potential bird tourism in East Caprivi and Lake Liambezi (when it has water), which is on the conservancy's south-western border. In addition, the river frontage at Ngoma Bridge (southern tip of Salambala) can have seasonal occurrences of pelicans and herons. However, the fishing activity by inhabitants could have a large impact on the birds' habitat. Other potential tourism products identified include guided walks, hiking, sport fishing, cultural market, and the establishment of a traditional village (Ecosurve, 2002). Salambala Conservancy is attempting to improve their tourism product, through the development of another campsite. However before this project is implemented, a feasibility study should be conducted to determine whether there is a market for the campsite and the projected income for the project. Otherwise it may become another money-draining initiative like the current campsite. It is however important that, whatever enterprises are developed, they are marketed well, both locally and in the region.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

1. INTRODUCTION

As outlined in Chapter Three, this study endeavours to establish (i) whether Salambala Conservancy is a sustainable or successful CBNRM project as per the requirements discussed in Chapter Two, and (ii) whether it is fulfilling its aims and objectives as per the Salambala Constitution, which was dealt with in the previous chapter. In this Chapter I argue that Salambala Conservancy does on the whole fulfil the requirements for a sustainable CBNRM initiative. However, there are certain important issues which require attention.

2. MEETING THE REQUIREMENTS OF A SUCCESSFUL CBNRM INITIATIVE

I shall analyse whether Salambala is meeting the requirements of a successful CBNRM initiative point by point.

1. *Development and implementation of enabling policy enabling local people to legally obtain use rights and authority over identified natural resources in order to manage and benefit from the resources.*

As discussed in Chapter Four, legislation has been revised which enables communities to legally manage wildlife sustainably for their own benefit, and to retain all benefits generated by their management. These policies relate only to the sustainable use of wildlife however, and do not extend to the other natural resources within the conservancy, many of which come under the Forestry Department. Although I have not conducted an in-depth study into community forests as this is not the focus of this study, I believe there needs to be harmonisation of policy between community forests and conservancies, to enable conservancies to benefit from the sustainable use of other natural resources within their boundaries. Another option would be for Salambala to establish a community forest within the conservancy, but

as a component or additional aspect to the conservancy, not as a competing initiative.

2. *Local people must receive benefits, be they financial or non-financial. These benefits must outweigh the costs of living with wildlife and the implementation of the project. The link between wise resource management and the receipt of benefits must be made clear.*

Salambala is generating benefits for its community, and the community is aware of the benefits, realised and potential. 100% of the respondents said that Salambala Conservancy is generating benefits, including the receipt of money by the villages, meat to supplement diets and employment.

The link between wildlife and benefits was originally discussed at meetings when the conservancy was first formed. In addition, 98.75% of respondents feel positive towards wildlife as a result of the benefits received, actual and potential. 100% of respondents are aware of the importance of wildlife in the conservancy area, citing motivations such as development and money generated by Salambala Conservancy, meat from hunted animals, and for children to see wildlife. It is thus clear that the community is aware of the link between wildlife and benefits.

Currently, as far as the community is concerned, the benefits do outweigh the costs. Despite the increase of wildlife and potential or actual human-wildlife conflict, 98.75% of the respondents want the conservancy to continue.

3. *Local people must be the ones who decide how to use and manage the land and resources, thus authority should be devolved to local people as far as possible. The community must support the initiative and there should be active participation in it by community members.*

Salambala Conservancy was initiated by local people, lead by Chief Liswani III. They chose to manage wildlife for their benefit; it was not imposed on them by the State or other external role-players. If the people had not decided to form a conservancy, it would not have been formed. However, it is still important to bear in mind that Salambala Conservancy manages wildlife in a manner determined as suitable by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) and cannot decide to use the wildlife in a

manner which contravenes the Government legislation. However, they chose to enter into this arrangement and to manage the wildlife within the limits of the legislation.

The Chief also did not simply impose his will on the people. Consultation with community members took place at the outset of the conservancy development. Sixty percent (60%) of people surveyed said they had taken part in the meetings where the conservancy development was discussed and their opinion sought. Of the remaining respondents, 18.75% were too young to attend and 12.5% were not in Salambala at the time. Only 8.75% said they did not attend meetings they were either not invited or were not made aware of the meetings. The Salambala Conservancy Constitution was also finalised with input from the community, and the alignment of the Core Areas boundary also included community participation. Thus this conservancy is neither a case of neither aborted devolution nor co-option of the elite. The conservancy has overwhelming community support, again evidenced by the fact that 98.75% of respondents indicated their wish for the continued functioning of the conservancy.

The community also determines, through a voting process, who will represent them on the Management Committee. The Committee decides, on behalf of the community, how to manage the resource, negotiating and entering into contracts with hunting operators.

People at the village level decide how to use the benefit distribution pay-outs themselves. Of the respondents, 68.75% said they participated in deciding how to use the money received by their village from Salambala Conservancy. They are not instructed how to spend their money by the State, NGOs, Traditional Authority or the Committee.

There is community participation in other conservancy matters too: 68.75% said they attended meetings at which decisions are taken about conservancy matters. In addition, 56.25% actively participate in decision-making in the conservancy concerning other matters apart from the use of benefit distribution funds, either by attending AGMs or local village meetings, or both.

4. *Indigenous wildlife numbers and other natural resources must increase and be conserved / maintained, as the project and the receipt of benefits is dependent on upon this.*

As discussed in Chapter Five's analysis of whether Salambala Conservancy is achieving its Aims and Objectives, there is anecdotal information which indicates that wildlife numbers have increased in the conservancy since inception of the initiative. The majority of respondents, 86.25%, state that there is a noticeable increase of wildlife in the area. In addition, there have been wildlife translocations into the conservancy (wildebeest, impala and giraffe). Further evidence of an increase in wildlife numbers is the hunting quota which has increased significantly since the project began. As the MET agrees to hunting quotas on the basis of the sustainable management of wildlife, this indicates that wildlife numbers, specifically huntable game, has indeed increased.

5. *The CBNRM initiative must not be reliant on one type of livelihood (only hunting, only a campsite, etc), so that if that project fails, or has to cease operations, the whole CBNRM initiative comes to a standstill.*

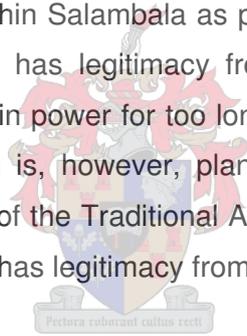
At this time Salambala Conservancy is dependent on the income from the hunting concession. The Committee has also invested N\$100,000 in a policy in order to generate further returns for the conservancy. There are also efforts to diversify individuals' livelihood strategies within the conservancy, through crafting and sales at the Ngoma Craft Centre, and the introduction of a Conservation Farming project in the conservancy. But there is a need to diversify income generation in terms of Salambala Conservancy's wildlife and natural assets, for example, through a tourism enterprise such as a joint venture lodge (Torra Conservancy has been very successful in this regard, see Nott and Davis, 2005). Another option is to increase their wildlife species to the point where they could profit from the sale of live, valuable game (such as Nyae-Nyae Conservancy in Namibia, see Weaver and Skyer, 2005). Other potential means of diversification are the use or sale of medicinal herbs and integration of other natural resources into Salambala Conservancy's strategy (e.g. fisheries, timber) (Rihoy, 1995:34). The Committee is also investigating the feasibility of an Aquaculture project. A potential constraint to the development of the other initiatives using other natural resources to complement the wildlife-based project is that current policy regarding Conservancies only extends to wildlife.

6. *The local people must own, or have de facto ownership, over the resource in question – and they should be aware of this ownership, and feel a sense of ownership.*

The community quite evidently feels a sense of ownership over the wildlife in Salambala: 87.5% of respondents felt that they, the community, own the wildlife.

7. *Local institutions comprising local people must be established to govern and manage the resources. These institutions must be effective, legitimate (in the eyes of the State and the community) and representative of the community. These institutions should be independent of external authorities, strong and adaptive.*

An institution, in the form of a Management Committee, has been established in Salambala with the purpose of managing the wildlife resource for the community. It is representative of the villages within Salambala as previously described, and there is gender equity. The committee has legitimacy from the community (in that they elected it), although it has been in power for too long, according to the requirements of the Constitution. An election is, however, planned for the end of 2006. The conservancy has the patronage of the Traditional Authority and an Induna serves on the Committee, demonstrating it has legitimacy from the Traditional Authority.



Salambala Conservancy has legitimacy from the State, too, in that it is legally recognised in terms of the legislation. One of the pre-requisites for registration was that the Government was satisfied with the institutional arrangements.

The Management Committee is representative of the community and concerted efforts have been made to transform the Committee in order to ensure that it is appropriately representative, both in terms of gender and villages.

The Management Committee is independent of external authorities on the whole, however, the Traditional Authority does exert an influence over it. This can cause conflict within the conservancy as demonstrated in Sikanjabuka. In addition, if the costs of living with wildlife start to become greater than the benefits, because of money given to the Traditional Authority (at the expense of the community), this can lead to the failure of the conservancy. However, to date, the funds have been used for projects in which the community has a stake, such as the Festival of the Chief,

which is attended by Salambala residents, and the upgrading of ceremonial buildings. The use of this money can be said to be similar to taxes imposed by a Government which are used for public works in which everyone shares. However the community's attitude to the Traditional Authority receiving money from the conservancy was not investigated in this study.

In terms of effectiveness, a few of the community members interviewed expressed unhappiness with the Management Committee because it was "doing nothing". However, the lack of tangible enterprises engaged upon is not necessarily because the Committee is ineffective. In some cases circumstances have prevented further livelihood diversification and income generation. The Management Committee is actively trying to establish another campsite in an effort to improve benefits, and is looking for further opportunities to diversify. It is not for lack of trying that there is no tourism lodge in Salambala Conservancy, evidenced by the negotiations with the potential lodge developer, Mackenzie Peddie, in the 1990s that did not come to fruition because of the problems associated with the people who refused to move from the Core Wildlife Area (as discussed in Chapter Five).

Whether the Management Committee is adaptive or not is also difficult to judge. However, they do make use of Event Books which are a means to adaptive management. The manner in which activities are conducted has altered over the years, for example seeking alternatives to tourism development when the initial plans were not successful.

A problem identified by Child (2003) was that conservancy committees tend to be accountable to donors and NGOs, rather than to the community. I do not believe this is the case in Salambala as NGOs and donors play a lesser role currently than in its initial development. In addition, the fact that the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the previous Committee were removed from office by the community at an AGM indicates that the Management Committee is indeed accountable to the community.

8. *The community must be defined, as too the area and resources over which authority is granted.*

It is a requirement of State legislation that the area of the conservancy is geographically determined and membership defined, prior to the MET allowing it to be registered. However, even those who are not signed-up members benefit from the

conservancy, and many people feel part of the conservancy because of their geographic location, regardless of whether they are members or not. The resource, wildlife, over which rights are granted, is also defined according to legislation.

Even though the area and community was defined, this has not however prevented all conflicts, such as the conflict over the Core Wildlife Area and Sikanjabuka.

3. THREATS AND CHALLENGES

3.1 Benefits vs. Costs

Although community members in Salambala Conservancy have experienced benefits from the conservancy, the benefits generated are spread amongst a relatively large population.¹⁹² This is mitigated by the distribution of the cash on a village basis, rather than on a household basis, so that the village can collectively decide to use the funds for something useful which will benefit everyone in the village (as evidenced in *Table 8*). However, if the population increases, or the benefits do not increase, there is the risk that the benefits will become too few for the population to value, and there will thus be little incentive to continue the sustainable management of the resource and to tolerate wildlife, particularly if people are experiencing crop or livestock loss as a result of the conservancy. In addition, during field trips I encountered two new villages close to Bukalo, where people had settled from other areas but were not at all aware of the conservancy. This has potential negative effects on both people's attitude to wildlife, their behaviour (as they may be inclined to poach not being aware of the potential benefits of conserving wildlife), and the fact that benefits have to be distributed to more people, even though they may not adhere to the conservancy's rules. In addition, an increasing population leads to an increase in development and infrastructure further reducing wildlife habitat in the conservancy. This will ultimately lead to a reduction in wildlife in the area, and thus the conservancy will have no means of generating an income for the conservancy community.

¹⁹² 8.5 people per km² compared with 5.5 people per km² on average in the Caprivi and 2.1 people per km² in Namibia as a whole

3.2 Human-wildlife conflict

Even among those who are extremely positive about the conservancy, the issue of crops being lost because of problem animals, particularly elephants, was frequently mentioned. If human-wildlife incidents increase, and the costs of wildlife begin to outweigh the benefits, there is the possibility that people will begin to resent wildlife, and eventually the conservancy.

It is crucial to implement means to lessen the effects of negative wildlife on people's livelihoods, such as those initiatives currently being implemented, i.e. Human-Wildlife Conservancy Self Insurance Scheme (HAC SIS) and chilli bombs, not only to retain a positive feeling towards wildlife and the conservancy but from a moral point of view, to ensure that people's socio-economic circumstances are not negatively affected by the conservancy. Many people spoken to mentioned the desire for some form of compensation for loss of their crops, not just for livestock. HAC SIS or something similar needs to be extended to include crops as soon as possible, and perhaps the solution, as suggested previously, is that the payments should be made according to what the conservancy can afford, not according to the estimated value of the loss. Thus issues such as valuation of fields and assessments of the amount lost / damaged can be circumvented. Human-wildlife conflict is not however a localised issue however but one many organisations are trying to tackle¹⁹³ and is a problem wherever wildlife and people can interact. A few community members also said they believed the game guards should do more to protect the people from wildlife. However, with a staff of only nine, working in shifts of three, this may not be possible, considering the size of Salambala Conservancy.

3.3 Diversification of Livelihoods

Further opportunities to increase revenue and employment in the conservancy and thereby diversify income streams needs to be developed both to increase benefits and to lessen the reliance on the hunting income.

The development of Salambala Conservancy has, however, contributed to some diversification of individual livelihood strategies, for example, employment, crafting, employment in the conservancy and growing of chillies and other vegetables for sale.

¹⁹³ E.g. Elephant Pepper Development Trust, Conservation International, IRDNC.

3.4 Increasing livestock

Livestock are an important form of income for some people in Salambala Conservancy. Livestock can feed and clothe people, and provide for them when they need money. Thus, it is difficult to try and encourage people to have fewer livestock because of the implications they have for wildlife, when the benefits from the conservancy and wildlife are only an added extra, not their primary form of income. In times of drought people would suffer tremendously without their livestock.¹⁹⁴

3.5 People living in the Core Area

Despite the fact that the Constitution has a clause pertaining to Conflict Resolution, it has no bearing on the people living in the Core Wildlife Area. These people, though refusing to adhere to the regulations of Salambala Conservancy by remaining within the Core Wildlife Area, enjoy the benefits of the conservancy. Their remaining in this area has had a serious impact on tourism opportunities (as previously discussed) and continues to do so to the detriment of thousands of other people. The campsite is situated in the Core Wildlife Area, and though it has potential for increased tourism tourists do not want to see or hear cattle in this area when they are there to experience “nature”. Regardless of the morality of that statement, in that cattle are a way of life for local people, tourists do not travel to wildlife areas to see cows. Thus, the tourism opportunities are seriously constrained by the presence of cattle.

3.6 HIV/AIDS

The HIV/AIDS rate in the Caprivi is 40%. This can have severe implications for the conservancy if leaders and drivers of the project become infected.

4. CONCLUSION

In spite of the challenges faced over the years, such as conflict over the Core Wildlife Area, the alleged mismanagement by the Chairman of the Committee a few years previously and the fact that there is a relatively high concentration of people in

¹⁹⁴ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006

Salambala Conservancy, wildlife numbers have increased in the conservancy. Salambala Conservancy's income has also increased over the years, and it is significant that Salambala Conservancy is self-sustaining and has been since 2002. It is thus not dependent on donors for its existence, nor the vagaries of funding trends.

The community is receiving benefits from living with wildlife. Despite the fact that not all respondents feel that they personally benefit from the Conservancy and that crop damage from wildlife is a topic of concern for many people, 98.75% of the respondents want Salambala Conservancy to continue. Only 1.25% said they did not want the conservancy to continue, citing crop damage as the reason. The results of the study show that even if the people don't personally experience benefits, or even know how or if the money received from the conservancy was spent, they are still in favour of the existence of the conservancy and living with wildlife.

A comment from a member of the Executive Committee regarding wildlife is that it is "part of our culture to live with wildlife". The more wildlife in the conservancy, the more benefits the community receives, the "more life improves".¹⁹⁵

An environment conducive for biodiversity conservation has thus been established in an area where 15 years previously there was little wildlife because of other land-use practices or high incidence of poaching. Community members have access to various village developments which are unlikely to have been built without funds generated by the conservancy, and in addition have received the meat from hunted game.

Salambala Conservancy demonstrates that wildlife and humans can cohabit, and that local management of the wildlife has improved the circumstances of both. It has improved biodiversity conservation, in addition to supplementing the livelihoods of local people. Furthermore, in the broader context, this conservancy forms part of a mosaic of wildlife-friendly areas which are linking formerly protected areas and enabling wildlife movement between different areas and countries, thus creating a larger habitat for wildlife. This expansion of habitat for wildlife has the potential to further improve biodiversity in the region, in addition to improving opportunities for job creation for local people through increased nature-based tourism.

¹⁹⁵ Salambala Conservancy Executive Committee, personal communication, 23/07/2006

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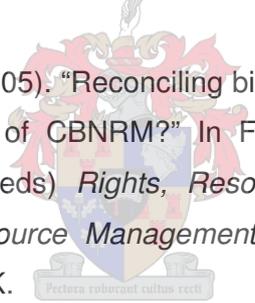
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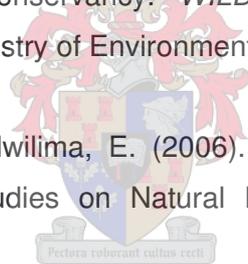
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Correspondence from the Munitenge Royal Establishment to the Regional Governor, 16 July 1997.



Letter of Intent signed by Mackenzie Peddie (Southern African Fieldsport Safaris), 4 September 1996.

Memorandum of Agreement between Salambala Conservancy and Classic Safaris, 13 April 2005.

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Minutes of Governor Area Meeting No 2 with Salambala Conservancy to resolve Core Wildlife Area Conflict. 8 July 1997.

Minutes of Governor Area Meeting No. 1 with Salambala Conservancy to resolve Core Wildlife Area Conflict. 7 July 1997.

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Grant Application to WWF-LIFE: Conservancy Formation and Natural Resources Management in Salambala Forest, 6 October 1995.

Grant Proposal to WWF-LIFE: Assisting the Salambala Conservancy to reach Operational and Financial Sustainability, September 1999.

Quarterly Report to WWF-LIFE: Conservancy Formation and Natural Resource Management in the Salambala Forest. For the period 1 April – 30 June 1997.

Quarterly Report to WWF-LIFE: Conservancy Formation and Natural Resource Management in the Salambala Forest. For the period 1 July – 30 September 1997.

Salambala Management Committee Progress Report on Salambala Conservancy Formation: Period: 1 April – 20 June 1999.

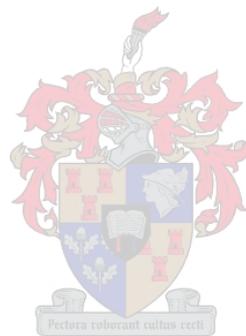
Salambala Management Committee Progress Report on Salambala Conservancy Formation: Period: 1 January – 31 March 1999.

PRESENTATIONS

The Role of the Women in Resource Management Team in the IRDNC, Caprivi.

Presentation for VSO National Conference, 5th – 6th September 2005. By Candy Diggle, IRDNC

Using the Event Book System in Caprivi – Mind Maps, Implementation and Adaptive Management. Presentation at the SASUSG Annual Members Meeting, May 18-21 2005, Gondwana, Namibia. By Richard Diggle.



LIST OF PEOPLE CONSULTED

Salambala Community

As interviews with local community members were conducted on condition of anonymity, their names are not included.

Jester Matengu Sankwasa

Martin Nandou, Senior Community Game Guard

Othelia Sakachala, Community Resource Monitor

Morgan Sasai, ex-Acting Chairman

Executive Committee (together):

Matilda Maswahu (Secretary)

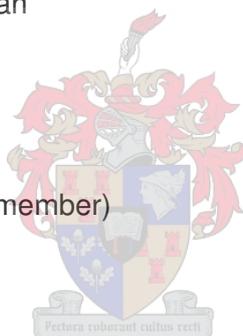
Raymond Munyaza (Committee member)

Cecilia Nzehengwa (Treasurer)

Bornface Saisai (Vice Treasurer)

Robert Sinyambo (Vice / Acting Chairman) (an individual interview was also conducted)

Edina Siyoka (Secretary)



Management Committee Members

Esther Minga

Francisca Molese

Karin Moniches

Joseph Mutelezi

Robert Mwinga

Mondia Mwanamali

Manzinza Ngulwa

Joyce Ntesa

Melvin Nyoma

Eldebees Nyombi

Magaret Paniso
Beaven Sinvula
Morris Sisinyinze
Richwell Sitali

External Stakeholders

Candy Diggle, IRDNC
Richard Diggle, WWF-LIFE
Simon Mayes, Namibia Nature Foundation
Alfons Mosimane, University of Namibia
Carol Murphy, IRDNC / Conservation International
Daisy Nhetha, IRDNC
Ron Phillips, CLUSA / WWF-LIFE
Chris Weaver, WWF-LIFE
Titus Gaothodogwe, Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Botswana
Nathaniel Nuulimba, Land, Livelihood and Heritage Resource Centre, Botswana



APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE

Melissa de Kock, MPhil student at University of Stellenbosch South Africa

Exploring the effectiveness of community-based natural resource management in Salambala Conservancy (in terms of whether it has enhanced local livelihoods, assisted in poverty alleviation and is beneficial to wildlife conservation).

Date: _____

Village: _____

Name: _____ M / F Age _____

Length of time living in Salambala area: _____

How many people in the household? _____

What are your sources of income? _____

Which source of income is the most important for you? _____

Are you a Conservancy member: Yes / No

Awareness

1. Do you know that this area is a conservancy? Yes / No

2. Please explain what a conservancy is:

3. Where are the boundaries of the conservancy?

Participation / Decision-making

4. When the conservancy was started, did you take part in discussions to decide which areas would be a part of the conservancy? Yes / No

Explain: _____



5. Did you vote in the last elections for conservancy committee members? Yes / No

6. If not, list reasons

7. Will you vote in the coming elections? Yes / No

8. If not, list reasons

9. Do you attend meetings where decision-making about the conservancy takes place (and participate in the decision making, e.g. the Annual General Meeting)? Yes / No

10. If so, please explain the procedure (and give examples of the above)

11. If not, why not (e.g. if not at the AGM, why not?)

Benefits

12. Are you aware of any benefits produced as a result of the conservancy?
Yes / No



13. List the benefits you are aware of:

14. Do you know if money was given to your village?
Yes / No

15. Do you know how often money was given to your village?

16. Do you know what the money from the benefit distributions was used for:

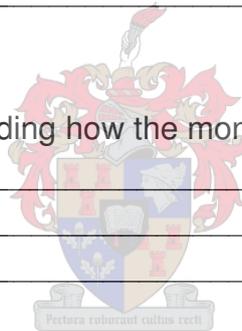
- 2001 _____
- 2002 _____
- 2005 _____

17. Do you think the money was used for the right things / in the right way?

Yes / No

18. Did you have a say in deciding how the money was used? Yes / No

Explain: _____



19. Do you personally experience any benefits from the conservancy?

Yes / No

20. If yes, please describe / explain the benefits you have experienced

Increased wildlife

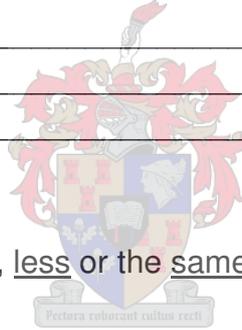
21. Do you notice, or have you heard, that there is less or more wildlife activity in the conservancy area since the conservancy started? Yes / No

Explain _____

22. Is this good or bad?

Explain: _____

23. Did you feel this way before the conservancy was started? Yes / No



24. Do you want to have more, less or the same amount of wildlife here now?

Motivate: _____

25. Do you think it is important to have wildlife in this area (the conservancy area)? Yes / No

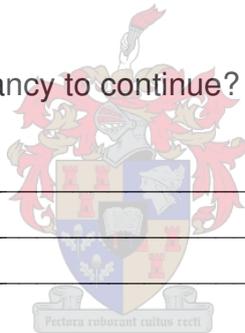
Explain _____

26. Did you think so before the conservancy was started? Yes / No

27. To whom does the wildlife in the area belong?

28. Do you feel positive or negative to wildlife? Positive / Negative
Motivate:

29. Do you want the conservancy to continue? Yes / No
Explain



APPENDIX 3

SALAMBALA CONSERVANCY CONSTITUTION



Salambala Conservancy Constitution

CONTENTS

1. Preamble
2. Name, Address of Location
3. Boundary description of Conservancy
4. Aims and objectives
5. Structures of the Conservancy
6. Operating principles
7. The conservancy committee
8. Executive committee
9. Conservancy committee and executive committee meetings
10. Financial matters
11. Benefits Distribution Plan
12. Membership
13. Rights and obligations of members
14. General meetings
15. Community meetings
16. Termination of Membership and other Sanctions
17. Dispute Resolution and Conciliation
18. Dissolution
19. Amendments
20. Adoption



SALAMBALA CONSERVANCY

CONSTITUTION

1.0 PREAMBLE

For many years the communities residing in and around the Salambala Forest have enjoyed the benefits of an environment abundant with game and other natural resources.

The colonial administration and war have deprived these communities of the benefits of these natural resources.

Now, therefore, the communities living in and around the Salambala Forest wish to establish a Conservancy in terms of the Nature Conservation Ordinance (No 4 of 1975) as amended by the Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996 in order to:

- 1.1 enable its members to gain the right to sustainably manage and utilise wildlife and to retain the income derived from such sustainable management and utilisation;
- 1.2 improve the welfare of its members by linking nature conservation to development, thereby providing incentives to members to sustainably manage their own natural resources; and
- 1.3 enable its members to gain exclusive rights to develop tourism accommodation and guided tours within the boundaries of the Conservancy.

2.0 NAME, ADDRESS AND LOCATION

2.1 The name of the conservancy shall be Salambala Conservancy.

2.2 The postal address of the Conservancy shall be

Salambala Conservancy Committee
P O Box 1797
Ngweze
Katima Mulilo

2.3 The physical location of the Conservancy shall be the Salambala Forest, East Caprivi, Republic of Namibia.

3.0 BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION OF THE CONSERVANCY

The Salambala Conservancy consists of two area types: 1) a core wildlife area of approximately 14,000 hectares to be used primarily for wildlife and natural resource management purposes, which will exclude settlements and livestock grazing; and 2) the surrounding multiple-use areas where the conservancy's residents live, graze

livestock, and grow crops. The boundary is described in terms of co-ordinates and displayed on the included map, the number referred to and their co-ordinates are listed in the included table of co-ordinates. The core wildlife area is an open system with boundaries on three sides made up by six points (13,14,15,16,17 and 18) note there is no boundary between points 18 and 13.

The eastern boundary of the surrounding area starts in the north at point 1 and follows the points down to point 11 at the Chobe river. From point 11 the boundary coincides with the international border between the Republic of Namibia and the Republic of Botswana until point 12. From point 12 the boundary runs northwards along the depression that forms the eastern bank of lake Liambezi and the Bukalo Channel. The area encompassed by the Salambala Conservancy is 93,300 hectares. The attached map illustrates the above description.

Co-ordinates making up the Salambala boundary

Point	E (degree)	E (minute)	E (second)	S (degree)	S (minute)	S (second)
1	24	32	45	17	39	24
2	24	32	59	17	39	25
3	24	33	36	17	39	45
4	24	34	21	17	40	50
5	24	35	29	17	42	58
6	24	37	20	17	45	26
7	24	39	47	17	46	60
8	24	41	16	17	47	41
9	24	41	27	17	49	1
10	24	45	56	17	49	23
11	24	48	19	17	52	13
12	24	22	29	17	56	55
13	24	31	6	17	54	22
14	24	31	6	17	48	27
15	24	36	53	17	48	35
16	24	37	6	17	49	46
17	24	38	46	17	51	25
18	24	36	47	17	53	21

4.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The primary aims and objectives of the Conservancy are:

- 4.1 to create an environment conducive for the return of game to the Salambala area.
- 4.2 to manage Salambala's wildlife and other natural resources in accordance with an approved management plan in a sustainable manner to maximise the return of benefits to the communities in and around the Salambala area.
- 4.3 to protect Salambala's wildlife and plans for future generations of Namibia residents, particularly those living in East Caprivi.
- 4.4 to develop tourism accommodation and guided tours for tourists in the conservancy to derive benefits for the communities.

5.0 STRUCTURES OF THE CONSERVANCY

- 5.1 The Conservancy shall be managed by a Conservancy Committee consisting of 40 representatives from the list of villages mentioned in Annexure A and one representative from the Bukalo Khuta.
- 5.2 The Conservancy Committee shall elect from its members an Executive Committee of 9 members and nominate the Conservancy Manager (appointed in terms of clause 7.1.3 (ii) as an ex officio member.
- 5.3 The Conservancy shall have an Annual General Meeting (AGM) based upon 2 community residents per Committee representative from the villages mentioned in Annexure A.
- 5.4 Each community in the conservancy shall have a Community Meeting consisting of all members residing in the particular community.

6.0 OPERATING PRINCIPLES

- 6.1 The conservancy committee shall use its powers in accordance with the overriding principle of fairness and equity, which shall require that the committee deal with the community's property and rights in accordance with the objectives of this constitution and only for the benefit of the members.
- 6.2 The conservancy committee shall endeavour to ensure that all members receive similar or equal benefits, and that there is no material discrimination between members; provided that the committee may differentiate between members on reasonable and necessary grounds and provided further that an attempt is made to equalise any disparity and to ensure equity and fairness as between members.

7.0 THE CONSERVANCY COMMITTEE

7.1 GENERAL AND SPECIFIC POWERS OF THE COMMITTEE

7.1.1 The conservancy committee shall manage the conservancy and administer its property for the benefit of the members and it shall have all the necessary executive and other powers to do so.

7.1.2 Subject to the terms of this constitution, the restricted powers referred to hereafter and any directions contained in resolutions passed by the members in general meeting, the conservancy committee shall exercise its powers as it considers appropriate to achieve the objectives of the conservancy and to delegate its powers to the Executive Committee.

7.1.3 The general powers of the conservancy committee shall include the following:

- i) To elect from its members an Executive Committee who shall oversee the day to day activities in the Conservancy.
- ii) To employ staff and consultants.
- iii) To distribute to communities, invest or re-invest in any financial institution, or otherwise use, the proceeds of any assets or any monies of the conservancy as approved by the annual general meeting and subject to the rules and regulations of the Community Trust Fund.
- iv) To borrow monies on such terms and conditions as the conservancy committee may consider appropriate for any of the objectives of the conservancy, subject to the direction of the general meeting.
- v) To guarantee the performance of contracts or obligations of any person entering into an agreement with the Conservancy.
- vi) To institute or defend any legal proceedings, and to settle any claims made by or against the conservancy.

7.1.4 The specific powers of the conservancy committee shall include the following:

- i) To acquire, receive, hold and manage on behalf of and for the benefit of members, the property, rights, and assets of the conservancy whether in the nature of land, buildings, real rights, money or other tangible or intangible assets of whatsoever nature.
- ii) To establish a Community Trust Fund in consultation with the Bukalo Khuta and invest all income not required for operational expenses in the said Trust Fund for distribution to the communities.

7.2 THE RESTRICTED POWERS OF THE CONSERVANCY COMMITTEE

- 7.2.1 The conservancy committee may not lease the property, its rights or any part thereof or incur any obligations affecting its property rights without the prior approval by resolution of a majority of members at an annual general meeting or special general meeting.
- 7.2.2 Any decision to amend this constitution, deregister, dissolve the conservancy or distribute the property, rights and assets shall be by a two-thirds majority of members at an annual or special general meeting; provided that the notice conveying such meeting shall be required to indicate the nature of the business to be considered.

7.3 TENURE OF OFFICE OF CONSERVANCY COMMITTEE MEMBERS

- 7.3.1 Members of the conservancy committee shall be elected at a community meeting by majority vote.
- 7.3.2 At least one member of the conservancy committee from each community shall be elected and serve a term of office for a period of three years.
- 7.3.4 Vacancies on the conservancy committee shall be filled by an election at the representative community for a replacement.
- 7.3.5 A community meeting may remove or substitute its representatives on the conservancy committee; provided that the notice for such a meeting shall state the intention to propose a resolution for the removal, or substitution, of such conservancy members.
- 7.3.6 Prior to the adoption of a resolution to remove a conservancy committee member, he or she shall be given the opportunity to address the community meeting with reference to the reasons for his/her proposed removal.
- 7.3.7 A conservancy member shall vacate his/her position.
- 7.3.7.1 if he/she resigns,
- 7.3.7.2 if he/she becomes unfit and/or incapable of acting as a conservancy committee member, or
- 7.3.7.3 if he/she is removed in terms of a resolution passed by a meeting of the representative community concerned.
- 7.3.8 The following persons may not serve as conservancy committee members:
- 7.3.8.1 an unrehabilitated insolvent,
- 7.3.8.2 any person who has been removed from some other office of trust on account

of misconduct or dishonesty.

8.0 EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

8.1 The Conservancy Community shall elect from amongst its members an Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall be responsible for the execution of all decisions and policies of the Conservancy Committee.

8.2 The Executive Committee shall consist of the following officers:

8.2.1 the chairperson shall have the responsibility for calling, chairing and providing overall direction at all the meetings of the conservancy, except the community meetings.

8.2.2 the secretary shall have the responsibility for organising all meetings of the conservancy, issuing notices concerning all meetings and activities of the conservancy, recording minutes of all conservancy meetings, conducting all correspondence on behalf of the conservancy, and ensuring the safe-keeping of all relevant documents of the conservancy.

8.2.3 the treasurer shall have responsibility for keeping proper financial records, issuing receipts for money received by the conservancy, co-signing all the conservancy's cheques and preparing and presenting financial reports to meetings of the conservancy as well as ensuring that an audit of the conservancy accounts is carried out annually.

8.2.4 the vice-chairperson, deputy secretary and deputy treasurer, who shall deputise when the chairperson, secretary or treasurer is not available.

8.2.5 three elected members of the conservancy committee will serve on the executive committee as advisers.

8.2.6 the Conservancy Manager shall serve on the Executive Committee in an ex officio capacity.

9.0 CONSERVANCY COMMITTEE AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

The conservancy committee shall regulate its meetings and conduct its proceedings as it considers appropriate, provided that:

9.1 the chairperson shall convene a meeting of the conservancy committee at least once every three months; and he or she shall be obliged to convene a meeting forthwith upon being requested to do so by any ten conservancy committee members, provided that such members have stated the reasons for the holding of such a meeting and have given seven days written notice of such request;

9.2 the chairperson shall convene a meeting of the executive committee at least once every month.

- 9.3 where possible, members of the Conservancy Committee and Executive Committee shall receive notice and a proposed agenda at least seven days prior to any meeting;
- 9.4 the quorum at a conservancy committee meeting shall be twenty-six members and at an executive committee meeting it shall be six members.
- 9.5 in the event of an equality of votes, the chairperson shall have a second or casting vote;
- 9.6 members who have an interest in any decision to be considered by a meeting shall declare such interest and recuse him or herself from attendance and participation in any such decision.
- 9.7 minutes of all proceedings of meetings and an attendance register shall be kept;
- 9.8 members of the conservancy may attend meetings of the conservancy committee, and may be invited to speak at conservancy committee meetings.

10.0 FINANCIAL MATTERS

- 10.1 The conservancy committee shall ensure that proper accounting records and books of account are kept.
- 10.2 Financial statements shall be prepared at least once a year in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles and practice, and such statements shall be audited and certified by an independent accountant or accounting officer in the customary manner.
- 10.3 All contracts, cheques and other documents requiring signature on behalf of the conservancy, shall be signed in such a manner as the conservancy committee may from time to time decide, provided that at least two members of the executive committee shall sign such documents.
- 10.4 The conservancy committee shall ensure that all monies received by it be deposited in the banking account opened in the name of the conservancy with a registered bank.
- 10.5 The manner in which any monies derived from the utilisation of wildlife or tourism activities within the conservancy are used, shall be decided by the members at an annual general meeting or special general meeting and in accordance with the principles and guidelines layed out by the Salambala Conservancy Benefits Distribution Plan. All monies not required for operational expenses shall be transferred to the Community Trust Fund for distribution to the different communities within the boundaries of the conservancy. No monies shall be paid out as cash benefits directly to the members.

11.0 BENEFITS DISTRIBUTION PLAN

11.1 The purpose of the benefits distribution plan is to ensure a fair process through which cash and non-cash benefits generated by the Salambala Conservancy can be allocated to members.

11.2 The benefits distribution plan will be guided by three principles:

11.2.1 Fair and transparent means of allocating benefits require that all Conservancy members have equal access to knowledge and information when decisions are made;

11.2.2 Those members who have suffered the greatest as a result of the formation or operation of the Conservancy shall receive the greatest benefits; and

11.2.3 Revenues generated should firstly be used to ensure the natural resources under the jurisdiction of the Conservancy are sustainably managed, and secondly for community development projects.

11.3 CASH BENEFITS:

Cash benefits (Conservancy income) will be used to cover: first, the costs of operation of the Salambala Conservancy; and second, costs associated with community development projects.

11.3.1 The Conservancy Committee will make all decisions on how income is to be divided and applied to the coverage of conservancy operational costs versus community development projects;

11.3.2 Decisions on the allocation of income earned will be made once a year at the Annual General Meeting;

11.3.3 All income used to cover conservancy operational costs will be managed and accounted for by the Conservancy Committee;

11.3.4 All income allocated to community development projects will be awarded and managed by a Community Trust;

11.3.5 The Community Trust will have a Board of 20 Trustees, who will once a year allocate income to specific community development projects;

11.3.6 The Board of Trustees will be composed of 19 community members from civic-minded organizations (churches, development committees, small businesses, etc.) and one representative from the Conservancy Committee;

11.3.7 The Conservancy Committee, through its representative on the Board of Trustees, retains the right to veto proposed development projects should they not fit within the spirit of development activities the Salambala Conservancy

supports; and

- 11.3.8 Funds awarded to development project will be monitored and accounted for by the Community Trust, with direct assistance from the Conservancy Committee representatives who are resident to the village in which community development projects are being undertaken.

11.4 NON-CASH BENEFITS:

Non-cash benefits include employment opportunities, cultural benefits, education/training, and more productive natural resources.

- 11.4.1 Employment opportunities will be allocated based upon the following principles and guidelines:
- 11.4.1.1 Those conservancy members who have suffered the most from the establishment or operation of the conservancy will receive first consideration when employment is offered;
- 11.4.1.2 Award of employment shall be done in close consultation with communities;
- 11.4.1.3 Only Conservancy members of affected communities will be allowed to nominate candidates for consideration of Conservancy-related employment opportunities; and
- 11.4.1.4 Employment of Salambala residents shall be given to Salambala Conservancy members only.
- 11.4.2 All Salambala residents, regardless of Conservancy membership status, will receive increased cultural benefits as a result of formation of the Conservancy;
- 11.4.2.1 Such benefits shall include increased association with wildlife, access of school children to view wildlife in the core wildlife area, and increased demand for existing cultural skills such as crafts production and traditional dancing.
- 11.4.3 Conservancy members only will be the benefactors of training and education opportunities. Such opportunities might include:
- 11.4.3.1 Skills taught through on-the-job training;
- 11.4.3.2 Skills taught through implementation of development projects; and
- 11.4.3.3 Educational scholarships, should the Community Trust choose to establish a community scholarship fund.
- 11.4.4 All Salambala residents, regardless of Conservancy membership status, shall benefit from the increased productivity of the various natural resources.

produced within the Conservancy.

12.0 MEMBERSHIP

- 12.1 The membership of the Conservancy shall consist of all persons over the age of 16 years who permanently reside within the boundaries of the conservancy and shall include the following:
 - 12.1.1 All *persons over the age of 16 years* in attendance at the meetings where his constitution is adopted and have indicated (in writing) that they accept the rights and obligations of members in terms of this constitution;
 - 12.1.2 All *persons over the age of 16 years* who have indicated (in writing) that they accept the rights and obligations of members in terms of this constitution;
- 12.2 The conservancy committee shall establish and maintain a membership register, which shall include the name, address, identity number or date of birth.

13.0 RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERS

- 13.1 All members shall have the following basic rights:
 - 13.1.1 To attend, speak and vote at any community meeting or general meeting or where they are present.
 - 13.1.2 To inspect any minutes or any other records of decisions of any general meeting and the conservancy committee meetings.
 - 13.1.3 To inspect and make copies of the financial statements and records of the conservancy.
 - 13.1.4 To inspect the membership register.
 - 13.1.5 Access to the property of the conservancy set aside for communal use by all members.
- 13.2 Subject to this constitution, all members shall be eligible on an equal basis and on application or as otherwise directed by a resolution passed by the members at annual general meeting or special general meeting, to acquire exclusive and/or specific shared rights, interests or benefits in relation to the property or rights of the conservancy.
- 13.3 All members shall have the following general obligations:
 - 13.3.1 To abide by the lawfully taken decisions of the structure of the conservancy.
 - 13.3.2 Not to kill, harm, or otherwise interfere with any wildlife or habitat upon

which wildlife depends without the permission of the conservancy committee or unless provided for in the conservancy management plan and subject to the provisions of the Nature Conservation Ordinance (No. 4 of 1975).

14.0 GENERAL MEETINGS

- 14.1 An annual general meeting of members shall be convened once a year in order to deal with the business of the conservancy including the receipt of reports from the conservancy committee, giving guidance and direction to the conservancy committee, and attending to such other business and special business as may be necessary in terms of this constitution.
- 14.2 Members shall receive not less than one month prior notice of an annual general meeting.
- 14.3 A special general meeting may also be convened by the conservancy committee to deal with any special business that may arise from time to time.
- 14.4 Each community shall be represented at the general meetings by its elected representatives. The number of representatives for each village shall be in accordance with Annexure "A".
- 14.5 The quorum for a general meeting shall be two thirds of the members present at the general meeting.
- 14.6 Minutes of the general meeting shall be kept and the number of members in attendance shall be recorded.
- 14.7 A resolution of the general meeting shall be decided by majority vote. Each member in attendance shall be entitled to one vote.
- 14.8 In the event of an equality of votes the chairperson shall have a second or casting vote.
- 14.9 The conservancy committee shall decide on the manner to ensure adequate notice of general meetings to members.

15.0 COMMUNITY MEETINGS

- 15.1 The community representatives who serve on the Conservancy Committee shall call a community meeting of all members residing in a community at least once every three months.
- 15.2 The community representative shall call a special community meeting on the request of at least half the members of the community.
- 15.3 Two thirds of the members present at the community meeting shall form a quorum and all decisions shall be taken by majority vote.

15.4 The community meeting shall deal with all matters affecting the conservancy management plan and the benefits associated with the sustainable management and utilisation of natural resources.

15.5 The community meeting shall elect the representatives on the conservancy committee and the representatives to the annual general meeting or special general meeting.

16.0 TERMINATION OF MEMBERSHIP AND OTHER SANCTIONS

16.1 Membership of the conservancy shall be terminated on the death of a member and may be terminated by resignation in writing and signed by the member.

16.2 The conservancy committee shall be entitled, subject to any directions which may be given in terms of a resolution by the members in general meeting, to remove from the membership register the name of any member whom it may consider on reasonable grounds no longer eligible for membership on condition that prior to such termination of membership of any member, he or she shall be given an opportunity to make representations with regard to any relevant matter at issue.

17.0 DISPUTE RESOLUTION AND CONCILIATION

17.1 In order to facilitate the expeditious and inexpensive resolution of disputes and to avoid unnecessary litigation, any member, conservancy committee member, or the conservancy committee shall in the first place attempt to resolve disputes and differences by negotiation and amicable accommodation in accordance with the spirit of this constitution.

17.2 Should it become evident that the dispute might be usefully resolved through mediation and negotiation, or a fact-finding party, the parties to the dispute shall appoint a conciliator to assist them in resolving the dispute.

17.3 The conservancy committee shall appoint a conciliator if requested to do so by three conservancy committee members.

17.4 The right is reserved for any member to apply to court in the event of any refusal or failure on the part of the conservancy committee to give proper effect to the principles of equity, equality and non-discrimination, or to implement the terms of this constitution in accordance with its intent and purpose.

18.0 DISSOLUTION

18.1 The conservancy may only be dissolved by a two-thirds majority of all members in general meeting of which three months notice shall have been given to all members and the Minister of Environment and Tourism.

18.2 On dissolution, all assets remaining after payment of all debts and liabilities of the conservancy shall be divided equally amongst all members.

19.0 AMENDMENTS

This constitution may be amended by the vote of two thirds of the members in a general meeting of which one month's notice shall have been given to all members.

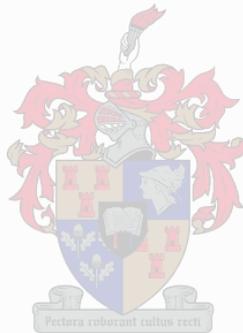
20. ADOPTION

This constitution shall be deemed the Constitution of the Salambala Conservancy if adopted and signed by all members present at the first Annual General meeting.

ADOPTED at BUKARR on 1st SEPTEMBER 1996.

As witnesses

1.
CHAIRPERSON
2.



Annexure A

LIST OF COMMUNITIES OF THE SALAMBALA CONSERVANCY AND THE NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES PER COMMUNITY/PRIVATE

NAME OF VILLAGE	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES ON CONSERVANCY COMMITTEE	NUMBER OR REPRESENTATIVES TO ATTEND AGM OR SPECIAL GENERAL MEETINGS
1. Bukalo	3	6
2. Bwara	2	4
3. Ibbu	2	4
4. Ikumwe	2	4
5. Ioma	2	4
6. Iseke	2	4
7. Isuswa	1	2
8. Izimwe	1	2
9. Limayi	1	2
10. Mahundu	2	4
11. Maritzburg	2	4
12. Masikili	1	2
13. Muuhango	1	2
14. Mutikitila	2	4
15. Muyako	2	4
16. Ngala	1	2
17. Ngoma	4	8
18. Salambala (CCFV area)	4	8
19. Sikanjabuka	1	2
20. Silumbi	2	4
21.		
22.		

Annexure B

LIST OF SALAMBALA MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE MEMBERS

1. George Mutwa (Chairman)	3703200400216	Ngoma
2. Raymond Kwenani (Vice-Chairman)	4508020400054	Ibbu
3. Patrick Malambo (Treasurer)	5204040401424	Ioma
4. Cecilia Nzehengwa (Vice-Treasurer)	5104210400047	Iseke
5. Gertrude Lubembo (Secretary)	6610250400255	Muyako
6. Florence Siambango (Vice-Secretary)	6607240400313	Ibbu
7. Ngulwa Mazinza	4703150400453	Bukalo
8. Alexius Mwilima	3908170400118	Bukalo Khuta
9. Florence Mwiya	5406140400511	Bukalo
10. Felix Magwasa	0055/88/795	Bwara
11. Charles Sisinyize	0054/92/2677	Bwara
12. Patricia Nchindo	73030404	Ikumwe
13. James Mushabati	6410060400222	Ikumwe
14. Robert Sinyambo	5402050400400	Ioma
15. Irene Mwinga	5805050400291	Iseke
16. Michael Masiziani	5803150400123	Isuswa
17. Alfred Mwala	4201030400286	Izimwe
18. Fredrick Nalisa	2104040400194	Limayi
19. Bernard Sankwasa	4106400400150	Mahundu
20. David Mutakatala	3608110400130	Mahundu
21. Gilbert Maswalu	4704040001326	Maritzburg
22. Charles Mubita	6601010402718	Maritzburg
23. Benedict Simulya	6002080400940	Masikili



24. Alex Munihango	6609220400360	Munihango
25. Albert Mautu	0055/94/2881	Mutikitila
26. Florence Masiye	5910050400298	Mutikitila
27. Henry Chombo	4401030400077	Muyako
28. Isaac Buchane	3702010400170	Ngala
29. Size Matepe	3404000400115	Ngoma
30. Othelia Sakachele	6806150400497	Ngoma
31. Chrispin Chabi	5106070400368	Ngoma
32. James Masule	4902160400281	Salambala
33. Martin Mushabati	6509180400328	Salambala
34. Leonard Lutombi	6506070400078	Salambala
35. Petrus Masibi	51/04/08	Salambala
36. Davis Mukasa	6304140400581	Sikanjabuka
37. Joyce Ntesa	5801010402621	Silumbi
38. Calvin Mayumbelo	6411080400414	Silumbi

