

USAID/EGAT Seminar Series: Natural Resources Management and Poverty Reduction

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CASE STUDY:

COMMUNITY-BASED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN NAMIBIA



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INTRODUCTION

The elevator doors in the Ronald Reagan Building were just about to close when Sandy squeezed inside. Just back from a trip to Southern Africa, she was thinking about her jet lag and her report when someone greeted her from the back of the crowded compartment. It was her colleague, Bill, from the Poverty Reduction Office. He asked her, "How're things going in the NRM Office?" Sandy replied, "Pretty good for me, I've just gotten back from three weeks away. I am glad that I ran into you. You're just the person that I needed to see. I could use some fresh ideas for something that I am working on for USAID/Namibia." Bill smiled, "You know, I've always wanted to go there and see what they are doing with those community-based natural resource management programs." Sandy noticed that they were nearly at her floor and said, "Well, let me e-mail you about what I have been doing and send you some background reading first. Then we can find a time to talk about if there are some possibilities of EGAT/NRM and EGAT/PR collaborating on the design of their Phase III activities. I've got to run – I'll be in touch soon."

Bill went off to an afternoon of meetings and finally got back to his cubicle at around 6:00 p.m. He checked his e-mail and found a note from Sandy:

To: Betterlife@usaid.gov (William Etterlife)
From: Savem@usaid.gov (Sandra Avem)
Date : June 12, 2003
Subject: Namibia possibilities and background info
Attachments: Namibia_misc.doc

Hi Bill,

It was great to run into you today. Here's the Namibia information. I was just out there and the mission just decided to take six months (October 03-March 04) to plan Phase III of the Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE) project. This phase will run from FY 2005-FY 2010. It's going to be a joint effort between the Mission's NRM SO Team and their Poverty Reduction Cross-Cutting Theme Team. Africa Bureau got permission from PPC for the Mission to use a new approach for the project design of Phase III. They thought that it would be helpful to form an Expanded Virtual Team (EVT) of both NRM and PR people here in DC. It would include USAID staff and others. I knew that there were several Namibia experts who were already working or visiting DC during the six-month period and that both the Mission Director and the Poverty Reduction Cross-Cutting Theme Team Leader would also be coming through town. So I suggested that we organize some meetings and seminars with these folks and the EVT so that even more ideas get fed into the Phase III design. The Mission asked me if I would liaise with the two Mission teams and regularly give them inputs from what we are discussing here in DC.

So please get back to me in the next few days when you've gotten through some of these documents and let me know when you might have an hour or so talk things over. BTW, I have left early today - killer jet lag.

Best, Sandy

"Interesting," thought Bill. "But it sounds like a lot of work. I'll just print out these documents and look at them on the way home."

When Sandy opened her e-mail at noon the next day, she saw Bill's reply:

*To: Savem@usaid.gov (Sandra Avem)
From: Betterlife@usaid.gov (William Etterlife)
Date: June 13, 2003
Subject: Interesting idea*

*Hey Sandy,
Thanks for your note. I took the documents with me last night and skimmed them during my Metro ride home. I got so interested that I read them all after dinner. I really liked the idea of being involved in the Mission's experiment with the EVT and the seminar series. Can you tell me more about the topics that we would cover and how much work this might entail on my part? Can you meet sometime early next week?*

Cheers, Bill

Before heading to her office's retreat, Sandy dashed off a quick answer:

*To: Betterlife@usaid.gov (William Etterlife)
From: Savem@usaid.gov (Sandra Avem)
Date: June 13, 2003
Subject: Re: Interesting idea*

Hi Bill, I am happy to hear that you might be interested. Topics-wise, I think that we should look at how poverty is defined in Namibia; the power and social relations that influence poverty and NRM; the geographic and demographic aspects of poverty and NRM; markets, trade and macro-level economic issues and the impacts of conflict, corruption and shocks on poverty and NRM.

In terms of your role, it would be helpful if you were the primary contact person for the PR SO Team at the Mission. I already talked with the Mission about a joint NRM-PR TDY toward the end of the six-month period to come to closure with them on the Phase III design. Are you free to meet sometime on the 20th?

Best, Sandy

One month later, the USAID/Namibia Director, Dana Diligent, had visited Washington and met with Sandy, Bill and several others who were involved in the EVT. She provided the following briefing memo on Namibia and the USAID portfolio:

NAMIBIA IN A NUTSHELL

Capitol: Windhoek
Total land area: 824,269 sq. km. (just under half the size of Alaska)
Total population: 1.83 million
Population
Growth Rate : 1.49%
Urbanization : 32%
Ethnic groups : Ovambo (50%), Kavango (9%), Herero/Himba (7%), Damara (7%), Nama (5%), Caprivian (4%), San (3%), Baster (2%), Tswana(0.5%)
Regions: Oshana, Ohangwena, Omusati, Khomas, Oshikoto, Okavango, Caprivi, Erongo, Otjozondjupa, Omaheke, Hardap, Kunene, Karas
GDP: \$1730/person (Lower middle income country ranking, but large disparities between rich and poor)

I. Development Context

We have summarized Namibia's current situation in our Congressional Budget Justification for FY2005 (USAID 2004):

“Just 13 years after independence from apartheid South Africa, Namibia has emerged as a stable, market-driven, parliamentary democracy. It consistently ranks high on international indices of economic competitiveness, democratic freedom, and good governance. Namibia is also one of the developing world's leaders in public sector investment in education, health and other social sectors. Namibia has a number of non-renewable natural resources, which carefully exploited can provide a good foundation for economic stability. Some renewable natural resources, such as high value marine fish stocks and increasing numbers of wildlife, can also contribute to economic growth if sustainably managed. Namibia's man-made endowments (among the most sophisticated on the continent) are equally impressive, making the country one of the prime gateways into Southern Africa markets. Namibia has made great progress in realizing democratic ideals. Multiple free elections have been held; citizens enjoy wide-ranging freedoms, including access to a free press; and relative to other developing countries around the world, the government has performed well in terms of delivering services, respecting human rights, promoting governmental integrity, and abiding by the decisions of the independent judiciary.”

II. Development Challenges

Namibia faces several continuing challenges that are related to, or exacerbated by its long legacy of colonialism and apartheid:

- *The checks and balances that are required for solid democracies are still weak and the culture of democracy is still taking root.* Since independence, SWAPO¹ has consolidated its power base beyond its northern base and has achieved the parliamentary majority needed to make unilateral changes in the constitution. There

¹ SWAPO is the organization formed 1959 in Namibia to oppose South African rule. SWAPO guerrillas, led by Sam Nujoma, began attacking with support from Angola. In 1966 SWAPO was recognized by the United Nations as the legitimate government of Namibia, and won the first independent election in 1989.

are concerns about both the ethnic nature of Namibian politics and the health of its multiparty system. Civil society development is still weak, particularly for black Namibians. Within SWAPO and the higher echelons of the civil service, there are competing ideological tendencies for democracy and decentralization versus command and control through centralization. There is considerable reluctance by officials to relinquish power and patronage relationships with local communities (ARD n.d.), (Blackie 1999 cited in ARD n.d.), (Jones 2000b cited in ARD n.d.).

- *Income distribution is still highly skewed.* Approximately 55 percent of the nation's income accrues to only 10 percent of the population. Almost 35 percent of Namibians live on less than US \$1.00 per day. Namibia's Gini coefficient² is one of the highest in the world at 0.70 (Southern African Regional Poverty Network 1998).
- *Access to land and other natural resources remains unequal.* At independence from South Africa in 1990, black or mixed race Namibians were restricted to living in homelands constituting 41 percent of the land. A much smaller number of white commercial farmers held 43 percent of the land in freehold tenure. The balance was in unallocated state lands or for conservation purposes (approximately 14 percent). The former black homelands are now recognized as "communal areas." Rural residents have access to the use of the land and its natural resources but land ownership is vested in the state (ARD n.d.).
- *Namibia's economy has grown at a slow rate and there is a lack of employment.* There has been a low annual per capita GDP growth rate of 1.6 percent since independence. Unemployment is estimated to be 35 percent; 25 percent of the population is under-employed. Most of the employed work in the informal sector (USAID 2004).
- *There is a lack of services for the majority rural residents.* Though the average rate of literacy is high at 85 percent, this figure masks great literacy and educational disparities between urban and rural areas (Department of State 2003).
- *The greatest threat to Namibia's development is the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS.* Namibia is one of the most affected countries in the world. With its small population, it has a limited capacity to absorb losses. The infection rate is over 22 percent for sexually active adults and the death rate is 50 percent for individuals aged 15-19. HIV/AIDS accounts for 75 percent of all hospitalizations in public facilities (USAID 2004).

III. USAID Mission Response

Our new strategy, FY04-FY10, has the following goal: *To fortify Namibian efforts to advance equitable and sustainable development.*

We are working on three Strategic Objectives and two Special Objectives:

² The **Gini coefficient** is a measure of income inequality developed by the Italian statistician Corrado Gini. The Gini coefficient is a number between 0 and 1, where 0 corresponds with perfect equality (where everyone has the same income) and 1 corresponds with perfect inequality (where one person has all the income, and everyone else has zero income).

SO6: Basic Education: “Increased capacity of the education system to give learners the foundations for health and livelihood.”

SO7: Integrated NRM: “Improved rural livelihoods through sustainable integrated natural resources management.”

- (IR1) Strengthened institutional capacity,
- (IR2) Increased economic growth,
- (IR3) Improved governance
- (IR4) Enhanced recovery and sustainability of natural resources

SO8: HIV/AIDS: “Reduce the spread and impact of HIV/AIDS in Namibia.”

Sp01: Democracy/Governance: “Improved interaction between civil society and selected government institutions.”

Sp02: Trade and Investment: “Increased economic benefits from trade and investment.”

- (IR1) Namibian capacity to respond to market opportunities enhanced.
- (IR2) Trade and investment transactions between Namibia’s private sector and export markets facilitated.

We also have seven cross-cutting themes: HIV/AIDS, Gender Equality, Civil Society Development, Decentralization, Poverty Reduction, Information Technology, and Sustainability.

To: Savem@usaid.gov (Sandra Avem)
From: Betterlife@usaid.gov (William Etterlife)
Date: August 15, 2003
Subject: Draft Namibia poverty handout for first EVT seminar
Attachment: Namibia_poverty.doc

Hi Sandy,
While you were away, I met with Florence Mapanka who heads up the implementation of Namibia's Poverty Reduction Action Plan. Between her input and what I found in the literature, I put together a fact sheet for the first seminar. Let me know what you think.

Cheers, Bill

POVERTY IN NAMIBIA

Under an asset-based framework for defining and reducing poverty, Namibia uses five asset categories to rank the relative wealth of Namibians.

Financial Assets	Human Capital	Natural Capital	Physical Capital	Social Capital
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Apart from financial assets, there is a lack of systematic data that disaggregates Namibians by other types of assets. Though site-specific studies may be available, there is also not much data that disaggregates asset allocations by gender, ethnicity or region. Below is a summary of available data:

Financial Assets

- ❑ The per capita GDP in 2001 was \$1,730 (UNDP Human Development Report 2002) but there are great disparities in wealth. The richest 5 percent of society receives 70 percent of the nation's GDP, while the poorest control only 3 percent (World Bank 1992). Only one-quarter of all Namibians and only one-sixth of black Namibians have adequate incomes.
- ❑ Fifty percent of the population falls below the poverty line (Nationmaster.com. 2002). The population that lives on less than \$1 per day is 34.9 percent (Nationmaster.com 2002). The population that lives on less than \$2 per day is 55.8 percent (Nationmaster.com 2002).
- ❑ Estimates suggest that at least two-thirds of the population are absolutely poor (World Bank 1992). Up to two-thirds live in abject poverty with limited access to public services.
- ❑ The rural poor depend upon subsistence agricultures, cash transfers and wage employment on commercial farms for their income
- ❑ As many as three-quarters of all blacks are poor (World Bank 1992).
- ❑ Women are an especially vulnerable group. Women head 40% of households and those households are among the poorest of the poor. Urban female-headed households have substantially less income than male-headed households. In rural areas, the lack of access that women have to productive inputs and the absence of male labor put an additional burden on the time and health of women and children (World Bank 1992).
- ❑ In terms of consumption, 47 percent of Namibian households in 1994 were relatively poor in terms of consumption (devoting more than 60 percent of expenditure to food). Thirteen percent were considered to be extremely poor (devoting more than 80 percent of expenditure to food) in 1994. Furthermore, 85% of consumption-poor households live in rural areas and make their living from subsistence farming (GRN 2000).

Human Capital

Skills & Knowledge

- ❑ Just over two-thirds of the population lives in rural areas and most of their economic activity is in the informal sector, primarily subsistence agriculture. About half of the population depends upon subsistence agriculture for its livelihood (FAO 2001).
- ❑ Mining sector only employs about 3 percent of the population.
- ❑ Namibia has more than 200,000 skilled workers, as well as a small, well-trained professional and managerial class (Department of State 2003).
- ❑ Both unemployment and underemployment are problems. Official estimates of unemployment range from 30-40% of workforce; underemployment may be as high as 40 percent. (UNDP 1996) Many job-seekers lack the necessary skills and training.
- ❑ Adult literacy rates were 81% in 2001 (Department of State 2003). However, there are significantly fewer Namibians who are functionally literate and have the skills that the labor market needs.

Health

- ❑ The percentage of the population without access to health services during the 1981-93 period was 45%. Health spending per person was \$142 (Nationmaster.com 2002).
- ❑ The infant mortality rate is 72.43 per 1000 live births (Nationmaster.com 2002).
- ❑ Life expectancy at birth (female): 41.22 years (Nationmaster.com 2002).
- ❑ Life expectancy at birth (male): 44.27 (Nationmaster.com 2002).
- ❑ Malnutrition rates in some areas are among the highest in Southern Africa (World Bank 2004).
- ❑ The HIV/AIDS prevalence rate for 15-49 year olds was 22 percent; estimates for Caprivi are closer to 30 percent (World Bank 2004).

Natural Capital

- ❑ Less than one percent of Namibia is estimated to be arable due to aridity and the negligible quantity of irrigated land. Agriculture contributes less than 5 % of Namibia's GDP and only around 3% of total exports. The commercial sector is still largely dominated by white livestock ranchers. There is also a growing production of table grapes on commercial farms. Just less than ten percent of Namibia's land is forested and occurs in the north of the country. Approximately 14 percent of the land is protected (Nationmaster.com 2002).
- ❑ Water is in short supply. The only perennial rivers are on the country's northern and southern borders.
- ❑ At independence, 1.2 million black or mixed race Namibians were restricted to living in black homelands constituting approximately 41 percent of the land area. Apart from protected areas and a small portion of land of land under other use, the remaining 43 percent of the land had been divided into 6000 farms that were allocated to white commercial farmers under a freehold tenure arrangement.
- ❑ Currently, the most densely populated areas of the country are Oshana, Ohangwena and Omusati Regions in the far north, where land is more wooded and well-watered. These areas constitute only 3.6 percent of the land area in Namibia but have 34 percent of Namibia's population.
- ❑ The least densely populated regions, indicating either less hospitable environment and/or land held in freehold tenure are Erongo and Kunene along the central and northern coasts, Otjozondjupa and Omaheke in the north-central and northeastern parts of Namibia, Hardap and Karas in the south. Cumulatively, these areas represent 81 percent of the land in Namibia and have only 28 percent of the population.
- ❑ The majority of the population (68%) lives in rural areas. The incidence of poverty is more marked in rural areas. Other than informal sector work-related subsistence agriculture or farm labor on commercial farms, there is a lack of employment in rural areas. Accordingly, 70 percent of the Namibian population is dependent upon herding. Subsistence crop farming is only possible in the northern regions. Subsistence farmers produce millet, sorghum, corn and peanuts (Department of State 2003).
- ❑ There has been a very limited amount of resettlement on former freehold land. However, these activities are highly subsidized and the government has become the title holder for most of these areas.
- ❑ Of Namibia's poor, three-quarters live in rural areas and the remaining one-quarter live in peri-urban households and depend upon either wage earnings, self-employment in small businesses, or are unemployed. The number of urban poor appears to be growing, along with unemployment and under-employment (World Bank 1992).
- ❑ Mining accounts for 13 percent of the GDP in 2001 (Department of State 2003).
- ❑ Commercial fishing and processing is one of the fastest growing sectors (Department of State 2003).
- ❑ The increasing wildlife and spectacular scenery and wilderness areas form the foundation for a growing tourism industry, which is the third highest contributor to GDP.

Physical Capital

- ❑ 68 % of the population has access to sanitation (Nationmaster.com 2002).
- ❑ 77% of the population has access to drinking water (Nationmaster.com 2002).
- ❑ Tractors per one million people: 1,634 (Nationmaster.com 2002).
- ❑ Roads: Land transportation network of 42,000 kilometers of trunk, main, district, and farm roads of which 5,500 kilometers (13 %) is bituminized (Southern Africa Marketing Co. & SADC Secretariat 1997-2004). However, infrastructure is inadequate to exploit mineral resources in some of the more remote areas.

Social Capital/Social Dimensions of Poverty

- ❑ There are nine major ethnic groups in Namibia.
- ❑ There are constitutional prohibitions related to societal, racial, ethnic and gender, and other forms of discrimination. However, the San have continued to be exploited and discriminated against by other ethnic groups. They have had minimal access to education, limited economic opportunities under colonial rule and have been relatively isolated. There is a widespread perception that the SWAPO government is providing more development assistance and professional opportunities to the numerically dominant Ovambo ethnic group than other groups.
- ❑ Gender-based inequality is still common. Men still dominate upper management positions and traditional leadership bodies. Women tend to have less access to resources and decision-making. Women married under customary law continue to face legal and cultural discrimination related to inheritance, and this is particularly a problem for widows and their children (Department of State 2004).
- ❑ The Ovambo, Kavango and East Caprivan peoples are settled farmers and herders. They occupy the relatively well-watered and wooded northern part of Namibia, The Nama, Damara and Herero roamed the central part of the country and vied for control of sparse grazing lands, before being displaced by white settlers. Internal migration in recent decades has expanded contact among groups and northerners have left their densely populated areas to move to cities or other areas in search of employment.
- ❑ Despite the weakening influence of colonialism and apartheid, there are ethnic difference in social and leadership structure. The San, the original peoples of Namibia, have traditionally been organized into extended family groups. The Nama or Khoi-Khoi had a larger clan system with interclan alliances and a pastoral economy. The Damara were a Bantu people from central Africa whose culture combined pastoralism, hunting and copper smelting. The Bantu Herero built up interlocked clan systems eventually headed by a paramount chief. The agricultural Ovambo people in the north developed several kingdoms in Namibia and neighboring Angola. Further east, the related Kavango peoples had a somewhat similar but weaker state system.
- ❑ After independence, Regional Councils and the regional representatives for the National Council were elected in 1992. Under the constitution and the 1992 Regional Councils Act and Local Authorities Acts, both bodies have substantial fiscal powers; proscribed procedures, systems and regulations; and authority to collect taxes and levies. Cities and urban centers have their own municipal or town body that can make and enforce ordinances on local issues. As long as their acts and conduct do not conflict with the constitution, these bodies have the power to legislate regarding their own affairs.
- ❑ Below the regional level, apart from municipalities, there is no lower level of government administration. Development committees exist at different levels, but have no budgets and only advisory functions.
- ❑ The Government has authority to confer recognition or withhold it from traditional leaders, even in opposition to local preference. Sometimes, this authority is used against genuine traditional leaders for political reasons.
- ❑ Apart from traditional leadership structures, there has been a limited record of community-based organizations and an independent, Black-majority civil society is still developing at the local and national levels. Emerging local institutions that are driving local development include wildlife conservancies and community forest bodies.

To: Betterlife@usaid.gov (William Etterlife)
From: Savem@usaid.gov (Sandra Avem)
Date: September 1, 2003
Subject: Summary of Activities and LIFE I & II Phases in Namibia
Attachment: Namibia_cbnrm+LIFE.doc

Hey Bill,

George Hempstead-Smith in the Mission just sent us this national summary of the National Programme and an overview of Phases I and II of the Living in a Finite Environment Project. I have made a few edits but otherwise, I think it is ready to go as a handout for the EVT. George will give his seminar on September 20 when he is in town for a week.

Regards, Sandy

CBNRM CONTEXT AND LIFE PROJECT ACTIVITIES IN NAMIBIA

Rationale for CBNRM in Namibia

The post-independence government in Namibia developed a new conservation approach for communal land in the early 1990s. They were faced with high levels of illegal wildlife harvesting and inadequate resources for poaching enforcement. From an economic development perspective, Namibia had high rates of poverty and a largely rural population that was highly dependent upon natural resources. For a highly arid country with a low-skilled rural workforce, few other economic options were possible in the short- to medium-term. Wildlife has a comparative advantage over livestock in rangeland areas of low rainfall and is more profitable in terms of income, foreign exchange earnings and employment. From a political perspective, there was popular demand for the reversal of past patterns of economic discrimination. Besides wildlife, there were few other tools that could improve rural governance while avoiding high levels of conflict by threatening entrenched elite groups. There were some successful models of private wildlife management in Namibia and there were also successful regional and global experiences in community-based management, e.g., USAID's Southern Africa Natural Resource Management Program.

Namibia developed a new Policy on Wildlife Management, Utilization and Tourism in Communal Areas and The Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996. The intent of the policy was to enable rural communities to gain the same rights of use and benefit from wildlife as commercial farmers and to gain rights over tourism concessions. The Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996 put this policy into effect. It enabled the Minister of Environment and Tourism (MET) to declare communal area conservancies once he/she was satisfied that they met the conditions contained in the Act.

Key to the success of these activities was a new collective management institution called a "conservancy." These units were socially, rather than territorially or administratively defined. They could include multiple communities. Before rights were conferred, a conservancy was required to have:

- Defined membership
- Defined boundaries
- Representative management committee
- Legally recognized constitution

- Plan for the equitable distribution of benefits to members.

Regulations for this Act outline what must be contained in a conservancy constitution, including “the objectives of the constitution, including the sustainable management and utilization of game within the conservancy in accordance with a game management and utilization plan, and the equitable distribution of the benefits derived therefrom.” Once these conditions were met, the Nature Conservation Amendment Act conferred the ownership of huntable game (i.e., oryx, springbok, kudu, warthog, buffalo, and bushpig) for the conservancy’s own use and the right to apply for permits for the use of protected and specially protected game. The government set the quota for off-take.

These policy changes built on Namibia’s prior experience privatizing wildlife-related rights. Up until 1968, the South African state had centralized rights to wildlife harvesting on white-owned freehold land. For people in communal areas, their only access to game was through an annual hunting season declared by the state or through permits for traditional feasts. Trophy hunting could take place on communal land but the income went to the state. In 1968, however, freehold farmers were given use rights over certain species of game. These rights were formalized in the Nature Conservation Ordinance (No. 4 of 1975). The Ordinance gave to freehold farmers conditional ownership over some of the more common species of game and limited use rights over other species through a permit system. Ownership and use rights were conditional; farmers had to own a certain amount of land to qualify and the land had to be enclosed by appropriate fencing. Commercial farmers gained rights to hunt game for their own use, buy and sell game, cull for the commercial sale of meat, and entertain foreign trophy hunters on their farms. The changes in legislation have had important results. Namibia now has about 80 percent of its wildlife outside of protected areas and largely on freehold land. A multi-million dollar industry has developed on the basis of both consumptive and non-consumptive use of wildlife on freehold farms.

The initial target population for CBNRM programs was the 85 percent of Namibia’s poor households who were living in the rural, communal areas of the north, northeast and northwest. These households were largely dependent upon low intensity livestock grazing, limited cropping and the extraction of forest and other plant materials. Without employment or livelihood options, many residents in these areas were forced to migrate to other areas of Namibia for employment and education, leaving behind women, children and seniors.

Other Policy and Legislative Changes

Since the initial policy change, several other policy and legislative reforms have been developed to support CBNRM efforts and devolve authority over NRM to local communities including:

- A policy on the Promotion of Community Based Tourism granting concessionary rights to conservancies for tourism lodge development and operations within conservancy boundaries (1995);
- New legislation currently being drafted (a Parks and Wildlife Act) is expected to give conservancies stronger rights over resources and to open up new opportunities for community participation in park advisory boards and community access rights to park and reserve resources;

- The wildlife conservancy structure and requirements serve as models for community forest management under a new Forest Development Policy and Forest Act. The MET has decided that rather than having separate conservancy and community forest committees within one community, the two institutions should be integrated. Rural Water Use Associations (RWUAs) with their elected Water Point Committees, under new legislation administered by the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (MAWRD), have institutional requirements similar to the conservancies. These voluntary associations of individual rural water users would be allowed to manage a water point or group of water points, be responsible for their maintenance, and charge water use fees to cover costs;
- In 1998, the Namibian government adopted a national land policy that provides for tenure rights allocated under the policy and consequent legislation to include all renewable natural resources on the land, subject to sustainable utilization and the details of sectoral policy and legislation. Legitimate land rights holders include “legally constituted bodies and institutions to exercise joint ownership rights (and) duly constituted co-operatives.” The policy provides for the administration of communal land to be vested in land boards and traditional authorities. It provides for long-term leases (up to 99 years) for the use of communal land, primarily for business purposes and including tourism concessions. The Communal Land Reform Act does not adequately confer exclusive group rights to land and resources, as provided for under the land policy, and has the potential to undermine existing rights to tourism and trophy hunting granted to local communities through the sectoral legislation discussed above.
- The Traditional Authorities Act includes some general provisions about natural resources. It states that traditional authorities should ensure that traditional community members use natural resources in a sustainable manner that benefits all Namibians and conserves and maintains ecosystems.

The Administrative Context for CBNRM

The Government is implementing a new decentralization policy that will ultimately transfer many central government functions to new regional governments. Within the NRM sector, these functions include agriculture, water, forestry, and wildlife conservation. At present, regional governments have no significant budgets or staffing of their own. They are, however, beginning to play a greater role in regional planning, with a number of donor-funded projects aimed at increasing their capacity. The regional governments are responsible for the establishment of regional, constituency, and local-level development committees. These committees are responsible for the coordination and planning of development and for the promotion of communication between local levels and the regional level of government, but also have no budgets. They are mainly advisory bodies that do not have the power to make by-laws. Various changes in sectoral policy and legislation have given rise to a wide variety of extant or planned institutions that will affect NRM in Namibia. The regional and community level institutions that affect NRM are set out in Table 1 (ARD n.d.).

Table 1. Regional and local institutions for resource management in Namibia

Institution	Level of Responsibility	Membership	Powers	Status
Regional land boards	Regional	Appointees, including CBO reps.	Land allocation and registration with traditional authorities, award of leases for specific (no customary) land uses	Newly established
Wildlife councils	Regional	Governor, MET officials , appointees (including traditional leaders)	Wildlife and tourism management; outside conservancies	Provided for in legislation, but none formed
Rural Water Management Agency	Regional	Reps. of stakeholders in water management	Coordination of regional water management	Being established
Inland Fisheries Regional Advisory Board	Regional	Governor and appointees	Recommendations on Inland Fisheries management	Being established
Regional Councils	Regional	Elected politicians	Existing: development planning. Planned: take over of many central government functions	Established. No revenue raising powers as of yet
Regional Land Use and Environmental Boards	Regional	To be finalized	Land use planning and NRM coordination	Planned
Regional Development Committee	Regional	Regional officer, government officials, reps. of traditional leaders, NGOs, and CBOs	Coordinate regional development planning	Established and some meet regularly
Constituency Development Committee	Constituency (smaller than region, larger than community)	Regional councillor, traditional leaders, government officials, reps. of NGOs and CBOs	Coordinate constituency development planning	Some established
Community Forest Body	Community	Community representatives	Management of natural resources in local forest	Legislation enacted, and some established
Conservancies	Community	Local residents with elected committee	Wildlife and tourism management	31 gazetted, many more being established
Rural Water Use Associations/water point committees	Community	Local residents/water users with elected committee	Water point management	Legislation recently enacted, and many committees established
Traditional Authorities	Varies	Elected/appointed through customary law & ratified by Govt.	Land allocation by Customary Grant & undefined responsibility for NRM	Powers and legitimacy stronger in some regions than in others

The CBNRM Programme and Related Projects

The Government of Namibia (GON) describes its CBNRM Programme as follows (www.met.dea.gov.na):

- ❑ A natural resource management and conservation programme - it promotes wise and sustainable management of natural resources, and encourages biodiversity conservation by creating the necessary conditions for sustainable use.
- ❑ A rural development programme – it seeks to devolve rights and responsibilities over wildlife and tourism to rural communities, thereby creating opportunities for enterprise development and income generation.
- ❑ An empowerment and capacity-building programme – it encourages and assists communities and their local institutions to develop the skills and experience to sustainably develop and pro-actively pilot their own futures.

According to the most recent USAID/Namibia strategy (FY04-10), CBNRM has demonstrated the potential to reduce poverty, narrow income disparities and stem migration, and, at the same time, promote the conservation of Namibia's scarce natural resources.

In Namibia, the CBNRM Programme is a partnership among the Government (Ministry of Environment and Tourism), donor organizations, international and domestic civil society organizations, and communities.

International partners include WWF-US, WWF-UK, USAID, and the World Bank.

- ❑ USAID joined the CBNRM partnership in 1992. It has funded two phases of the largest CBNRM project, Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE). Working primarily through WWF-US and its partners, USAID has played a leadership role in advancing CBNRM during the last ten years and supporting the long-term program vision of the Government of Namibia. This project is described in the following section.
- ❑ Other donors include SIDA and DANCED, who have supported discrete and shorter-term activities. DFID supported the now completed Wildlife Integration for Livelihood Diversification (WILD) Project – a research activity designed to support CBNRM decision-making so as to enhance livelihoods. It focused on household's current livelihood strategies; the costs, benefits and trade-offs for individual households; and the key factors shaping livelihoods and decision-making. DFID also supported a CBNRM project in northern Namibia, but funding has ceased.
- ❑ As a result of the program's success, the Global Environment Facility has provided a grant to the Integrated Community-Based Ecosystem Management Project. The project was due to start implementation in October 2004 under the administration of the World Bank.

Besides the agencies and organizations mentioned above, there are several other Namibian organizations involved in CBNRM. The umbrella organization for NGO service providers is The Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organizations (NACSO). The member NGOs are: Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation, Legal Assistance Centre, University of Namibia – Multidisciplinary Research Centre, Namibia Community-Based Tourism Association, Namibian Non-Governmental Organizations Forum, Namibia Development Trust, Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia, Namibia Nature Foundation, Rossing Foundation, Rural Peoples Development Institute for

Social Empowerment, Desert Research Foundation of Namibia, and the Centre for Research, Information, Action in Africa.

LIFE Project Activities

The purpose of the LIFE I and LIFE II Projects has been to enable communities to derive increased benefits from the sustainable use of natural resources. The premise of these projects has been that if communities are allowed to benefit directly from the use of natural resources and gain control over these resources, then they will have an incentive to practice sustainable natural resources management and protect wildlife and other resources for the use of current and future generations.

LIFE I: In this phase, the project operated as a pilot CBNRM effort and was designed to test CBNRM approaches in Namibia. The targeted areas were primarily Caprivi and eastern Otjozondjupa (Nyae Nyae) Regions in the north-east areas of Namibia. Timeframe: May 1993-June 2000; Budget: \$17,216,711; Implementors: WWF-US

USAID Context: From FY91-FY96, the Mission had limited staffing and funds and supported two Strategic Objectives: one in basic formal and non-formal education and a second in natural resources management. Democracy/governance was a “target of opportunity.” The Mission obtained authorization in 1994 to continue with SO1 with necessary changes, add an “expanded program thrust “ in human resource development and “new program thrusts” in democracy/governance and HIV/AIDS. Under the Mission’s Country Strategic Plan for FY1996-2000, there were three Strategic Objectives: SO 1: Improved performance and education/training for historically disadvantaged Namibians; SO 2: Increased benefits to historically disadvantaged Namibians from sustainable local management of natural resources; and SO 3: Increased accountability of Parliament to all Namibian citizens.

LIFE I Results:

During the three-year time frame of the project, five conservancies were registered in the targeted regions of the LIFE project (i.e., four in Caprivi and one in Otjozondjupa). Of these, three conservancy management committees generated income in all years, one generated income only in its first year and the fifth had two years of no income generation. In non-LIFE areas, six other conservancies were registered, four were pending approval and 14 other conservancies were under development.

LIFE II: This phase provided continuing support for earlier conservancy development efforts and built upon the successful efforts of LIFE I. It expanded program support to Erongo and Khaodi /Hoas areas of western Namibia. Phase II also provided support for the development of an effective national-level CBNRM program management structure. The intent was to build up Namibian capacity, both governmental and non-governmental, to manage fully the program as the WWF involvement was scaled down and phased-out. Timeframe: August 1999-October 2002; Budget: \$10,635,211; Implementors: WWF/US, Rossing Foundation, Management Systems International

USAID Context:

The FY1996-2000 Strategic Objectives are noted above. The FY2000-2004 Strategic Objectives included: SO 1 – Economic empowerment of HDNs through accelerated private sector growth; SO 2 – Improved delivery of quality primary education to Namibian learners in Grades 1-4 in the most disadvantaged schools; SO 3 – Increased benefits received by

Historically Deprived Namibians from sustainable local management of natural resources; SO 4 – Increased accountability of Parliament to all Namibian citizens; and SO5 – Increased service utilization and improved behaviors related to STDs and HIV/AIDS in target communities in Namibia.

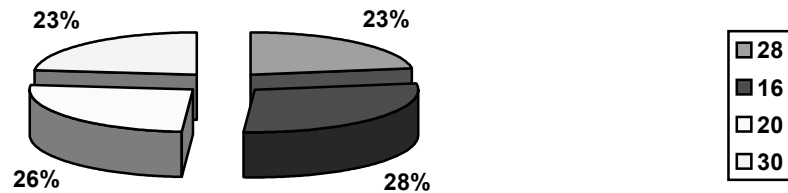
LIFE II Results:

The 2001 Mid-Term Evaluation (IRG 2001) of the second phase of the LIFE Project attributed a number of results related to Namibia's Programme to the active support from the LIFE Project over its eight years:

- Policy and Legislation. A number of reforms economically and organizationally empower communities. Namibia has one of the most progressive environments for promoting CBNRM in the world with conservancies having rights to manage wildlife and being able to benefit directly from resources generated by the wildlife. There is still, however, considerable scope to strengthen and expand these rights.
- Resource Base. There has been a dramatic recovery of the resource base, especially wildlife populations, thereby providing a base for financially viable conservancies.
- Communities & Conservancies. There is increasing recognition and mobilization by communities regarding the potential value of conservancy formation and membership (i.e., 14 registered, 35 in-process). These groups are learning about constitutional group governance and practicing natural resource monitoring. There are direct benefits accruing to conservancies from game hunting and community-based tourism enterprises, with support from government and other organizations.
- Institutional capacity. There is now sufficient capacity and potential for older conservancies to network with and serve as mentors for others. Institutionally, USAID has assisted with the creation of a CBNRM unit at the MET and the formation of the Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organizations (NACSO). The latter is an organization of eleven institutional members with the majority being black-led as compared to the early 1990s when the CBNRM movement consisted of two white-led NGOs.
- Knowledge base. There has been considerable development and institutionalization of knowledge related to CBNRM.

As noted in the USAID Strategy, FY04-FY10, the LIFE Program has had national-level impacts on economic growth and poverty reduction, biodiversity recovery and environmental rehabilitation and government policy and legislation, as well as on local participation and empowerment. Income and benefits to CBNRM program participants reached \$2.35 million in 2004. The total number of conservancies increased from 15 in 2002 to 31 in 2004. Eighteen of the conservancies are receiving cash benefits. Contributions to the national economy by CBNRM-assisted enterprises are conservatively estimated at \$5.5 million, including turnover of joint venture lodges, sustainable trophy hunting, thatching grass and other direct income sources.

Figure 1: Conservancy Benefit Types (%)



Key: (LIFE 2004)

CB Tourism = Community-Based Tourism & includes Enterprises and Local Campsites

Trophy Hunting includes meat revenues; JV Lodges = Joint Ventures with the private sector

Other = thatching grass sales, craft sales, game donations and live sales of game.

Private sector partners in conservancies generated these revenues, while conservancy income/benefits, estimated at \$1.76 million, represent a 31 percent increase over last year. Job creation has also expanded, with 547 full-time and 3,250 part-time jobs created in conservancy areas. The number of beneficiaries has reached 98,995, more than double the target of 48,825. There are an additional 100,000 beneficiaries in the emerging conservancies. In some regions, it is estimated that in 2003, conservancies directly provided 35 percent of residents' total cash income and 28 percent of area employment. Nearly eight million hectares of land are under conservancy management, a more than 80 percent increase since 2002.

Annual game counts reveal burgeoning growth in wildlife populations, especially high-value species such as roan, sable and buffalo. In the Kunene regional alone, gemsbok, springbok and Hartmann's zebra sightings were up by 33 percent, 16 percent and 11 percent respectively from 2002 to 2003. Just as significantly, game is also expanding into new southern tier conservancies. More wildlife translates into increased levels of benefits to communities.

In addition to the socio-economic benefits and increase in wildlife stocks, the historically disadvantaged residents of conservancies now have greater voice and control over the decisions and factors that influence their livelihoods.

Second-Generation Issues for CBNRM in Namibia

- Compared to other resources, wildlife and tourism provide an opportunity to generate the highest financial benefits, but the benefit to individual households remains low, costs of living with wildlife remain high for households, and community proprietorship over wildlife remains weak as rights are limited and highly conditional (Jones 2004).
- Enthusiasm for CBNRM and conservancy participation could wane if household income and benefits do not increase and proprietorship is not strengthened (Jones 2004).
- Because average cash incomes are so low, even small conservancy payments to households have an impact (Jones 2004). However, if other income-generating

opportunities arise, then static levels of conservancy pay-out will be less consequential and household interest is likely to wane.

- The profitability of conservancy activities is reduced when the government chooses to hold on to power and the staff has weak capacity to support them. For example, using a static game quota for every conservancy provides no incentive for better game management by conservancies.
- CBNRM implies that communities are managing resources but in practice, they are enforcing government poaching rules, rather than developing their own local use rules. The Government is retaining most of the management authority. Conservancies are not allowed to make binding decisions on broader land management issues such as zoning of grazing, settlement, forest use or private land enclosures authorized by Government. Capacity needs to be built in community-led CBNRM-related NRM planning, including mapping and inventory information that taps the indigenous knowledge of women and men. While there is a unique opportunity now to apply CBNRM practices to other valuable natural resources, such as forests, fisheries, grazing land and water, it is not clear if the Government will allow communities to engage more meaningfully in management decisions.
- For the most part, there has been inadequate socio-economic baseline data that can be used to document changes in household income, well-being and poverty reduction. This data needs to be disaggregated by household type (female- or couple-headed households) and conservancy-related benefit streams should be researched for male and female household members. In addition, tools such as poverty mapping would be invaluable to get a clear picture of conservancy impacts.
- Measurement systems need to be elaborated to capture other community, household and individual benefits and changes including less tangible CBNRM achievements related to democracy-building, accountable and more representative governance, nutrition and health improvements, skill development, improved status of women and ethnic minorities, etc. This need will become particularly important as the conservancies are tasked with other development duties or managing other natural resources.
- Conservancies, individually and collectively, need to become engaged in policy dialogues related to CBNRM and develop constituency skills related to advocacy and coalition-building. Given the size of Namibia, the dispersed nature of its population, the poverty of many conservancy members, and the status of communications technology in remote areas, networking among constituencies is an on-going challenge.
- Conservancies are filling a sub-regional local governance vacuum created by Namibia's post-Independence administrative reforms. In some areas, conservancy leadership is not synonymous with traditional leadership. Conservancies are proliferating. The Government is discussing the possibility of expanding the focus of conservancies beyond wildlife and applying this model to other resources. At the same time, decentralization is being discussed in Namibia and some regions have established development committees at different levels. It is not yet clear if this multiplicity of local institutions will be in the best interests of communities or the resources upon which they depend.

- Conservancies, as organized local bodies, could sponsor other social and economic programs. For example, conservancies could sponsor HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment programs. They could also help to introduce technology into rural areas, including information and communication technologies. Will these added tasks strengthen or weaken conservancies?
- Conservancy membership has not necessarily translated into knowledge about, or participation in their activities. In a household survey for seven conservancies, Bandyopadhyay *et al.* 2004 found that only about one in four conservancy households knew about conservancy plans or their structures and only about one in three households reported being conservancy participants. The study methodology does not indicate if women and men within households were interviewed separately. For this reason, their relative knowledge and participation related to conservancies is unknown.
- Conservancy constitutions must include criteria to ensure that they contribute to improved governance and management of wildlife populations and also reduce poverty among members of those special districts by distributing collective and/or individual benefits equitably. These rules have produced systems of representation and accountability that meet fairly stringent criteria of democratic governance. At this early stage in their development, some of these institutional arrangements work better than others in the sense that the spirit as well as the letter of the enabling legislation is translated into practice. For example, in a few cases, the costs and benefits of having wildlife were not always equitably or fairly distributed within a community.
- Conservancy earnings can be allocated to collective goods (e.g., school or health infrastructure, roads, other kinds of community buildings). Earnings could be distributed by some formula to the members—for example, on a per capita basis. They could be invested in economic enterprises in the hopes that these would generate both employment opportunities for district members and increased standards of living in other ways.
- Some households gain from conservancies through cash income, non-cash rewards and community-level benefits but they also bear costs. Bandyopadhyay *et al.* 2004 found that only 12 percent of the surveyed households received a cash income. The highest percentage of household members receiving cash income from a conservancy was 27 percent (Torra) but 75 percent of the households report being conservancy participants. It is not clear why the remaining households did not report sharing in this income. The study found little evidence to suggest that the better-educated or asset-rich were gaining more from conservancies relative to their less-educated or poorer counterparts, but only some weigh benefits in favor of the poorest members. More than 50 percent of the surveyed households suffered crop or livestock damage from wildlife.
- More emphasis needs to be placed on the financial viability of conservancies and the development of the business skills of the conservancy committees and members. In addition, credit should be expanded for micro-, small- and medium sized enterprises in rural areas and credit impediments for women should be addressed.
- Conservancies have difficulties with excluding outsiders from using land or water points that conservancies have designated especially for wildlife and tourism. Sometimes, rich and powerful people have gotten permission at higher levels to enclose conservancy land.

- Despite their important knowledge of local natural resources and major role in managing them for food, income, medicinal and other purposes, women were initially overlooked in CBNRM efforts; however, there have been some improvements over time. Conservation organizations promoting CBNRM more often contacted men about meetings and assumed that they would let their wives know about the meetings. Sometimes, outsiders unknowingly placed local resources under the control of men, even though women had been the ones managing those resources, e.g. palm trees used in basket-making. An initial focus on community game guards only included men. To engage more women and help them to benefit from CBNRM, women were hired in East Caprivi for new positions as community resource monitors. Their mission evolved to become one of community organizers, liaisons with women's groups, collectors of women's indigenous knowledge, and facilitators for information between the various actors involved in CBNRM. Women in some areas adapted better than others to the expectations associated with paid employment and were able to play a wide range of roles for their conservancy (Flintan 2001).
- Gender and economics intersect around several natural resources. Women have difficulty marketing their baskets due to the distance of craft markets from their homes, the unpredictability of the tourist market and time demands that preclude women basket-makers from being able to volunteer their time to a craft stand. Paying a commission to others for basket sales dramatically decreases the profitability. When markets did improve, more people became engaged in basket-making and there was an increasing demand for palms. After depleting their own supplies, one group traveled two to three hours to another community to harvest their palms and generated resentment from locals. Only then were palm gardens planted but they took six months to grow and five to six years to mature. Another product that women sell is thatch grass. It has high earning potential if adequate and reliable buyers are found. However, it also needs to be monitored to prevent unsustainable use (Flintan 2001).
- Tourism in Namibia is projected to grow at six percent per year in real terms over the next several years. Tourism is a force multiplier when it comes to employment generation. Its potential for improving the livelihoods of historically disadvantaged Namibians has only recently been recognized. There is considerable opportunity for conservancies to become an engine for economic growth in the northern rural areas. In addition, the GRN has beefed up the MET's tourism division in last few years.
- Conservancies gain the majority of their income from the tourism industry, which is Namibia's fastest growing sector. Compared to grazing and subsistence uses, the advantages of tourism include: hard currency spending by international tourists, anticipated growth of world tourism industry, attractions of Namibia compared to elsewhere in Africa. However, both regional political unrest and global terrorism have taken their toll on tourism in the last couple of years.
- Private sector partners need greater incentives and security to make investments in remote, high-risk locations. The economic promise of conservancies has been premised largely on the development of tourism joint ventures.
- To date, conservancy plans have not generally addressed contingencies, conflict management or pro-poor safety net strategies. The support organizations for CBNRM need to attract or develop expertise in these areas.

To: Savem@usaid.gov (Sandra Avem)
From: Betterlife@usaid.gov (William Etterlife)
Date: September 15, 2003
Subject: Discussion Issues
Attachment: Namibia_CBNRM_discussion_issues

Hi Sandy,

You asked me to think through some discussion questions for the seminar topics and I have attached a draft with some ideas. There were a lot of interesting issues raised in the 2001 Mid-Term Evaluation of LIFE II and I have also drawn from analyses performed by others. Looking forward to kicking things off on Sept. 29.

Hey, do we need to organize some snacks? Think that we can should ask George to bring us some mielie pap (cornmeal porridge), spiky Inara melon or boerewors (farmers' sausage)? We'd probably have a more interesting conversation if he brought us some matuku (watermelon wine)!

Cheers, Bill

NAMIBIA CBNRM DISCUSSION ISSUES

Seminar 1: Why the Interest in the Links between NRM & Poverty

1. How does Namibia's specific history and the allocation of power explain current patterns of poverty and the state of natural resources?
2. How do gendered power relations influence the governance of conservancies and the distribution of benefits?

Seminar 2: Power and the Social Dimensions of Poverty & NRM

1. Some people have critiqued the introduction of resource governance and management models that are not based on traditional cultures. How would you engage more conservancy members in conservancy governance?
2. When communities have mixed ethnicities, what is the best way for outsiders to engage disempowered ethnic groups in meaningful participation for CBNRM?
3. Conservancies appear to be proliferating in Namibia and are being assigned additional responsibilities and some additional rights. Given that there are no government administrative bodies below the regional level in rural areas and populations are dispersed, they are serving as local government proxies without much downward accountability. Do these changes represent positive or negative developments for conservancies?

Seminar 3: Assets, Poverty Traps and Rights

1. The LIFE Project found some interesting ways to engage women in conservancy planning, governance and economic activities. What are some other ways that CBNRM projects in Namibia could improve women's asset status?
2. Discrimination is illegal according to the Namibia constitution and the constitutions of the conservancy. However, in practice, female-headed households, women in couple-headed households, minority and less-powerful ethnic groups may not get a fair share. Which procedures would ensure a more equal allocation of conservancy benefits?
3. Drought can trigger or exacerbate poverty spells. What options are available to governments and CBNRM projects to provide safety nets and ameliorate this specific poverty trap?

Seminar 4: Markets and Trade

1. There is interest in community-based management of other natural resources via conservancies. How is the management of other natural resources (i.e., forests, fisheries, grazing lands and water) different or similar to wildlife and the other resources being managed now by communities (e.g., thatch, craft supplies)?
2. What are the local, regional and international markets for the products from these other natural resources and what type of income streams will they provide?
3. How can cluster-based, demand-driven business approaches be applied to tourism and other economic conservancy activities?

Seminar 5: Key Macro and National Issues

1. How can valuation of and payment for environmental goods and services approaches address the household costs related to damages from problem animals?
2. How can insurance schemes be adapted to damage from problem animals?
3. Is CBNRM a means for government to avoid a more fundamental redistribution of resources, e.g. land redistribution of commercial farms?
4. Much of the number-crunching related to conservancies has focused on aggregate revenues, either for individual conservancies or for Namibia as a whole. While aggregate work is important, can these numbers be disaggregated to capture how particular regions, households or women as a group are benefiting from conservancy activities?

Seminar 6: Migration, Marginal Lands and Least Favored Areas

1. In what ways do urban Namibians contribute to the success of rural conservancies?
2. Some might argue that with its marginal resources, frequent droughts and unstable neighbors, Namibia should not become overly reliant on tourism. What are the

comparative advantages of CBNRM compared to policies that encourage rural depopulation, urbanization and industrial development in regional capitols?

Seminar 7: Programmatic Issues and Tools

1. Community resource monitors, who are local women with low levels of education and literacy, are serving as community organizers, resource monitors, enterprise coordinators and communication conduits with conservancy partners. However, their work is not necessarily strategic nor is their data collection. How can the conservancies build their capacity and improve the quality of their services and data collection?
2. What tools are appropriate for mapping poverty in Namibia? What can be done in situations where a poverty baseline was not undertaken? What measures can be used to capture the less tangible social and governance benefits of conservancies at the household or individual level? What can be done to collect better gender-disaggregated data about benefits and impacts?
3. How can business planning tools and decision-support tools be adapted to conservancy needs?

Seminar 8: The Impacts of Conflict, Corruption and Shocks on Poverty & NRM

1. There have been some conflicts over competing land uses and membership within conservancies. What can be done to prevent and mitigate these types of conflicts?
2. Conservancy tourism has been affected by regional conflicts. Tourism revenue projections are based on assumptions of adequate security for tourists. What can Namibia do to buffer these impacts?
3. Namibia has fairly low rates of corruption compared to other countries in the region. Corruption has been attributed to poorly-defined administrative rules and regulations, wide discretionary powers wielded by some public servants and weak accountability measures in administrative and financial systems. It also has a regional dimension. For example, in 2001, it was revealed that high-ranking members of the armed forces owned interests in the diamond mines in DRC, where Namibian forces were fighting rebel forces. To date, there have been a few examples of conservancy committee members according themselves large loans or privileges, and some checks and balances are missing since most conservancies do not hire managers for day-to-day operations. What are some preventative measures that can be taken to avoid corruption problems in the CBNRM conservancies?
4. Most conservancy committees feel upwardly accountable to the Government, donors and other external partners but do not yet feel much downward accountability to their members. What can be done to strengthen their downward accountability?

Seminar 9: Lessons Learned & Applications to USAID Case Studies

1. What do you see as the key strengths of the first two phases of LIFE?
2. What are the key weaknesses, gaps and new opportunities that should be addressed in Phase III?
3. What would you suggest as priorities for LIFE-PLUS (Phase III)?

4. Which aspects of CBNRM in Namibia require different tools or analytical approaches?
5. How are your priorities different than the actual design of Phase III?

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