Trophy Hunting Facts

Myths of trophy hunting debunked

January 2024

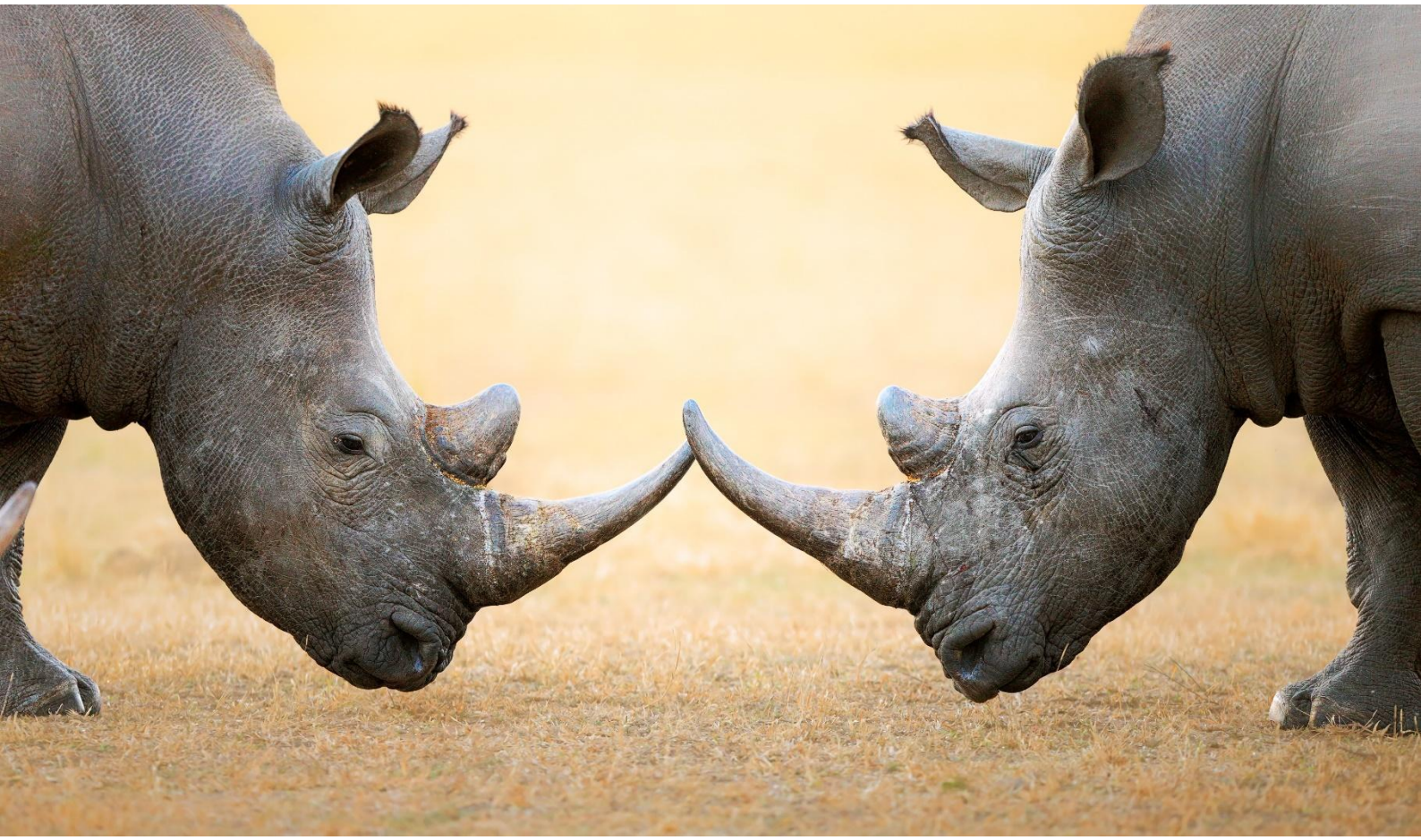

Table of contents

Trophy Hunting Facts **3**

Myth 1: "Trophy hunting supports species conservation" 3

Fact 1: Trophy hunting negatively impacts populations of endangered and protected species **3**

Myth 2: "Trophy hunting targets surplus or old animals" 3

Fact 2: Trophy hunters target animals in their prime that make the best trophies **3**

Myth 3: "Trophy hunting prevents poaching" 4

Fact 3: Poaching and illegal practices are rampant in hunting areas **4**

Myth 4: "Trophy hunting is strictly regulated and sustainable" 5

Fact 4: Corruption and mismanagement are widespread, regulation and control are lacking **5**

Myth 5: "Trophy hunting guarantees healthy animal populations" 6

Fact 5: Trophy hunting disregards ecological and social complexity **6**

Myth 6: "Trophy hunting reduces human-animal conflicts" 6

Fact 6: Trophy hunting exacerbates conflicts between humans and animals **6**

Myth 7: "Trophy hunting reduces poverty" 7

Fact 7: Revenue from trophy hunting does not reach local communities **7**

Myth 8: "Trophy hunting funds protected areas" 8

Fact 8: Trophy hunting revenue barely contributes to preserving protected areas **8**

Myth 9: "Trophy hunting cannot be replaced by photo tourism" 8

Fact 9: Photo tourism provides vastly greater income and opportunities than trophy hunting **8**

Myth 10: "Trophy hunting is ethically acceptable" 9

Fact 10: Killing for fun or a trophy is unethical and incompatible with animal welfare requirements **9**

Myth 11: "Trophy hunting is a sustainable use of natural resources" 10

Fact 11: Greenwashing prevails in the trophy hunting industry **10**

Myth 12: "Import bans on hunting trophies undermine the sovereignty of communities in exporting countries" 10

Fact 12: Importing countries have the right to adopt their own legislation on species conservation **10**

Myth 13: "Import bans on hunting trophies are neocolonial" 11

Fact 13: Trophy hunting cements colonial structures and injustice **11**

Myth 14: "Conservationists and scientists support trophy hunting" 13

Fact 4: Conflicts of interest and links to the hunting industry cloud objectivity **13**

Trophy Hunting Facts

Myths of trophy hunters debunked

Every year, tens of thousands of wild animals worldwide are killed by trophy hunters with the aim of acquiring body parts of target animals as trophies – for example, full body mounts, tusks, horns, or skins. Rarer species are typically more expensive to shoot. Trophy hunters even target endangered and strictly protected species, such as elephants or rhinos. To justify this gruesome hobby, the hunting lobby puts forward arguments that do not stand up to scientific scrutiny. Conservation and animal welfare organisations refute the claims of the hunting lobby with facts.

Myth 1: "Trophy hunting supports species conservation"

Fact 1: Trophy hunting negatively impacts populations of endangered and protected species

Due to the actions of humans, more species are threatened with extinction today than ever before. Scientists have identified the direct exploitation of animals, including hunting, as one of the main drivers.[1] Even species that are internationally protected by the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) or are classified as threatened in the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) Red List of Threatened Species are the focus of trophy hunters and killed in their thousands every year. These include elephants, rhinos, polar bears, and big cats such as lions and leopards.

Populations of many hunted species have decreased dramatically. Scientific studies show that trophy hunting may not only deplete animal populations within hunting areas, but may also have negative impacts on populations in adjacent protected areas.[2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9] Conversely, consistently implemented hunting bans or moratoria can demonstrably contribute to the recovery of hunted species.[10] [11]

Myth 2: "Trophy hunting targets surplus or old animals"

Fact 2: Trophy hunters typically target animals in their prime that make the best trophies

Trophy hunters typically target animals with physically impressive traits that they believe make the best trophies, such as those with the longest tusks, largest horns or darkest manes. These traits

and their size are important signals for health and strong genetic predisposition. Animals characterised by these traits are typically key individuals in a population and contribute disproportionately to reproductive success[12] and survival, especially in social species where older animals often lead the group with their social and ecological knowledge.[13] When trophy hunters kill those individuals that are largest, most experienced, and reproductively important, they facilitate unnatural selection that may have serious consequences.[14 15 16] These include weakening the genetic health of the population[17 18], changes in age and sex ratios[5 19 20], reduction of reproduction rates[21 22], decreases in adaptability and resilience[13 23] and the lasting disruption of social dynamics.[24 25]

In elephants, for example, older male individuals are typically the most important for reproduction, with musth males in the oldest age groups siring the majority of calves.[26] These individuals are also important bachelor group leaders that are essential for healthy and stable populations.[27] However, it is precisely these animals that are targeted by trophy hunters due to their larger body and tusk sizes. The shooting of adult male lions, leopards, pumas or brown bears often leads to infanticide, meaning a successor kills the offspring sired by his predecessor in a social group or geographic area.[24 28 29 30] Studies on brown bears in Scandinavia, for example, showed that hunting led to unnatural selection, changes in the behaviour of animals and altered population dynamics that dictate reproduction rate.[31 32] As a result, the negative impacts of trophy hunting go far beyond the shooting of an individual animal.

Hunted species also come under pressure because, in addition to the size of the trophy, hunters value rarity when choosing their targets.[33] This results in increased pressure on already threatened populations and species. Hunting associations and businesses further incite the demand for particularly impressive or rare trophies by holding competitions and offering hunting packages promoting and rewarding hunters who secure such trophies.

Myth 3: "Trophy hunting prevents poaching"

Fact 3: Poaching and illegal practices are rampant in hunting areas

Evidence of massive poaching and depleted animal populations in hunting areas contradict the claims made by the hunting lobby that the revenue generated through trophy hunting protects populations from poaching. An example is Mozambique's Niassa Game Reserve, a trophy hunting area where poaching for lions is rampant[34] and where elephant populations have been severely depleted by poachers.[35] Another example is the Selous Game Reserve in Tanzania, the largest hunting area in Africa, where approximately 55,000 elephants were poached between 2007 and 2014, which constituted a population decline of 80 %.[36] Ultimately, in 2018, the Tanzanian government accused hunting companies of involvement in the poaching crisis[37] and shortly thereafter designated the northern part of the Selous Reserve as a national park - the largest in the country - where hunting is prohibited with the aim of promoting photographic safari tourism and better protecting wildlife. According to Chardonnet (2019), 72% of the big game hunting areas in Tanzania were no longer profitable for the hunting industry due to greatly reduced animal populations.[11]

Trophy hunters not only disrupt and reduce wildlife populations in hunting areas, but also kill animals originating from protected areas. In some instances, animals migrate from protected areas to reoccupy empty territories in hunting areas and thus become victims of trophy hunting themselves. A study in Zimbabwe found that 72% of the tagged adult male lions in the investigated area in Hwange National Park were killed by trophy hunters in the surrounding hunting zones.[5] Scientists refer to this phenomenon, which ultimately leads to the decline in populations within protected areas, as the "vacuum effect".[5] In some cases, target animals are also deliberately lured out of protected areas with food for trophy hunting purposes.[9] For example, Cecil, the lion killed by a trophy hunter in Zimbabwe in 2015 while wearing a research collar, was reportedly lured to the hunting blind using an elephant carcass.[38] Nevertheless, in order to suggest that trophy hunting leads to growing animal populations, the hunting industry uses figures from fenced reserves, private hunting and breeding farms in southern Africa, which are not representative of wild populations in open ecosystems.[39] [40] [41]

The targeting of threatened species by trophy hunters drives the demand for their parts and products and undermines global efforts to curb poaching and illegal trade: for example, there has been extensive media coverage of the use of hunting permits to facilitate the lucrative illegal trade in rhinoceros horn in Africa, Asia and Europe.[42] [43]

Myth 4: "Trophy hunting is strictly regulated and sustainable"

Fact 4: Corruption and mismanagement are widespread, regulation and control are lacking

Corruption, mismanagement and conflicts of interest are widespread in the trophy hunting sector. In many countries that permit trophy hunting, there are serious problems with governance as well as a lack of regulation and control.[6] [44] [45] [46] Combined with high profit margins, this means that the rules governing hunting such as quotas, age or area restrictions are frequently not complied with[47] and revenues generated from hunting fees typically fail to reach local communities.[48] [49]

Hunting quotas are often not based on reliable scientific data, but are arbitrary, based on inaccurate or outdated data, set to maximise profits of the hunting industry, or are politically influenced (e.g., [50] [51] [52] [53] [54] [55]). For many wild animal populations subject to trophy hunting, the scientific data required to calculate sustainable hunting quotas have not even been acquired. Therefore, in many cases, hunting quotas are established for animal populations for which the population size, age and sex demographics or trends are unknown or uncertain, which is contrary to rules and regulations in place for some species under CITES or national legislation.[6] [50]

For example, reliable population estimates for most leopard populations do not exist. It is therefore impossible to determine 'sustainable' leopard hunting quota levels. Nevertheless, the species is heavily hunted.[56] [57] [58] According to scientific studies, leopard populations have plummeted dramatically in recent decades, due to habitat loss, poaching and poorly regulated trophy hunting.[52] [57] In spite of this, hunting quotas were increased almost sixfold between 1983 and 2019.[52] In recognition of the problem, the 18th Conference of the Parties to CITES adopted Decision 18.169 directing the CITES Secretariat to develop guidance that can assist Parties in the making of non-detriment findings for trade in leopard hunting trophies; however, to date this work has not been completed.[59]

Myth 5: "Trophy hunting guarantees healthy animal populations”

Fact 5: Trophy hunting disregards ecological and social complexity

Given that the primary purpose of trophy hunting is to acquire animal parts for trophies, trophy hunters do not prioritise maintaining healthy animal populations and ecosystems. They typically target mature individuals in their prime that are particularly important to their populations – with corresponding negative genetic, social and ecological consequences (see also Fact 2).

Claims that trophy hunting serves to care for and maintain wildlife populations or that it serves as a viable means of population control represent a misleading and false attempt to legitimise the activity as a wildlife management practice. Wildlife management practices should be based on science, without the conflicts of interest of profit-driven hunting outfitters, and should be conducted by proper management authorities with adequate oversight. Trophy hunting, however, is a commercial enterprise where consumers pay for the right to kill animals – often of threatened and protected species – and to acquire a trophy, in which prices increase with the ‘quality’ of the trophy and rarity of the species.[33] Accordingly, trophy hunting trips primarily reflect the interest in hunting charismatic, threatened megafauna species in remote areas of the world[60], rather than any aspiration to contribute to maintain healthy animal populations.
Trophy hunting is neither a humane nor effective tool for wildlife management, since it is driven by the economic interests of the hunting industry and demand of the hunters.

Myth 6: "Trophy hunting reduces human-animal conflicts”

Fact 6: Trophy hunting exacerbates conflicts between humans and animals

The increasing encroachment of humans into wildlife habitats increases competition for resources and the potential for conflict between people and wild animals. Trophy hunters claim their activities mitigate such conflicts by removing alleged problem animals. Yet, in reality, it is often impossible to identify individual animals that cause problems, and in practice, trophy hunters prioritise targeting animals that will provide them with the best trophies, typically large and more mature males, the removal of which can disrupt social dynamics within animal groups, potentially exacerbating conflict with people.

Studies also show that the killing of problem animals is not an effective way of resolving the conflict[61] and often even exacerbates it.[62] The hunting of predominantly older individuals can disrupt social dynamics and lead to an increased proportion of subadults that are much more mobile, bold and inexperienced. In the case of predators, it can result in animals venturing more frequently into human settlements and preying on farm animals as an easily available food source, especially if wild prey populations have already been depleted by human activities.[63]

In addition, hunting can directly lead to human-animal conflicts. Elephants from populations that have been subject to illegal hunting for a long period of time are typically more responsive towards humans including expressing aggressive behaviour.[64] Since older elephant bulls play an important role as leaders in male elephant social groups[27] [65] and their presence reduces aggression in younger males[25] [66], targeting these bulls disrupts elephant social dynamics and can lead to heightened aggression in younger males. As a result, human-elephant conflicts are likely to increase. Trophy hunting is therefore not part of conflict resolution, but part of the problem, and human-wildlife conflict is a complex issue that requires bespoke, preferably non-lethal solutions.[67]

Myth 7: "Trophy hunting reduces poverty"

Fact 7: Revenue from trophy hunting does not reach local communities

The main beneficiaries of trophy hunting are (mostly foreign) hunting tour operators. As a consequence, trophy hunting is typically economically insignificant for local people and regional economies and in many cases results in social and economic inequalities. The hunting industry's contribution to the gross domestic product of the major African countries that allow trophy hunting is on average only 0.04% with communities typically receiving only 3 to 5% of the hunting revenue, which may equate to as little as USD 0.30 per person per year.[68] [69] [70] Even in Namibia, where the per capita income from trophy hunting for communal conservancy members is highest amongst the major hunting countries, the local community members receive on average only USD 5.90 per capita per year from trophy hunting and another USD 2.10 from game meat sales.[71] In Zimbabwe, per capita income from trophy hunting among communities equates to just USD 4.00, which accounts for a maximum of 0.5% of the total income of households.[72]

But even these small amounts often do not reach the local population. Numerous reports show that in reality, the revenues are not equitably redistributed but end up in the pockets of local elites or politicians.[73] [74] [75] [76] [77] Additionally, trophy hunting often takes place on private farmland. In Namibia for example, 97% of animals are hunted on private farmland[78], where the benefits accrue to large landowners and hunting tour operators and do not reach state authorities or village communities. As a consequence, revenues for the rural population are usually so low they do not provide sufficient incentives to preserve wildlife and ecosystems.[68] According to a 2021 report from NACSO (umbrella organisation for the Namibian nature community reserves)[71], almost 240,000 people from local communities are directly involved in the Namibian Community Conservancies, but only 318 jobs are created by the hunting sector, including as few as 130 full time jobs. Furthermore, it is stated that NAD 1,877,262 (~USD 100,000) was earned by local employees in the hunting sector through wages in total. Based on 224 full-time positions (130 full-time plus 188 part-time positions taken into calculation as half-time positions), the annual earnings per capita correspond to a full-time equivalent of around USD 460. This is 84% below the annual average wage in the low income sector (~USD 2,880).[79]
Another study from Namibia claims that trophy hunting exacerbates existing inequalities rather than reducing them, contrary to what is often claimed.[80]

Myth 8: "Trophy hunting funds protected areas"

Fact 8: Trophy hunting revenue barely contributes to preserving protected areas

Trophy hunting often takes place on private land. Private reserves and farms are often fenced with their wildlife populations typically artificially settled and bred to ensure the availability of sought-after trophy animals. Some even genetically manipulate wild animals through breeding programmes to meet the demands of trophy hunters. This selective breeding, often in intensive husbandry systems within fenced areas, poses considerable risks to biodiversity through genetic impoverishment, hybridisation of different species, and reduced survivability of individual animals.[81] [82] Money that is invested into this private sector does not support species conservation or ecologically sustainable protected areas.

When considering revenues from trophy hunts conducted in and around public protected areas, it becomes clear that the costs of managing protected areas far exceed the revenues from trophy hunting. In Tanzania, for example, the hunting industry finances just 2% of the costs that would be required to maintain the biological integrity of the adjacent protected area.[11] [68] Accordingly, trophy hunting does not provide sufficient incentives to protect wild animals and their habitats and as a consequence poaching is rampant in many hunting areas.[73]

Close examination of the distribution of revenues from trophy hunting reveals that only a tiny proportion (typically 3 to 5%) goes towards the development of local areas and communities.[68] [69] [70] However, even this amount is not necessarily invested in species protection or in protected areas, but may be used, for example, for infrastructure or other projects. Thus, in reality, trophy hunting hardly contributes to the costs of maintaining protected areas and conserving species.

Myth 9: "Trophy hunting cannot be replaced by photo tourism"

Fact 9: Photo tourism provides vastly greater income and opportunities than trophy hunting

Both the job opportunities and the income from the expanding photo tourism industry are much more important than those from trophy hunting. Eighty percent of the tourists travelling to Africa travel for wildlife viewing and Africa's 8,400 protected areas generate USD 48 billion per year through nature-based wildlife tourism.[83] In contrast, economic benefits from trophy hunting in the eight major African hunting countries were estimated to be as little as USD 132 million.[84] Furthermore, only 19,800 of a total of 2.6 million wildlife tourism jobs in these countries are linked to trophy hunting.[84]

Moreover, trophy hunters undermine other types of wildlife tourism since hunters kill the very wild animals that photo tourists are willing to pay to see. For example, an elephant is estimated to generate an average of USD 1.6 million over the course of its life through photo tourism[85], while

hunting operators sell permits to shoot such an elephant for an average of USD 30,000 to 40,000. In addition, the marketing and news stories of trophy hunts carry the risk of causing considerable damage to the image of travel destinations, which can also lead to corresponding economic losses.[86] In 2021, the Cabinet of South Africa endorsed a government report that determined that "the captive lion breeding industry [which includes captive lion trophy hunting] did not contribute to conservation and was doing damage to South Africa's conservation and tourism reputation".[87] In 2022, major international tourism companies, including Booking.com and the Expedia Group, stated that trophy hunting is "damaging South Africa's brand as a tourist destination" and called for the South African government to reject and make a commitment to end trophy hunting and invest in wildlife-friendly non-consumptive economic alternatives.[88]

Many areas that have been used for trophy hunting for decades, such as the Selous Game Reserve in Tanzania and the Niassa Game Reserve in Mozambique, are also attractive destinations for the growing photo tourism industry, but have not yet been developed and marketed for that purpose.

Furthermore, reducing reliance on trophy hunting in general may open opportunities for new revenue sources that are not dependent on a small number of wealthy individuals, but rather encourage more sustainable and equitable options such as land use reforms, bottom-up management practices, conservation-compatible agriculture, domestic tourism and environmental investments.[89]

Myth 10: "Trophy hunting is ethically acceptable"

Fact 10: Killing for fun or a trophy is unethical and incompatible with animal welfare requirements

The Ethics Specialist Group of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN)'s World Commission on Environmental Law (WCEL) concluded that trophy hunting is unethical and incompatible with the pursuit of a sustainable and just world.[90] While the deliberate killing of most animals is highly regulated in order to reduce welfare harms, animals targeted by trophy hunters enjoy no such protections, and the trophy hunting industry even encourages hunters to use methods of killing which can and do increase animal suffering. Furthermore, hunting purely for the purpose of acquiring a trophy, for pleasure or as a status symbol fundamentally contradicts Article 13 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU, which stipulates that animals are sentient beings, and thus, full regard should be paid to their welfare requirements.[91]

This ethical contradiction is reflected in public opinion polls in major trophy importing and exporting countries. According to a representative survey in the EU, 81% of citizens in five major countries importing trophies (Germany, Denmark, Italy, Spain and Poland) consider trophy hunting to be unacceptable and oppose the import of hunting trophies.[92] Even in South Africa, one of the major exporters of hunting trophies, 68% of respondents (regardless of ethnic origin, gender, age and income) reject trophy hunting.[93]

When hunting overseas, trophy hunters in many ways violate ethical principles and legal provisions applying in their home country as well as within the wider hunting community.[60] For example, the trophy hunting industry promotes, and trophy hunters often employ, the use of cruel hunting methods which are prohibited in many European countries, such as hunting with bow and arrow,

crossbows, muzzle loaders and pistols, hunting with dogs or shooting captive bred animals in small enclosures. Cruel hunting methods and the lack of experience of many trophy hunters contribute to the fact that target animals are often exposed to prolonged suffering.

The methods used by trophy hunters disregard the fact that animals are sentient creatures that are capable of suffering and forming important social relationships. Thus, trophy hunting has no place in modern society. Several European countries have already drawn the appropriate conclusions: France[94] as well as the Netherlands are already banning the import of hunting trophies of certain species.[95] [96] The Belgium parliament voted in favour of an import ban on trophies from species of particular concern in 2022[97] and Finland's new Nature Conservation Act, which came into force in June 2023, prohibits the import of hunting trophies from countries outside the EU for the same species covered by the Belgium resolution.[98] Similar proposals are being discussed in other European countries and even the European Parliament has called for an import ban on trophies of CITES protected species in 2022.[99]

Myth 11: "Trophy hunting is a sustainable use of natural resources"

Fact 11: Greenwashing prevails in the trophy hunting industry

In order to make trophy hunting seem acceptable, the hunting lobby attempts to adopt a 'green image', utilising terms and references from nature conservation, such as "conservation hunting" or "sustainable use of natural resources". The fact is that trophy hunting reduces wild animals, including endangered species, to a commodity. This manipulation technique aims to obscure the reality that, at its core, trophy hunting is an overtly commercial industry with a vested interest in reducing restrictions on hunting and increasing business profits from the killing of animals, including endangered species, for 'sport'. This greenwashing obscures the damage caused by trophy hunting to biodiversity conservation and animal welfare.

Myth 12: "Import bans on hunting trophies undermine the sovereignty of communities in exporting countries"

Fact 12: Importing countries have the right to adopt their own legislation on species conservation

Considering the crisis facing nature and wildlife, of which overexploitation is a major causal factor, national trade restrictions aimed at protecting threatened species from exploitation are not only necessary but also explicitly provided for in international and European legislation. Import bans on wildlife products, including hunting trophies, are an important tool for wildlife conservation and are already in force internationally and in various countries worldwide. Contrary to hunting lobby claims, such bans do not prohibit source countries and their citizens from using their natural resources. Rather, governments of import market countries take responsibility for their role in the

protection of wildlife and act on the basis of legal, ethical and social obligations. Trophy hunting is a business model that serves to profit individuals rather than the common good. When wild animals are viewed as commodities, there is a risk of excessive exploitation, especially for threatened species.

Furthermore, trophy hunting is opposed by the majority of EU citizens. Repeated polls demonstrate that the European public believes the import of hunting trophies of endangered species to be incompatible with ethical norms of society. As already mentioned, an overwhelming majority of 81% of the citizens surveyed in five major European trophy hunting importing countries (Germany, Denmark, Italy, Spain and Poland) oppose trophy hunting and support an import ban.[92]

Also, many local communities in source countries do not support trophy hunting. The claim that regulations for animal protection and nature conservation disregard the sovereignty of communities is a bogus argument. It not only ignores international legislation, but also serves to disguise the interests of the hunting lobby in western countries. Ultimately, the trophy hunting industry is pushing its own agenda, with some pro-hunting groups making false claims that they somehow represent the "rights of millions of poor rural Africans". It conceals that the share in trophy hunting revenues for local people is at best minimal (see Fact 7). Furthermore, it ignores the fact that Africa consists of various states, cultures and communities with diverse views and voices and that there is by no means widespread or consistent support for trophy hunting. On the contrary, in protest against the sale of trophy hunts at Europe's largest hunting fair, more than 90 species conservation and animal welfare organisations from Africa as well as international experts addressed an open letter to the local government to call for a ban on the promotion of trophy hunting trips.[100] Furthermore, in the course of the political debate around the Hunting Trophy (Import Prohibition) Bill in the UK, more than 100 wildlife conservation experts, advocates and community representatives "who live or work in countries throughout Africa" emphasised their strong support for a strict ban on trophy imports of endangered and protected species due to the multitude of negative consequences caused by trophy hunting.[101] 179 NGOs from all around the world, including 56 organisations from Africa, also published a statement, in which they voiced their opposition to trophy hunting.[102]

Myth 13: "Import bans on hunting trophies are neo-colonial"

Fact 13: Trophy hunting cements colonial structures and injustice

Trophy hunting in foreign countries not only dates back to the colonial era, but also maintains colonial structures of inequality and exploitation. It originates in a narrative of chauvinism, colonialism and anthropocentrism[103] that provides rich privileged foreigners with the opportunity to exploit wildlife, including threatened and protected species. The profits from trophy hunting are largely syphoned off by external elites, facilitated by the exploitation of cheap labour in hunting areas.[104] [105] [106] A study of Africans' views on trophy hunting reinforces criticism of its neo-colonial character because it gives Western elites privileged access to Africa's remaining wildlife and promotes corruption.[107] Accordingly, representative surveys show that trophy hunting is not only rejected by an overwhelming majority of European citizens, but also, for example, by those in South Africa, which is the major African exporter of hunting trophies. In a recent public survey, two out of three South African respondents rejected trophy hunting.[93]

The argument that import bans on hunting trophies are "neo-colonial", "racist" and violate human rights is part of a targeted disinformation campaign by the hunting lobby, with the aim of preventing import bans for hunting trophies in Europe and the US in order to protect profits. To this end, the hunting lobby has orchestrated a PR campaign through which it purports to represent the interests of African communities[108] [109], despite the industry's main driver being profit for foreign outfitters. For example, the lobby organisation *Resource Africa*, which is registered in the UK and South Africa, has published various PR campaigns and sent letters to politicians in various countries on behalf of the *Community Leaders Network* since 2020.[110] The organisation (which was originally called *Africa Resources Trust*) is closely associated with hunting organisations and has been promoting trophy hunting and the commercial ivory trade since the mid-1990s.

Together with *Resource Africa*, the hunting lobby organisation *International Council for Game and Wildlife Conservation* (CIC) has promoted a campaign under the slogan "Let Africans decide".[111] [112] The narrative is that "Africans" (quote) are opposing the alleged curtailment of their self-determination, human rights and livelihoods by "animal rights activists" and foreign politicians. Supporting this campaign, the CIC funded a film criticising German conservation politics and particularly the Green Party[113] , which was subsequently revised and translated into English in a film entitled "The Eco Colonialists - an Exposé" in order to reach a wider audience.[114] In an accompanying press release, the CIC quotes Maxi Pia Louis, Secretary of the self-styled 'Community Leaders network' as saying "We Africans live from hunting. If it is abolished, it takes away people's livelihoods. They are being killed". They introduce her as Director of NACSO, the umbrella organisation of Namibian nature community reserves[113] concealing the fact that NACSO profits from trophy hunting in community areas and in turn prioritises hunting outfitters over other industries or solutions that may provide more ethical and sustainable activities. A direct conflict of interest is also being concealed in that Maxi Pia Louis is also a board member of the above-mentioned lobby organisation *Resource Africa*.

At least 27 governments around the world, including many European governments are members of the CIC along with many hunting organisations.[115] [116] The CIC claims to be a "politically independent, international non-governmental advisory board that advocates for wildlife conservation through the principles of sustainable use"[117], in reality they lobby vigorously for trophy hunting and commercial trade in endangered species. In late 2022, the German government withdrew their membership from the CIC emphasising that trophy hunting contradicts the fundamental political orientation of the Federal Government, and describing the CIC's support of trophy hunting and their public opposition to hunting trophy import bans as intolerable.[118]

In their attempts to further influence public opinion regarding trophy hunting, representatives of the hunting lobby engage in efforts to manipulate opinions and to emotionalise the debate. They even tried to make a putative connection to the "Black Lives Matter" movement.[119] The U.S. hunting industry has engaged in "coordinated inauthentic behaviour" on social media in attempts to manipulate the public by promoting the idea that "criticism of trophy hunting is a form of neocolonialism"[120] [121] by financing a massive fake news campaign on social media under the slogan "Let Africa Live". When this became public, Facebook removed the relevant fake accounts.[122] [123]

Myth 14: "Conservationists and scientists support trophy hunting"

Fact 14: Conflicts of interest and links to the hunting industry cloud objectivity

The hunting lobby frequently refers to a small group of scientists who loudly advocate for the retention of trophy hunting in personal letters to politicians in various countries, on social media and in scientific journals. The inconsistencies and conflicts of interest found in a letter by conservation researchers and practitioners in the journal Science (2019), entitled "Trophy hunting bans imperil biodiversity"[124], resulted in an outcry within the scientific community and led to the publication of numerous counter-statements that pointed to flaws in their arguments.[125] [126] [127] [128] [129] The resulting opposition clearly indicates that their view of wildlife conservation and management does not represent the scientific majority. Furthermore, after publication it was revealed that signatories of the letter included hunting lobbyists and that four of the five main authors were financially connected to trophy hunting associations. In an addendum, Science now explicitly points out these conflicts of interest.[124] [130] Other publications also illustrate the close links between the hunting industry and certain “experts” [131] [132] and the fact that the presentation of the hunting industry as a model for success (for example in Namibia) lacks objectivity and transparency.[133]

Proponents of trophy hunting also repeatedly misrepresent a statement from a working group under the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) claiming that trophy hunting has conservation value, as being representative of the broader IUCN position. However, that statement does not reflect the position of the IUCN, but of the “Sustainable Use and Livelihoods Specialist Group”, which is composed of many of the above-mentioned proponents of trophy hunting and which is predominantly funded by an organisation whose founder is a trophy hunter himself. In contrast, other expert groups within the IUCN have clearly positioned themselves against trophy hunting, including the IUCN Ethics Specialist Group of the World Commission on Environmental Law (WCEL) which rejects trophy hunting because it does not consider the practice to be consistent with IUCN principles.[90] In addition, several publications of the IUCN Programme on African Protected Areas & Conservation (IUCN PAPACO) conclude that trophy hunting is not providing sufficient benefits for local people or species protection.[11] [68]

[1] IPBES (2019). "Global assessment report on biodiversity and ecosystem services of the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services." Brondizio, E. S., Settele, J. Diaz, S. and Ngo, H. T. (editors). IPBES Secretariat, Bonn.

[2] Koopmans, M., Stokes, E. J. Kiebou Opepa, C., Massouema Mouele, A., Abea, G., Strindberg S. and Brncic, T. M. (2021). "Wild bongo density estimation and population viability analysis improves conservation management." *Global Ecology and Conservation* 28: e01661. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gecco.2021.e01661

[3] Creel, S., M'soka, J., Dröge, J., Rosenblatt, E., Becker, M. S., Matandiko, W. and Simpamba, T. (2016). "Assessing the sustainability of African lion trophy hunting, with recommendations for policy." *Ecological Applications* 26: 2347-2357. https://doi.org/10.1002/eap.1377

[4] Selier, S. A. J., Page, B. R., Vanak, A. T. and Slotow, R. (2014). "Sustainability of elephant hunting across international borders in southern Africa: A case study of the greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area." *The Journal of Wildlife Management* 78(1): 122-132. https://doi.org/10.1002/jwmg.641

[5] Loveridge, A. J., Searle, A. W., Murindagomo, F. and Macdonald, D. W. (2007). "The impact of sport-hunting on the population dynamics of an African lion population in a protected area." *Biological conservation* 134(4): 548-558. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2006.09.010

[6] Grijalva, R. M. (2016). "Missing the mark: African trophy hunting fails to show consistent conservation benefits." *Democratic Staff of the House Committee on Natural Resources*. https://naturalresources.house.gov/missing-the-mark

[7] Packer, C., Brink, H., Kissui, B. M., Maliti, H., Kushnir, H. and Caro, T. (2011). "Effects of trophy hunting on lion and leopard populations in Tanzania." *Conservation Biology* 25: 142-153. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1523-1739.2010.01576.x

[8] Croes, B. M., Funston, P. J., Rasmussen, G., Buij, R., Saleh, A., Tumenta, P.A. and de Iongh, H.H. (2011). "The impact of trophy hunting on lions (*Panthera leo*) and other large carnivores in the Bénoué Complex, Northern Cameroon." *Biological Conservation* 144: 3064-3072. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2011.09.013

[9] Groom, R. J., Funston, P. J. and Mandisodza, R. (2014). "Surveys of lions *Panthera leo* in protected areas in Zimbabwe yield disturbing results: What is driving the population collapse?" *Oryx* 48: 385-393. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0030605312001457

[10] Mweetwa, T., Christianson, D., Becker, M., Creel, S., Rosenblatt, E., Merkle, J., Dröge, E., Mwape, H., Masonde, J. and Simpamba, T. (2018). "Quantifying lion (*Panthera leo*) demographic response following a three-year moratorium on trophy hunting." *PLOS ONE* 13(5): e0197030. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0197030

[11] Chardonnet, B. (2019). "Africa is changing: Should its protected areas evolve? Reconfiguring the protected areas in Africa." *IUCN PAPACO.* https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331409134_Africa_is_changing_Should_its_Protected_Areas_evolve_Reconfiguring_the_Protected_Areas_in_Africa

[12] Coltman, D. W., Festa-Bianchet, M., Jorgenson, J. T. and Strobeck, C. (2002). "Age-dependent sexual selection in bighorn rams." *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London. Series B: Biological Sciences* 269(1487): 165-172. https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2001.1851

[13] McComb, K., Moss, C., Durant, S. M., Baker, L. and Sayialel, S. (2001). "Matriarchs as repositories of social knowledge in African elephants." *Science* 292(5516): 491-494. DOI: 10.1126/science.1057895

[14] Allendorf, F. W. and Hard, J. J. (2009). "Human-induced evolution caused by unnatural selection through harvest of wild animals." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106: 9987-9994. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0901069106

[15] Knell, R. J. and Martínez-Ruiz, C. (2017). "Selective harvest focused on sexual signal traits can lead to extinction under directional environmental change." *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 284(1868): 20171788. https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2017.1788

[16] Coltman, D. W., O'Donoghue, P., Jorgenson, J. T., Hogg, J. T., Strobeck, C. and Festa-Bianchet, M. (2003). "Undesirable evolutionary consequences of trophy hunting." *Nature* 426(6967): 655-658. https://doi.org/10.1038/nature02177

[17] Rodríguez-Muñoz, R., del Valle, C. R., Bañuelos, M. J. and Mirol, P. (2015). "Revealing the consequences of male-biased trophy hunting on the maintenance of genetic variation." *Conservation Genetics* 16(6): 1375-1394. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10592-015-0747-8

[18] Pigeon, G., Festa-Bianchet, M., Coltman, D. W. and Pelletier, F. (2016). "Intense selective hunting leads to artificial evolution in horn size." *Evolutionary Applications* 9: 521–530. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/eva.12358

[19] Aryal, A., Dhakal, M., Panthi, S., Yadav, B. P., Shrestha, U. B., Bencini, R., Raubenheimer, D. and Ji, W. (2015). "Is trophy hunting of bharal (blue sheep) and Himalayan tahr contributing to their conservation in Nepal?" *Hystrix* 26(2). https://doi.org/10.4404/hystrix-26.2-11210

[20] Khattak, R. H., Hussain, A., Rehman, E. U. and Nawaz, M. A. (2020). "Population structure of blue sheep (*Pseudios nayaur*) in Shimshal Valley Gilgit-Baltistan Pakistan." Pakistan Journal of Zoology, 52(2): 699. https://dx.doi.org/10.17582/journal.pjz/20180919050909

[21] Deakin, S., Festa-Bianchet, M., Miller, J. M., Pelletier, F. and Coltman, D. W. (2022). "Ewe are what ewe wear: bigger horns, better ewes and the potential consequence of trophy hunting on female fitness in bighorn sheep." *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 289(1971): 20212534. https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2021.2534

[22] Hariohay, K. M., Jackson, C. R., Fyumagwa, R. D. and Røskaft, E. (2018). "Trophy hunting versus ecotourism as a conservation model? Assessing the impacts on ungulate behaviour and demographics in the Ruaha-Rungwa Ecosystem, Central Tanzania." *Environment and Natural Resources Research* 8(2): 33-43. https://doi.org/10.5539/enrr.v8n2p33

[23] Bercovitch, F. B. and Berry, P. S. (2015). "The composition and function of all-male herds of Thornicroft's giraffe, *Giraffa camelopardalis thornicrofti*, in Zambia." *African Journal of Ecology*, 53(2): 167-174. https://doi.org/10.1111/aje.12169

[24] Loveridge, A. J., Valeix, M., Chapron, G., Davidson, Z., Mtare, G. and Macdonald, D. W. (2016). "Conservation of large predator populations: Demographic and spatial responses of African lions to the intensity of trophy hunting." *Biological Conservation* 204(B): 247-254. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2016.10.024

[25] Allen, C., Croft, D. P. and Brent, L. J. N. (2021). "Reduced older male presence linked to increased rates of aggression to non-conspecific targets in male elephants." *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 288: 20211374. https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2021.1374

[26] Poole J. H. (1989). "Mate guarding, reproductive success and female choice in African elephants." *Animal Behaviour* 37: 842-849.

[27] Allen, C. R. B., Brent, L., Motsentwa, T., Weiss, M. and Croft, D. (2020). "Importance of old bulls: leaders and followers in collective movements of all-male groups in African savannah elephants (*Loxodonta africana*)." *Scientific Reports* 10: 13996. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-020-70682-y

[28] Balme, G. and Hunter, L. (2013). "Why leopards commit infanticide." *Animal Behaviour* 86: 791-799. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.anbehav.2013.07.019

[29] Gosselin, J., Zedrosser, A., Swenson, J. E. and Pelletier, F. (2015). "The relative importance of direct and indirect effects of hunting mortality on the population dynamics of brown bears." *Proceedings of the Royal Society B* 282: 20141840. https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2014.1840

[30] Wielgus, R., Morrison, D. E., Cooley, H. S. and Maletzke, B. (2013). "Effects of male trophy hunting on female carnivore population growth and persistence." *Biological Conservation* 167: 69-75. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2013.07.008

[31] Van de Walle, J., Pigeon, G., Zedrosser, A., Swenson, J. E. and Pelletier, F. (2018). "Hunting regulation favors slow life histories in a large carnivore." *Nature Communications* 9(1): 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-018-03506-3

[32] Frank, S. C., Ordiz, A., Gosselin, J., Hertel, A., Kindberg, J., Leclerc, M., Pelletier, F., Steyaert, S. M., Støen, O. G., Van de Walle, J. and Swenson, J. E. (2017). "Indirect effects of bear hunting: a review from Scandinavia." *Ursus 28*(2): 150-164. https://doi.org/10.2192/URSU-D-16-00028.1

[33] Palazy, L., Bonefant, C., Gaillard, J.-M., and Courchamp, F. (2011). "Cat dilemma: Too protected to escape trophy hunting?" *PLOS ONE* 6(7): e22424. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0022424

[34] Mole, K. H. and Newton, D. (2020). "An assessment of trade, mortalities and anthropogenic threats facing lions in Tanzania and Mozambique." *TRAFFIC International*, Cambridge, UK.

[35] https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/elephants-poachers-kill-animals-ivory-trade-africa-niassa-national-reserve-fauna-flora-a8206626.html (12.02.2018)

[36] WWF (11.05.2022). "Road map to zero-poaching in Selous." https://www.worldwildlife.org/projects/road-map-to-zero-poaching-in-selous

[37] Africa Hunting (2018). "Tanzania: Poaching syndicate exposed." https://www.africahunting.com/threads/tanzania-poaching-syndicate-exposed.41952/

[38] Wildlife Watch (2018). "Exclusive: an inside look at Cecil the Lion's final hours." *National Geographic*. https://www.nationalgeographic.com/animals/article/wildlife-watch-cecil-trophy-hunting-andrew-loveridge

[39] Bauer, H., Chapron, G., Nowell, K., Henschel, P., Funston, P., Hunter, L. T. B., Macdonald, D. W. and Packer, C. (2015). "Lion (*Panthera leo*) populations are declining rapidly across Africa, except in intensively managed areas." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112(48): 14894-14899. https://www.pnas.org/doi/abs/10.1073/pnas.1500664112

[40] Taylor, W. A., Lindsey, P. A. and Davies-Mostert, H. (2015). "An assessment of the economic, social and conservation value of the wildlife ranching industry and its potential to support the green economy in South Africa." *The Endangered Wildlife Trust*, Johannesburg: 96-109.

[41] https://cic-wild-life.azurewebsites.net/de/2016/06/03/trophy-hunting-contributes-to-the-conservation-of-lions-3-june-2016/

[42] Hübschle, A. (2017). "Fluid interfaces between flows of rhino horn." *Global Crime* 18(3): 198-217. https://doi.org/10.1080/17440572.2017.1345680

[43] Nožina, M. (2021). "The Czech Rhino Connection: a case study of Vietnamese wildlife trafficking networks' operations across central Europe." *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 27(2): 265-283. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10610-020-09453-4

[44] Njerekai, C. and Mabika, P. (2016). "A review of the global trophy hunting procedures and processes with illustrations from Zimbabwe." *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 5(1): 1-15.

[45] EMS FOUNDATION (2019). "A briefing paper to inform decisions pertaining to trophy hunting import bans." https://iwbond.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/200115_Briefing-paper-for-DEFRA_EMS-2.pdf

[46] Lwizi, G. (2019). "Community boards call for suspension trophy hunting." *Zambian Business Times*. https://zambianbusinesstimes.com/community-boards-call-for-suspension-trophy-hunting/

[47] Muboko, N., Dube, P., Mashapa, C., Ngosi, E. and Gandiwa, E. (2021). "Trophy quality trends and hunting effort of selected big game in Chewore South Safari Area, northern Zimbabwe, 2009–2012." *Tropical Ecology* 62(1): 52-60. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42965-020-00123-4

[48] Norbø, I., Turdumambetov, B. and Gulcan, B. (2017). "Local opinions on trophy hunting in Kyrgyzstan." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 26(1): 64-84. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2017.1319843

[49] Brink, H., Smith, R. J., Skinner, K. and Leader-Williams, N. (2016). "Sustainability and long term-tenure: lion trophy hunting in Tanzania." *PLOS ONE* 11(9): e0162610. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0162610

[50] Popescu, V. D., Artelle, K. A., Pop, M. I., Manolache, S. and Rozylowicz, L. (2016). "Assessing biological realism of wildlife population estimates in data-poor systems." *Journal of Applied Ecology* 53(4): 1248-1259. https://doi.org/10.1111/1365-2664.12660

[51] Lindsey, P.A., Balme, G. A., Funston, P., Henschel, P., Hunter, L., Madzikanda, H., Midlane, N. and Nyirenda, V. (2013). "The trophy hunting of African lions: scale, current management practices and factors undermining sustainability." *PLOS ONE* 8(9): e73808. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0073808

[52] Trouwborst, A., Loveridge, A. J. and Macdonald, D. W. (2020). "Spotty data: managing international leopard (*Panthera pardus*) trophy hunting quotas amidst uncertainty." *Journal of Environmental Law* 32(2): 253–278. https://doi.org/10.1093/jel/eqz032

[53] Treves, A. and Louchouarn, N. X. (2022). "Uncertainty and precaution in hunting wolves twice in a year." *PLOS ONE* 17: 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0259604

[54] Darimont, C. T., Paquet, P. C., Treves, A.., Artelle, K. A. and Chapron, G. (2018). "Political populations of large carnivores." *Conservation Biology* 32(3): 747–749. https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.13065

[55] Rashid, W., Shi, J., Rahim, I. u., Dong, S. and Sultan, H. (2020). "Issues and opportunities associated with trophy hunting and tourism in Khunjerab National Park, Northern Pakistan." *Animals* 10(4): 597. https://doi.org/10.3390/ani10040597

[56] Balme, G. A., Lindsey, P. A., Swanepoel, L. H. and Hunter, L. T. (2014). "Failure of research to address the rangewide conservation needs of large carnivores: leopards in South Africa as a case study." *Conservation Letters* 7(1): 3-11. https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.12028

[57] Loveridge, A. J., Sousa, L. L., Seymour-Smith, J. L., Mandisodza-Chikerema, R. and Macdonald, D. W. (2022). "Environmental and anthropogenic drivers of African leopard *Panthera pardus* population density." *Biological Conservation* 272: 109641. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2022.109641

[58] Stein, A. B., Athreya, V., Gerngross, P., Balme, G., Henschel, P., Karanth, U., Miquelle, D., Rostro-Garcia, S., Kamler, J. F., Laguardia, A., Khorozyan, I. and Ghoddousi, A. (2020). "*Panthera pardus* (amended version of 2019 assessment)." *The IUCN Red List of Threatened Species 2020*. e.T15954A163991139. https://www.iucnredlist.org/species/15954/163991139

[59] CITES (n.d.) '18.165 - 18.170 Quotas for leopard (*Panthera pardus*) hunting trophies'.

[60] Tickle, L. and von Essen, E. (2020). "The seven sins of hunting tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 84: 102996. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2020.102996

[61] Santiago-Avila, F. J., Cornman, A. M. and Treves, A. (2018). "Killing wolves to prevent predation on livestock may protect one farm but harm neighbors." *PLOS ONE* 13(1): e0189729. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0209716

[62] Teichman, K. J., Cristescu, B. and Darimont, C. T. (2016). "Hunting as a management tool? Cougar-human conflict is positively related to trophy hunting." *BMC Ecology* 16**:** 44. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12898-016-0098-4

[63] Sidorovich, V. E., Tikhomirova, L. L. and Jędrzejewska, B. (2003). "Wolf *Canis lupus* numbers, diet and damage to livestock in relation to hunting and ungulate abundance in northeastern Belarus during 1990–2000." *Wildlife Biology* 9(4): 103-111. https://doi.org/10.2981/wlb.2003.032

[64] Kioko, J., Kiffner, C., Zink, E. and Sawdy, M. (2013). "Elephant (*Loxodonta africana*) demography and behaviour in the Tarangire-Manyara Ecosystem, Tanzania." *South African Journal of Wildlife Research* 43(1): 44-51. https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC137245

[65] Chiyo, P. I., Archie, E. A., Hollister-Smith, J. A., Lee, P. C., Poole, J. H., Moss, C. J. and Alberts, S. C. (2011). "Association patterns of African elephants in all-male groups: the role of age and genetic relatedness." *Animal Behaviour* 81(6): 1093-1099. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.anbehav.2011.02.013

[66] Slotow, R., Van Dyk, G., Poole, J., Page, B. and Klocke, A. (2000). "Older bull elephants control young males." *Nature* 408(6811): 425–426. https://doi.org/10.1038/35044191

[67] Treves, A., Krofel, M. and McManus, J. (2016). "Predator control should not be a shot in the dark." *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* 14(7): 380-388. https://doi.org/10.1002/fee.1312

[68] IUCN/PAPACO (2009). "Big Game Hunting in West Africa. What is its contribution to conservation?" https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/2009-074-En.pdf

[69] Booth, V. R. (2010). "The contribution of hunting tourism: How significant is this to national economies?" in *Contribution of wildlife to national economies*. Joint publication of FAO and CIC. Budapest. 72 pp.

http://wildlife-baldus.com/download/8_.pdf

[70] Campbell, R. (2013). "The $200 million question: How much does trophy hunting really contribute to African communities?", a report for the African Lion Coalition, prepared by Economists at Large, Melbourne, Australia. https://www.ecolarge.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Ecolarge-2013-200m-question-FINAL-lowres.pdf

[71] Ministry of Environment, Forestry and Tourism (MEFT)/NACSO (2022). "The state of community conservation in Namibia (Annual Report)." *MEFT/NACSO*, Windhoek, Namibia. https://www.nacso.org.na/sites/default/files/The%20State%20of%20Community%20Conservation%20Report%202021%20book.pdf

[72] Tchakatumba, P. K., Gandiwa, E., Mwakiwa, E., Clegg, B. and Nyasha, S. (2019). "Does the CAMPFIRE programme ensure economic benefits from wildlife to households in Zimbabwe?" *Ecosystems and People* 15(1): 119-135. https://doi.org/10.1080/26395916.2019.1599070

[73] Zafra-Calvo, N., Lobo, J. M., Prada, C., Nielsen, M. R. and Burgess, N. D. (2017). "Predictors of elephant poaching in a wildlife crime hotspot: The Ruvuma landscape of southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique." *Journal for Nature Conservation* 41: 79-87. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jnc.2017.11.006

[74] Grobler, J. (2019). "It pays, but does it stay? Hunting in Namibia's community conservation system." *Mongabay*. https://news.mongabay.com/2019/02/it-pays-but-does-it-stay-hunting-in-namibias-community-conservation-system/

[75] Ochieng, A., Visseren-Hamakers, I. J. and van der Duim, R. (2017). "The battle over the benefits: analysing two sport hunting policy arrangements in Uganda." *Oryx* 52: 359-368. DOI:10.1017/S0030605316000909

[76] Bandyopadyay, S. and Tembo, G. (2010). "Household consumption and natural resource management around national parks in Zambia." *Journal of Natural Resources Policy Research* 2: 39-55. https://doi.org/10.1080/19390450903350838

[77] Ng'wanakilala, F. (2019). "Tanzania to shut part of wildlife preserve to big game hunters." *Reuters*. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-tanzania-conservation-idUSKCN1UL2G8

[78] MacLaren, C., Perche, J. and Middleton, A. (2022). "The value of hunting for conservation in the context of the biodiversity economy." *Namibia Ministry of Environment and Tourism* (eds.), Windhoek, Namibia. https://resmob.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/2019-06-Hunting_report_Draft.pdf

[79] Salary Explorer: http://www.salaryexplorer.com/salary-survey.php?loc=149&loctype=1

[80] Hewitson, L. J. and Sullivan, S. (2021). "Producing elephant commodities for 'conservation hunting' in Namibian communal-area conservancies." *Journal of Political Ecology* 28(1): 1-24. https://doi.org/10.2458/jpe.2279

[81] Russo, I. R. M., Hoban, S., Bloomer, P., Kotzé, A., Segelbacher, G., Rushworth, I., Birss, C. and Bruford, M. W. (2019). "'Intentional Genetic Manipulation' as a conservation threat." *Conservation Genetics Resources* 11(2): 237-247. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12686-018-0983-6

[82] Selier, J., Nel, L., Rushworth, I., Kruger, J., Coverdale, B., Mulqueeny, C. and Blackmore, A. (2018). "An assessment of the potential risks of the practice of intensive and selective breeding of game to biodiversity and the biodiversity economy in South Africa." Scientific Authority Report. https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/resrecrepattach/Sci%20Auth%20Selective%20Intensive%20breeding%20report%20_%20Final%20Jul2018.pdf

[83] Space for Giants, Conservation Capital and Vause, J. (2019). "Building a wildlife economy: Developing nature-based tourism in Africa's state protected areas." Published by *Space for Giants*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/336028655_Building_a_Wildlife_Economy_Developing_Nature-Based_Tourism_in_Africa%27s_State_Protected_Areas

[84] Murray, C. K. (2017). "The lion's share? On the economic benefits of trophy hunting." A report for the Humane Society International, prepared by Economists at Large, Melbourne, Australia. https://www.hsi.org/wp-content/uploads/assets/pdfs/economists-at-large-trophy-hunting.pdf

[85] David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust. "Iworry: Dead or alive? Valuing an elephant." 1-14 https://issuu.com/davidsheldrickwildlifetrust/docs/dead_or_alive_final_lr

[86] Wilson-Spath, A. (2019). "Does trophy hunting really benefit conservation and local communities?" *Daily Maverick*. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-02-05-does-trophy-hunting-really-benefit-conservation-and-local-communities/

[87] Creecy, B. D. (2021, May 2). Statement by Minister Creecy: Release of report of High-Level Panel on the management, breeding, hunting, trade and handling of elephant, lion, leopard and rhinoceros. *South Africa Department: Forestry, Fisheries and the Environment*.

https://www.dffe.gov.za/speeches/creecy_releaseofhlpreport_pretoria?fbclid=IwAR071TG1zwa1IX5kpFLvubD6NEhQfmculxdT6rYLBdh-TVPpY6jQn7RHKhU.

[88] Global Tourism Industry joint Position on Trophy Hunting in South Africa (2022). https://www.worldanimalprotection.or.ke/global-tourism-industry-joint-position-trophy-hunting-south-africa

[89] Nowak, K., Lee, P. C., Marino, J., Mkono, M., Mumby, H., Dobson, A. and 71 signatories. (2019). "Trophy hunting: bans create opening for change." *Science* 366(6464), 434-435. DOI: 10.1126/science.aaz4135

[90] Bosselmann, K., Burdon, P., Taylor, P., Stewart, N., Kotzé, L. and Waikavee, T. (2017). "Compatibility of trophy hunting as a form of sustainable use with IUCN's objectives." *A report by the IUCN WCEL Ethics Specialist Group*. https://bantrophyhunting.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/wcel_ethics_specialist_group_report_on_trophy_hunting_final.pdf

[91] https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/glossary/animal-welfare.html

[92] Savanta: ComRes (2021). "Public attitudes towards trophy hunting." Representative opinion poll in the EU, March 2021. *Commissioned by Humane Society International/Europe*. https://www.hsi-europe.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Poll-results-Germany_March-2021-_HSI-EU-_Version-2.pdf

[93] Humane Society International/Europe (2022). "Report: Hunting - Ipsos Khayabus W1 2022" Conducted by Ipsos South Africa" https://www.hsi.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/FINAL_IPSOS-Report-2018-2022-Khayabus-Wave-1-2022.pdf

[94] Vétitude (2015). "Espèces menacées: la France stoppe l'importation de trophées de chasse de lions." *Vétitude*. https://www.vetitude.fr/trophee-de-chasse-de-lion-espces-menacees-arret-importation/

[95] Rijksdienst voor Ondernemend Nederland (2015). "Jachtrofee invoeren." (last update 7th July 2020). https://www.rvo.nl/onderwerpen/handel-beschermde-soorten/jachttrofee

[96] Parlementaire Monitor (2016). "Brief van de Staatssecretaris van economische Zaken, Nr. 861." *Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal* 2: 28 286 Dierenwelzijn. https://www.parlementairemonitor.nl/9353000/1/j4nvgs5kjg27kof_j9tvgajcovz8izf_j9vvij5epmj1ey0/vk3qnh95enzn/f=/kst28286861.pdf

[97] https://www.rtl.be/actu/la-chambre-approuve-linterdiction-dimporter-des-trophees-de-chasse-despeces/2022-03-24/article/460250

[98] https://sey.fi/import-of-trophies-into-finland-restricted-parts-of-the-most-endangered-animals-no-longer-allowed-as-souvenirs/

[99] https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2022-0344_DE.pdf

[100] https://wapfsa.org/speaking-out-against-trophy-hunting-prior-to-the-jagd-und-hund-europes-largest-hunting-fair/

[101] https://www.hsi.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Trophy-hunting-Import-Prohibition-Bill-support-from-African-experts-and-leaders-letter-to-Peers.pdf

[102] https://www.prowildlife.de/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/joint-ngo-position-on-trophy-hunting.pdf

[103] Batavia, C., Nelson, M. P., Darimont, C. T., Paquet, P. C., Ripple, W. J. and Wallach, A. D. (2018). "The elephant (head) in the room: A critical look at trophy hunting." *Conservation Letters*: 12:e12565. https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.12565

[104] Hewitson, L. J. (2018). "Following elephants: assembling knowledge, values and conservation spaces in Namibia's Zambezi region." PhD Diss., University of Leicester.

[105] Koot, S. (2019). "The limits of economic benefits: adding social affordances to the analysis of trophy hunting of the Khwe and Ju/'hoansi in Namibian community-based natural resource management." *Society & Natural Resources* 32 (4):417- 433. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2018.1550227

[106] Sullivan, S. (2018). "Dissonant sustainabilities? Politicising and psychologising antagonisms in the conservation-development nexus." *Future Pasts* working paper No. 5. https://www.futurepasts.net/_files/ugd/5ba6bf_214e636e55064bd38ba78995b23c733a.pdf

[107] Mkono, M. (2019). "Neo-colonialism and greed: Africa's views on trophy hunting in social media." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 27(5): 689-704. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1604719

[108] Wiggins, S. (2020). "Safari Club International's plan to colonize Africa's hunting grounds." *International Wildlife Bond.* https://iwbond.org/2020/10/31/safari-club-internationals-plan-to-colonize-africas-hunting-grounds/

[109] Kukura, J. (2021). "A multimillion disinformation campaign is trying to convince you that trophy hunting is 'sustainable'." *Grist.* https://grist.org/fix/disinformation-campaign-sustainable-use-wildlife-conservation/

[110] Community Leaders Network. *Resource Africa*. (11.05.2022) https://resourceafrica.net/stories-voices/

[111] DJV/CIC (2020). "Lasst die Afrikaner entscheiden!" *DJV*. https://www.jagdverband.de/lasst-die-afrikaner-entscheiden

[112] Let Africans Decide Open Letter (2020). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JcZ1tQsFQx0

[113] DJV/CIC (2021). "Doku: Grüne Fakten über grüne Ignoranz." *DJV.* https://cic-wildlife.de/2021/10/25/gruene_fakten_ueber_gruene_ignoranz/

[114] Deborah Hadfield (2022). "Why does the conservation industry want to kill off African wildlife? Answer: cash." https://www.fieldsportschannel.tv/namibiatrophyhunting/

[115] https://www.cic-wildlife.org/the-cic/membership/ (accessed 05.12.2023)

[116] https://cic-wild-life.azurewebsites.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/CIC_map.jpg (accessed 05.12.2023)

[117] https://www.cic-wildlife.org/the-cic/about-the-cic/ (accessed 05.12.2023)

[118] Deutscher Bundestag (2022). "Drucksache 20/4776 - Schriftliche Fragen mit den in der Woche vom 28. November eingegangenen Antworten der Bundesregierung (Question 86, p. 65)" https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/20/047/2004776.pdf

[119] Awori, R. (2020). "Trophy Hunters attempt to co-opt the Black Lives Matter Movement." *African Elephant Journal*. https://africanelephantjournal.com/trophy-hunters-attempt-to-co-opt-the-black-lives-matter-movement/

[120] Sullivan, S. (2022). "'Hunting Africa': Trophy Hunting, Neocolonialism and Land." *The Land,* 31, 22–27.

[121] Sullivan, S. (2023) ""Hunting Africa": how international trophy hunting may constitute neocolonial green extractivism." *Journal of Political Ecology* 30(1). https://doi.org/10.2458/jpe.5489

[122] Stanford Internet Observatory Cyber Policy Center (2020). "Reply-guys go hunting: An investigation into a U.S. astroturfing operation on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram." *Stanford Internet Observatory*. https://raw.githubusercontent.com/stanfordio/publications/main/facebook-US-202009.pdf

[123] Gleicher, N. (2020). "Removing coordinated inauthentic behavior." *Meta*. https://about.fb.com/news/2020/10/removing-coordinated-inauthentic-behavior-september-report/

[124] Dickman, A., Cooney, R., Johnson, P. J., Louis, M. P., Roe, D. and 128 signatories (2019). "Trophy hunting bans imperil biodiversity." *Science* 365(6456): 874. DOI: 10.1126/science.aaz0735

[125] Bauer, H., Chardonnet, B., Jones, M. and Sillero-Zubiri, C. (2019). "Trophy hunting: Broaden the debate." *Science* 366 (6464): 433-434. DOI: 10.1126/science.aaz4036

[126] Nowak, K., Lee, P. C., Marino, J., Mkono, M., Mumby, H., Dobson, A., Harvey, R., Lindsay, K., Lusseau, D., Sillero-Zubiri, C. and 67 signatories (2019). "Trophy hunting: bans create opening for change." *Science* 366(6464): 434-435. DOI: 10.1126/science.aaz4135

[127] Treves, A., Santiago-Ávila, F. J., Popescu, V. D., Paquet, P.C., Lynn, W. S., Darimont, C. T. and Artelle, K. A. (2019). "Trophy hunting: insufficient evidence." *Science* 366(6464): 435. DOI: 10.1126/science.aaz4389

[128] Horowitz, A. (2019). "Trophy hunting: A moral imperative for bans." *Science* 366(6464): 435. DOI: 10.1126/science.aaz3315

[129] Batavia, C., Bruskotter, J. T., Darimont, C. T., Nelson, M. P., Wallach, A. D. and 56 signatories. (2019). "Trophy hunting: values inform policy." *Science* 366(6464): 433. DOI: 10.1126/science.aaz4023

[130] Webster, B. (2019). "Funding secret of scientists against trophy hunt ban." *The Times.* https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/funding-secret-of-scientists-against-trophy-hunt-ban-k9sgqhpnf

[131] Kukura, J. (2020). "Botswana's conservation policies are driven by profit, not science." *Wild Things Initiative*. https://wildthingsinitiative.com/botswanas-conservation-policies-are-driven-by-profit-not-science/

[132] Jurkschat, R. (2020). "Die Ausbeuter." *BuzzFeed News*. https://www.buzzfeed.com/de/robertojurkschat/ausbeuter-artenschutz-trophaenjagd-rote-liste

[133] Koot, S., Hebinck, P. and Sullivan, S. (2020). "Science for success - A conflict of interest? Researcher position and reflexivity in socio-ecological research for CBNRM in Namibia." *Society & Natural Resources*: 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2020.1762953

Design & layout: Pro Wildlife e.V.
Cover: © Johan Swanepoel / shutterstock.com