

# **Environmental (In)Justice in Namibia**

*Costs and benefits of community-based water and  
wildlife management*

A dissertation submitted for the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Faculty of Humanities, Universität Hamburg.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### *Setting the stage*

The road from Kamanjab town meanders through the arid land of southern Kunene region in northwest Namibia, pitting aside large commercial livestock farms enclosed in wire fences, mostly owned by farmers of European descent. About a kilometre into the farms, one can see green leafy palm trees surrounding large brick houses in which households of commercial farmers live. On the main road, we pass through the gate directly aligned to a metallic billboard that reminds us of our entry into #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy, which lies in a communal land. Warning signs along the road announce the likelihood of the presence of elephants in the area as well as other wild animals. After all, the name ‘#Khoadi ||Hôas’ literally translates to ‘elephants’ corner’, the meaning which will become clear through this work. Beyond the gate is a communal area where people, majority of whom are from Damara community, live in small villages of about 15 households clustered around water points consisting of a concrete water reservoir and plastic tanks. Their housing is mostly mud-walled and tin-roofed huts. Cattle, goats and sheep graze in the unfenced fields marking the dominance of pastoralism as an important livelihood strategy in the area. Households own livestock in varied numbers and share water which mostly is pumped from boreholes, using diesel engines, into communal concrete reservoirs. As a communal conservancy, people live in the area with wild animals. Occasionally, a motorcade of tourists drives through the conservancy with their occupants, flashing their cameras at every fascinating scenery, especially of wild animals, and eventually retiring to the luxurious Grootberg Lodge or Hoada Campsite located within the conservancy. Somewhere on the western cliffs of Grootberg hills and plateau, a trophy hunter aims his rifle, from a hideout, at an elephant or oryx to make a kill for his profit and leisure. After some days of safari or trophy hunting in the conservancy, the tourists and hunters drive off to far lands taking with them the satisfaction of leisure and photographic memories of community conservation. They leave behind an income to the conservancy that is expected to support development for communities in #Khoadi ||Hôas to incentivise their desire for conservation.

Whilst wildlife conservation, tourism and trophy hunting in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy is an impressive development whose positive outcomes I acknowledge in this thesis, I was struck by the constant complaints from local communities about fairness in reference to community conservation. Some times it was about predator wild animals killing

and eating their livestock, and other times it was dissatisfaction with delayed process of compensating such losses. Some times it was about difficulties in transport to attend conservancy meetings, and other times it was about conservancy officials failing to take ideas from members seriously during those meetings. The list is not comprehensive though. But, the pandemonium of the complaints about unfair treatment was in people's displeasure with destruction caused by elephants at the communal water points. The climax of these complaints was in an interview with one male respondent who remarked, 'We are slaves of the conservancy'.<sup>1</sup> His remark presents a sharp contrast to the expectation of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) in Namibia and a contradiction rather than rejection of positive tourism outcomes that has well taken root in the area. As it will become clear through this work, the juxtaposition of the impressive development of wildlife-based tourism industry in ǀKhoadi ǁHôas, with the many complaints of human-wildlife conflicts and insufficient benefits to local pastoral communities raises a number of uncomfortable issues about fairness and justice.

Justice, in ǀKhoadi ǁHôas, has a number of derivatives but centres on *ǀguitikō* or *ǀguitikōsib* (equality) or *#hanu* or *#hanuse* (to be right or correct). Whereas the *ǀguitikōsib* is understood in terms of how distribution of resources, including roles and opportunities, is equal or unequal; *#hanuse* describes how the equality or inequality is interpreted and perceived as correct or without deformity. The combination of the concepts as used locally, yields to a meaning of fairness. Hence, in ǀKhoadi ǁHôas, justice is constituted by how equal or unequal the distribution of benefits and costs is, amongst social groups, and how people perceive that distribution to be right or deformed. Accordingly, the complaints that arise about sharing water and the impacts of conservation, as I show in this thesis, are not only about equality or inequality but also how the distribution of benefits and costs of CBNRM is considered right as shaped by people's expectation derived from the promises of CBNRM and owning up to responsibilities.

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<sup>1</sup> Remark from an old man on 03.08.2015 at Kleinplass.



### *What is community-based natural resource management (CBNRM)?*

CBNRM is an approach to resource use that has been in existence since the 1980s and is mostly used to manage common property resources in rural areas. The approach emphasises on the participation of local resource users, summed up as communities, in the management of resources. The assumption here is that communities are seen not only as resource users but also as their managers (Child and Barnes 2010; Dasgupta and Beard 2007; Jones 2001). CBNRM became an idea that was well aligned with the bulk of post-Rio literature on sustainable development (Chambers 1995; Chambers and Conway 1992; Hobley 1996; Nelson and Wright 1995; Uphoff 1997, 1992). In particular, the fundamental philosophy that drives CBNRM is that people will be interested in participating in the management of natural resources if they can obtain benefits emanating from the management of those resources (Fabricius 2004; Roe et al. 2001). In Namibia, CBNRM has officially been applied to manage natural resources in communal land since early 1990s. However, this work pays attention to both the management of water and wildlife, which are most central to the lives of the people in #Khoadi //Hôas because they are some of the most salient resources that shape pastoral livelihoods (Schnegg 2016b).

On the part of water, the introduction of community-based water management (CBWM) a few years after independence foregrounded the government's intention to shift costs of supplying water to communities (Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Bollig 2016; Schnegg and Linke 2015; Schwieger 2017; Schwieger 2015). That is, communities would be responsible for maintaining the supply of water by sharing the costs amongst those who use water from a particular communal water point equipped by the government. As I show in this work, CBWM introduced privatisation concept in managing communal water, where each user is expected to pay for their own cost of consumption (Schnegg 2016b). Usufruct rights and management responsibilities are devolved from the government to communities through water point associations (WPAs) and their associated water point committees (WPCs). The incentive for sound water management in CBWM model is the sharing of costs that are commensurate to individual user's consumption in a collective action approach. The aim is to introduce a self-monitoring and self-sufficient system that is based on economic rationality where distribution of costs is proportional to consumption of a communal resource, thus creating a tension between privatising and communalising water. CBWM emphasised that when users 'feel the pinch' of paying for water or the consequences of its absence, they will take deliberate action to not only reduce wastage but also ensure its regular supply (United Nations Organisation 1992b). Whilst the way in which these institutional solutions transform into uncertain directions has been recently studied (Linke 2017; Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Bollig 2016; Schnegg et al. 2016; Schnegg and Linke 2016; Schwieger 2017; Schwieger 2015), the economic consequences of such transformation need closer examination. The central objective of this

work is to fill this gap by examining the consequences and outcomes of CBWM for pastoral communities living in #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy.

The application of CBNRM to manage wildlife in rural Namibia has received much more attention, than water, in literature and public discourse. With wildlife, the emphasis has been on the link between conservation and rural development by giving local communities restricted usufruct rights over wildlife and tourism (Fabricius 2004; Jones 2010; Shackleton et al. 2002). The framing and practice of CBNRM has asserted that sustainable use of wildlife can both enhance biodiversity conservation and avail economic benefits for local communities. Here, wildlife in communal areas becomes a commodity whose use through trophy hunting and tourism is expected to offer alternative livelihood for local communities hence contributing to poverty eradication (Jones et al. 2012; Naidoo et al. 2016a; Nuding 2002; Roe et al. 2001). Communal conservancies have consequently provided the institutional framework through which CBNRM is implemented in Namibia. A communal conservancy is an area within communal land set aside by communities living in that area for conservation. In essence, the communities agree to live with and conserve wild animals in their communal land. Usually, with the financial and technical assistance from conservation non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the communities form and register an organisation called a ‘conservancy’ with the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) which then gazettes the area as a communal conservancy according to established law (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1996).

Namibia’s communal conservancy programme receives both national and international fame (Boudreaux and Nelson 2011; Stamm 2017). Those who praise the programme, emphasise the contribution of communal conservancies to increased wildlife conservation and ecological success (Bollig 2016; NACSO 2015; Naidoo et al. 2016a; Jones and Weaver 2009). However, Sian Sullivan, a critic of the programme, asserts that the increase in wildlife numbers in northwest Namibia is largely as a result of reduced armed combat in the area after independence (Sullivan 2002). This improvement in the security situation, according to her, led to reduced access to firearms by the locals as well as the exit of South African Defence Force that previously provided room for high ranking government officials to engage in hunting of wild animals for trophy, ivory and meat (Sullivan 2002, 2005, 2006).<sup>2</sup> However, Sullivan’s work was largely done at the initial stages of the development of the conservancy programme in Namibia and probably made a premature critique. That wildlife numbers and species diversity has increased in communal conservancies of Namibia is generally agreeable going by government’s report and some recent work (Naidoo et al. 2011; Naidoo et al. 2016a). Many factors have contributed to this ecological success including, climatic conditions, reduced conflicts as well as increased surveillance by both government and conservancy officials. Some

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<sup>2</sup> But see also Bollig and Olwage (2016) and (Botha 2005) for the involvement of colonial government officials in poaching in the region.

of the conservancies have also become places where species of wildlife are relocated to their endemic environments as well to destock other habitats (Botha 2005; Lapeyre 2011; Ndlovu et al. 2014).

Literature abounds with representation of success stories on the contribution of communal conservancies to socioeconomic enhancement of local communities (Boudreaux and Nelson 2011; Jones et al. 2015; Jones et al. 2012; Mufune 2015; Naidoo et al. 2016a). #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy is represented as one of such success stories (Stamm 2017). Hence, to this body of literature, communal conservancy programme is both an ecological and socioeconomic success. However, intertwined with this success is the increased commoditisation of communal conservancies not only through wildlife as sellable commodities, but also as western imaginaries of Africa where wildlife exists in the wilderness (Garland 2008). The argument developing from the burgeoning body of literature on neoliberal conservation is that the international biodiversity agenda, that permeates much, if not all, of CBNRM projects, has become an important source of capital accumulation (Brockington and Duffy 2010; Corson 2010; Garland 2008; Sullivan 2006), for example, by creating 'new symbolic and material spaces for global capital expansion' (Corson 2010: 579). Tourism and trophy hunting, in #Khoadi #Hôas, after all depend fundamentally on the conservation of wildlife in their natural habitat where communities also live and define their livelihoods. Wildlife is thus a commodity that tour operators, tourists and trophy hunters come to harvest, either consumptively or non-consumptively, as private actors (Brockington and Duffy 2010; Garland 2008; Sullivan 2006). Through Public, Private and Community Partnerships (PPCPs), communal conservancies have seen capital investment by private sector enterprises through tour operators, trophy hunting companies, most of which are foreign in origin and international in scope, as well as recent profiteering financing structures.<sup>3</sup> Like in the case of water, a tension thus arises between the notions of wildlife as a communalised resource for producer groups (communities) and wildlife as privatised commodity for investors. Yet, as I show in this thesis, the primary responsibilities of maintaining the commodity –wildlife –rests on the shoulders of the local communities (Garland 2008), most times leading to the loss of or severe costs on their livelihood, reflecting some form of primitive accumulation (Kelly 2011).

As is emphasised on CBNRM's fundamental conceptualisation, the return on capital investment in communal conservancies in terms of tourism and trophy hunting are meant to foster development of the local communities (Fabricius 2004; Murphy and Roe 2004; Thakadu 2003). Namibia's conservancy programme has been cited so often as one of the leading wildlife conservation initiatives on the African continent (Boudreaux 2007b, 2007a; Boudreaux and

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<sup>3</sup> See for example <http://www.conservation-capital.com/first-mover-inspiration>. Accessed on 13.03.2018.

Nelson 2011; Boudreaux 2010; Jones 2010; Jones and Weaver 2009; Pellis 2011; Pellis et al. 2015; Pellis et al. 2011; Stamm 2017). Brian Jones, a private consultant on CBNRM in Namibia, has actually referred to the communal conservancy programme as a global model (Jones 2010). Most commonly cited achievements to support the claim are: the ecological gains; contribution to national GDP through tourism and trophy hunting; and creation of employment to local people. Considering the reported achievements, an irony emerges when local pastoral communities in #Khoadi #Hôas feel 'enslaved' by community-based conservation. This thesis explains the reasons for the jarring contrast between narratives of local people's experiences with CBNRM and its objectives and reported outcomes. On reflecting on why people could see themselves as slaves of a programme that is reported to not only benefit their economic wellbeing but also enhancing ecological sustainability, I arrived at some questions that would guide analysis and key arguments in this work.

### *Research objective, questions and rationale*

The irony mentioned above invites a more critical analysis of the consequences of these resource management solutions on local livelihood. The analysis foregrounds the distributional concern that pervades local perception and the lived experiences of communities within #Khoadi #Hôas through constant complaints. It illuminates the rough undercurrents in Namibia's CBNRM that are submerged within its rather smooth and seemingly apolitical global image. When wading through these distributional concerns represented in everyday life of the people, the general question that repeatedly shaped my heuristic journey was: 'Who gets what benefits and who has to live with what costs?' To unpack this question, environmental justice becomes a useful analytical framework. Environmental justice, as discussed in this work, is concerned with the analysis of the distribution of environmental benefits and costs amongst different social groups (Dobson 1998; Miller 1999). The interest is to show the patterns of distribution and explain why they occur the way they do (Martin 2013; Martin et al. 2015; Martin et al. 2016; Schlosberg 2007, 2013; Walker 2012). As the literature suggests, distribution of environmental benefits and costs is mediated by socioeconomic and political differentiation that underpins power dynamics or social hierarchies which constrain how people participate and are recognised in decision making processes (Martin et al. 2016; Schlosberg 2007; Schlosberg and Carruthers 2010).

The analysis unfolds in three parts to address three research questions namely: (i). What benefits are yielded by CBNRM and who gets them? (ii). What costs are associated with CBNRM and who has to live with them? Here, the intertwining nature of wildlife conservation and water management is complementary to the central focus of analysis. Wildlife

conservation in #Khoadi ||Hôas, though largely an international agenda, intersects with water management at the interface of pastoralism, producing further socioeconomic consequences for local communities. This work, pays particular attention to the analysis of the intersection of these salient resources and explores the consequences that emerge afterwards. (iii). How is the distribution seen by pastoral communities in light of fairness or justice and how do they contest or resist the outcomes? Here the analysis focuses on the ongoing renegotiation of the distribution of the benefits and costs. This part of the analysis pays particular attention to the structure-actor conceptualisation in social theory.

Social theory literature has appreciated that human agency is a fundamental concept in theorising the structure – actor relations (Giddens 1979, 1984, 1991; Long 1989a; Loyal 2003; Loyal and Barnes 2001). Giddens argued that humans, as social actors, are imbued with a capability with which they act to transform intervening institutional structures that shape their behaviour (Giddens 1979, 1991). In development discourse and practice, Long, influenced by the work of Giddens, coined the phrase ‘encounters at the interface’, in his ‘actor oriented perspective’ to explain how peasant farmers deploy their agency through the working of power and knowledge to engage with development interventions leading to unexpected outcomes (Long 1989a, 2003, 2004b). This thesis aligns its analysis to the literature on structure-actor relation to explain how aggrieved pastoralists (re)negotiate justice claims regarding maldistribution of costs and benefits. Much of early environmental justice literature is preoccupied with the work of popular movements and organised resistance as forms of human agency through which people (re)negotiate social justice (Čapek 1993; Dobson 1998; Miller 1999; Head and Guerrero 1992; Higgins 1993; Taylor 2000). In #Khoadi ||Hôas, as I show in this work, struggles are mostly evident in forms of unorganised and non-violent disquiet. How these kinds of struggles could fit within an environmental justice framework needed more thought. Whilst reflecting on the data in a more political ecology approach, I found confidence in James Scott’s influential work—*Weapons of the Weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance* (Scott 1985). Scott cautioned that if we only focus on organised rebellion or collective action as forms of resistance to oppression, then we miss subtle but powerful forms of ‘every day resistance’. Indeed, as it will become clear in the later chapters of this thesis, the tools with which pastoralists engage in (re)negotiating justice with the intervening structures of CBNRM in #Khoadi ||Hôas, fit within Scott’s conceptual lens and influence in social theory. To this end, a rationale of this thesis is that it links environmental justice and political ecology and contributes to the body of knowledge that broadens the notion of resistance to social injustice beyond Gramscian collective overt struggles. In addition, I argue that passive resistance to maldistribution of benefits and costs affects the other two dimensions of justice

– recognition and procedure or participation. For example, when pastoralists withdraw from participating in CBNRM activities in response to maldistribution, the institutions of community-based water and wildlife management are weakened and in the long run become unsustainable, as will become clear through this work.

### *Why study Namibia's CBNRM?*

CBNRM has existed in Namibia both as an idea and in practice for about 25 years. It therefore provides an ideal case for investigating the research questions raised in the foregoing section. In particular, †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy has been in operation since 1998. It is not only one of the oldest conservancies in the country, but also considered as a flagship CBNRM project because it has a high-earning lodge and trophy hunting business (Stamm 2017: 107). The conservancy, compared to many others in the country, has a well-established trophy hunting and tourism industry since the early years of the last decade. Its Grootberg Lodge that has existed since 2005 as 100% community-owned facility, represents the way in which wildlife and tourism benefits qualify as a way of communalising natural resources. At the same time, the development of tourism and trophy hunting in the conservancy has opened the area as a new investment frontier for private tour and trophy hunting companies. Furthermore, as will be illustrated in this thesis, the institutional structure that has changed from joint venture to private business model further provides a good case for researching the distribution of costs and benefits that emerge from the tension between communalising wildlife as a common property and privatising it as commercially viable commodity (Brockington and Duffy 2010; Corson 2010; Garland 2008; Sullivan 2002, 2006). The conservancy has been opened for international tourism where private companies invest capital whilst at the same time the lodge is a communal property. By exploring the consequences of this tension on local people and the struggles that emerge to (re)negotiate justice, this thesis not only contributes to the body of knowledge in neoliberal conservation that demythologises CBNRM as a pure pro-poor and apolitical conservation-cum-development agenda. It also frames CBNRM as a politicised socioeconomic institutional space where social justice struggles play out, especially between the global flows of capital and local modes of production. This framing is one of the threads that weave together the arguments in this thesis and will become clear when the analyses illuminate the distributional patterns of costs of human-wildlife conflicts that pastoralists have to live with vis-à-vis the benefits they obtain.

## *Outline of the dissertation*

This thesis is organised into fourteen chapters. There is a degree of flexibility in the structure of each chapter depending on the particular theme that it addresses and the length of the chapter. Therefore, there is no standardised structure for all the chapters. Longer chapters have a short conclusion that summarises their analyses.

Chapter 2 is the theoretical chapter that reviews the literature on environmental justice and frames it for the analysis of the data and further discussion. The chapter begins by tracing the scope and nature of the evolution and development of environmental justice in theory in terms of: geographical expansion beyond the United States of America (USA); topical diversity beyond the distribution of consequences of toxic wastes; and social group differentiation to include tension between global capital flows and local consequences as well as the broadening of the concept of justice (Schlosberg 1999, 2003, 2007). In order to provide a theoretical framing, the chapter briefly reviews political philosophy literature (Fraser 1995, 2000, 2007b; Rawls 1958, 1971; Young 1990, 1992) from which environmental justice has its origin. A three dimensional theory of justice (distribution, recognition and procedure) is discussed especially in light of relevance to the analysis of the consequences of CBNRM. Emphasis is made on the mutual coexistence of the three dimensions of justice in theorising environmental justice (Martin et al. 2015; Martin et al. 2016; Schlosberg 2007; Walker 2012). Finally, the chapter discusses the place of resistance in (re)negotiating justice. By doing so, it links environmental justice to agency-structure relations in social theory. Passive resistance or aggression (Scott 1985) is identified as a form of resistance through which social actors can deploy their agency to contest or resist injustice (Giddens 1979, 1984, 1991).

Chapter 3 discusses the research setting, paying particular attention to physical location, the people residing in the place and their living conditions. The history of the management of water and wildlife in the area, which is part of Namibia's colonial history, is discussed in this chapter. This is important in understanding especially the way local impressions of justice nuances on the inequalities that are rooted in dualistic development that characterised Namibia's colonial history.

Chapter 4 details the methodological choices of this work. From ontological assumptions to actual fieldwork in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy, the chapter describes how the research objective and questions guided the entire process of knowledge creation from developing the concept, to selection of the research site, through to data collection and analysis.

Chapter 5 traces the evolution and development of the community-based water management in Namibia. It pays particular attention to the meta-level or policy development chronology that begins with the colonial period, through to the formulation of the community-based water management programme and subsequent transformation. The chapter pays particular attention to the different colonial periods with only brief notes on rural water governance during the German colonisation. Of particular interest is the analysis of how every change in policy would impact water governance in general and water provision to 'communal areas'.

Chapter 6 traces the historical development of community based wildlife management in Namibia. The chapter begins by discussing the factors that led to the adoption of the communal conservancy programme and its current formulation. It thereafter discusses the policy transformations and legislative reforms that underpin the development of communal conservancy programme. These historical developments are important in the analysis of this thesis because they foreground the socioeconomic expectation for CBNRM in Namibia especially in addressing inequalities of the colonial past.

Chapter 7 analyses the livelihood of the communities living in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy. It asserts the importance of pastoralism in meeting material and symbolic functions (Galaty 2016; McCabe 2004; Schnegg et al. 2013), by discussing the organisation of livestock keeping in the area and how it supports household livelihood. Rather than seeing it as underutilising land (Nuding 2002), the chapter shows that people reassert pastoralism as a store of wealth and symbol of human dignity which may not be soon replaced by other land use practices such as community tourism. In addition, the chapter analyses the socioeconomic stratification within these communities. Data on household income and expenditure as well as food situation is analysed to describe the socioeconomic categories.

In Chapter 8, water management practices in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy is analysed and discussed. Two case studies are used to analyse and illustrate the following: (i). Institutional transformation in water management since the introduction of CBWM in the area; (ii). The nature and scope of the cost sharing rules. The chapter then advances to analyse the patterns of distribution of cost in the institutional arrangements that emerge and the economic consequences of the distribution.

Chapter 9 introduces the analysis of community based wildlife management in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy. It is largely focusing on the development of the conservancy, its governance and current practices in managing wildlife and involving communities. The significant influence of development discourse and global conservation agenda in establishing and sustaining the conservancy is emphasised.



Chapter 10 follows with an analysis of the distribution of benefits from community-based conservation. Trophy hunting and tourism are analysed as main sources of income to the conservancy. The chapter advances to analyse how the incomes are turned into community benefit to address CBNRM's objective of enhancing poverty eradication (Fabricius 2004). A particular emphasis of this chapter is on the analysis of how the benefits are distributed across different social groups and people's perception of the distribution in relation to fairness and justice.

Chapter 11 focuses on the question of who pays the cost of community conservation by attending to the costs emanating from human-wildlife conflicts. Two major costs of community conservation are analysed, namely: elephant water consumption and depredation. Whilst analysing the costs emanating from elephant water consumption, an intersection between community-based water and wildlife management is established. The emphasis is made on the analysis of how the costs emanating from elephant destruction and depredation are distributed within the communities and between the communities and the conservancy.

In Chapter 12, the thesis analyses how justice on the distribution of costs and benefits from water and wildlife management is framed and contested by the communities. Passive forms of resistance are identified and analysed. The socio-political aspects of these resource management institutions that influence participation and recognition are analysed in the way in which they relate to maldistribution of benefits and costs.

Chapter 13, returns to environmental justice as an analytical framework in order to theoretically reflect on the findings of this work. The discussion begins by locating the findings on benefits and costs of CBNRM on the existing literature. This is followed by a reflection on the findings within the theoretical framework of environmental justice, especially by emphasising the mutual coexistence of the three dimensions of justice – distribution, participation and recognition (Fraser 2007a; Schlosberg 2007). The chapter thus shows how each dimension affects the other in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy. Passive resistance is thereafter reaffirmed as a form of agency in environmental justice.

In Chapter 14, which is the conclusion, the thesis addresses two overall aspects: summing up what was learnt and suggesting some policy recommendations. The former provides a summary of key findings of the research and highlights their implication to CBNRM, environmental justice as well as policy. The chapter concludes by reaffirming that the thesis does not wish to downplay the achievements of CBNRM in Namibia's conservation endeavour. The conclusion indeed confirms the positive outcome of CBNRM, but concludes by offering six key recommendations that could address the challenges that the findings of this thesis

illuminate. These include: (i).The state should remain an active agent in water management to formulate and implement policies that support the least wealthy households against the interest of their wealthy neighbours. (ii) An approach should be considered that integrates the management of natural resources including, among others, wildlife, water and rangeland, so that it is holistic rather than piecemeal and sectoral. (iii). More elephant-proof dams should be built in order to reduce infrastructural damages at the water points. (iv). The conservancy should allocate adequate financial resources to compensate diesel for pumping water consumed by elephants. (v). The government should positively review its compensation rates for depredation. (vi). Share the cost of wildlife conservation more equally with other actors including tourists and tour operators. This could include charging a higher wildlife tax for tourists to pay their share.

## Chapter 2

### Environmental justice as an analytical framework

#### *Evolution of environmental justice*

The origin of environmental justice as concept and practice can be traced to the United States (US) in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Prior to this period, US environmentalism focused on the protection and preservation of nature. It was associated with elites (Morrison and Dunlap 1986), largely for two reasons. One, most of the advocates for environmentalism were elites of middle and upper class, majority of whom were people of European descent (Morrison and Dunlap 1986).<sup>4</sup> Two, the outcomes of environmentalism favoured the wellbeing of elites who enjoyed the aesthetic value of a clean and preserved wilderness (Čapek 1993; Morrison and Dunlap 1986). On the contrary, US environmentalism largely ignored the devastating outcomes of cleaning and preserving the wilderness on poor minority communities of colour. Cleaning and preserving environment, for example, led to the relocation of waste dumpsites from middle class neighbourhoods to areas inhabited by communities of colour (Morrison and Dunlap 1986). Polluting industries were also relocated near poor neighbourhoods to tap on cheap labour that the impoverished people provided, subsequently depolluting the middle class neighbourhoods (Čapek 1993). Laws were enacted that turned wilderness previously used by Native Americans for subsistence into conservation reserves. Generally, environmentalism largely ignored the compromised environmental quality that poor communities of colour had to live with as a result of dumping of waste, relocation of industries and the loss of livelihoods due to restricted access to land-based resources (Morrison and Dunlap 1986).

Social protests and struggles, thus, emerged in the 1980s by activists from communities of colour, employing the justice discourse that had populated much of civil rights movement in the US. A letter written by Southwest Organisation Projects (SWOP), in 1990, to a group of ten large and popular environmental organisations in the US is a conspicuous example of a brawl over traditional environmentalism (DeLuca and Demo 2001; Higgins 1993). The organisation, for example, wrote:

Your organizations continue to support and promote policies which emphasize the clean-up and preservation of the environment on the backs of working people in

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<sup>4</sup> In this work, I have preferred to use 'people of European descent' over 'white race' because of the political sensitivity of classifying people using skin colour, both in Anthropology and in Namibia. Since this thesis is not analysing racial differences, my preference does not undermine the quality and authenticity of data analysis and deduction of arguments.

general and people of color in particular. In the name of eliminating environmental hazards at any cost, across the country industrial and other economic activities which employ us are being shut down, curtailed or prevented while our survival needs and cultures are ignored. We suffer from the end results of these actions, but are never full participants in the decision making which leads to them (South West Organisation Project 1990: 1-2).

The demands by the new entrants –non-elites from communities of colour – included the need for equitable distribution of environmental risks and benefits as well as the recognition and participation of all. These new demands gave rise to environmental justice movement (Cole and Foster 2001; Taylor 1998, 2000) around which corresponding scholarship would begin. Initially, in scholarship, the concept emerged as a way of analysing the concerns and struggles over inequity in dumping of toxic waste from industries. The focus was primarily on the patterns of distributing environmental hazards emanating from waste dumping in areas inhabited by poor, minority and marginalised communities as well as how claims to justice emerged out of the distribution patterns. Thus, early projects paid attention to the analysis that minority black population in the US, who were poor and marginalised, were more exposed to environmental toxins than others, because of the underlying racial segregation and class discrimination (Cole and Foster 2001; Head and Guerrero 1992; Schlosberg and Dryzek 2002; Walker 2012). Environmental justice as a movement and science then became part of the broader struggle for social justice knitted with notions of social inequalities embedded in race and class differentiation.

In recent decades, environmental justice as a concept has evolved significantly to widen its scope and nature in many ways. I mention four, which I consider key in using the concept as a theoretical framework in this work –which focuses on natural resource management in Namibia.

First, the thematic scope of environmental justice, in both activism and scholarship, has broadened beyond discrimination in distributing environmental hazards, including, amongst others; waste disposal, selecting the location of manufacturing and energy production facilities and exposure to poor environmental quality at work place. Barely a decade after the rise of the concept, issues such as loss of land, access to water, access to grazing areas for livestock and general degradation of the environment by mining companies were already in the radar of environmental justice movement.<sup>5</sup> This expansion has largely been a consequence of the broadening of the definition of term ‘environment’ beyond something outside human life to include environmental conditions of everyday life. The ‘environment’ has thus become a place where everyday livelihood practices take place (Novotny 2000). Consequently, environmental justice scholarship has broadened topically to include amongst other themes;

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<sup>5</sup> See, for example, the letter that Southwest Organisation Projects (SWOP) wrote to a group of ten large and popular environmental organisations in the US in 1990 at <http://www.ejnet.org/ej/swop.pdf> last accessed 07.09.2017. The letter has also been referred to in a number of Environmental Justice literature including (Čapek 1993; Morrison and Dunlap 1986; Taylor 1998, 2000).

climate change (Adger et al. 2006; Pettit 2004), access to and distribution of water (Syme et al. 1999), security of food production (Shiva 2008), extraction of mineral resources (Urkidi and Walter 2011), and nature conservation (Cock and Fig 2000; Martin et al. 2013; McDonald 2002).

The second perspective of evolution of the concept is the expansion of the geographical scope of environmental justice (Schlosberg 2013). By 1991, with the adoption of the seventeen principals of environmental justice in Washington DC, the concept gained nationwide attention (Schlosberg 2013). Since then, environmental justice is no longer confined to the US, but has found relevance in international environmental policy debates. Scholarship has consequently expanded the scope of analysis beyond race in the US, to the working of capital that flows beyond borders with various environmental and social ramifications (Schlosberg 2007, 2013). The creation of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 1992, for example, generated debates on how best to distribute greenhouse gases in both time and space. Subsequently, climate justice has emerged as a trans-border environmental justice variety, in both activism and scholarship (Adger et al. 2006; Pettit 2004).<sup>6</sup> The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) of 1992 is concerned with the equitable sharing of benefits arising from the utilisation of genetic resources in state parties (Schroeder and Pogge 2009).<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the Dublin Principles on Water and the Environment emphasised on the economic value of water and considered market principles to ensure fairness in meeting private costs of water, across the globe.<sup>8</sup> Focus has even been more intensified in developing countries where projects on environmental justice have been generally concerned with accumulation of capital in the era of neoliberalism, which alters people's relationship with environmental resources (Schroeder et al. 2008). Projects such as, Büscher et al. (2012), Martin et al. (2013) and Schroeder et al. (2008), have considered power dynamics in neoliberal institutional approaches, that leave the impoverished more vulnerable to environmental risks and at the same time with little capability to access environmental benefits, to the comparative advantage of the economically privileged.

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<sup>6</sup> See the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (United Nations Organisation 1992c).

<sup>7</sup> See also the Convention on Biological Diversity (United Nations Organisation 1992a). More recently equity concern in biodiversity conservation has been recast in the Nagoya protocol, on access to genetic resources and the fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from their utilisation, to the Convention on Biological Diversity (United Nations Organisation 2010).

<sup>8</sup> For example, the fourth principle of the Dublin Statement on Water and Sustainable Development states 'Water has an economic value in all its competing uses and should be recognized as an economic good'. Within this principle, fair and equitable use of water is associated with its market price. That is, the Principle implies that water costs should become private and users should pay their proportionate share thereby achieving efficient and equitable use, and encouraging conservation and protection of water resources. (United Nations Organisation 1992b).

A third perspective of the evolution of environmental justice, albeit less emphasised in scholarship, is the expansion of its unit of analysis. Many initial projects on environmental justice suffer from a preoccupation with environmental justice movements as their units of analysis (Čapek 1993; Cole and Foster 2001; Dobson 1998; Miller 1999; Low and Gleeson 1998). The reason could be very obvious – that popular movements, as forms of visible resistance, have offered a setting where rich material on environmental justice discourses have been produced and contested. But the idea that resistance may also be hidden in taken-for-granted everyday practices has survived critique in much of political ecology and political economy since James Scott's opus – *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance* (Scott 1985). If, and of course it is true that, environmental justice concerns itself with struggles over unfair distribution of environmental goods and burdens, then such can also exist outside popular movements and be hidden in everyday life in communities (Scott 1985, 1990). To consider communities as units of analysis, environmental justice needs to employ appropriate methodology, ethnography to be specific, that endures the slow pace with which complexities of everyday life is unpacked by the researcher (Atkinson and Hammersley 1994; Fetterman 2010). My thesis in part, contributes to environmental justice debate by focusing on resistance that occurs at nonconventional settings of justice struggles that only a lean scholarship has recently begun to illuminate (Martin 2013; Martin et al. 2015; Sikor 2013; Sikor et al. 2014).

Finally, and very critical, environmental justice has also broadened in terms of its theoretical composition. This evolution has paralleled the development in the theory of justice, especially in political philosophy from which environmental justice largely borrows its theoretical underpinning. Initially, equity and fairness in distribution of environmental costs and benefits played a major role in the analysis of environmental justice. More recently, scholars have pointed out that the focus on distribution of costs and benefits is too narrow to adequately capture justice concerns in environmental justice (Martin 2013; Schlosberg 2003, 2004, 2007, 2013; Schreckenberget al. 2016; Sikor et al. 2014; Walker 2012). A more plural theorisation of environmental justice has consequently emerged as a solution. Before turning to the details of how environmental justice is theorised as a pluralised concept, it is imperative to briefly explain how *justice* has been conceptualised.

## *What is justice?*

Justice is a familiar feature of everyday life, yet often taken for granted. To attempt a sustainable definition of justice and further advance its place in Anthropology, I consider it fair to begin with some political philosophy literature, from which justice as a concept has its origin, but no restriction. John Rawls, whose opus— *A theory of Justice*— has influenced much of recent work on justice in political philosophy, defined justice as fairness (Rawls 1958, 1971). For him, ‘justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater good shared by others’ (Rawls 1971:3). That is, the fact that an action has produced an outcome that is considered advantageous to many, or by mainstream discourse, does not justify the loss that the action has imposed on some. Social institutions, Rawls argues, should therefore ensure that fairness is sustained amongst members of a polity. Thus, he emphasises that justice is the first virtue of social institutions (*Ibid.*). From this perspective, justice represents the set of principles which steer the governance of social interaction towards a perception of relationships as equitable and fair (Alexander 2008).

In lieu of the foregoing, I contend that justice becomes an integral part of social institutions, including culture, which shape everyday life. Nader and Sursock (1986) observed, fortunately not so recently, that anthropologists had provided the data for a comparative understanding of justice even though most of them did not often use the concept *verbatim ac litteratim*. In their review of the use of justice in anthropological projects (For example Dumont 1980; Gluckman 1965; Gudeman 1978), they underscore that justice encompasses what people’s expectations are in relation to the mechanisms of justice, what they feel they deserve as fair and decision making processes that are used in arriving at outcomes (Nader and Sursock 1986: 205). Thus, justice operates as an idea and action about the right thing to do in a society which is a ubiquitous phenomenon in cultures (*Ibid.*: 206). Social institutions such as *inter alia*: beliefs, customs, norms and morals, exist in relation to the particular communities from which they originate but are not absolute. The meaning of justice will therefore vary in different social and cultural settings. Moreover, different forms of justice may exist within one sociocultural setting especially where there exist social hierarchies and strata (*Ibid.*: 205). Amartya Sen argues that what people perceive to be equitable and fair depends on principles which are shaped by social and cultural conditions (Sen 2009). Along this school of thought therefore, justice is not the same for everyone, but rather relative and needs ‘to be situationally determined to account for social contexts, norms and values’ (Mahanty et al. 2006:2). The outcome, therefore, should be an approach that sees justice as a plural concept.

The plurality of principles of justice underpins different ways of perceiving justice in what Nancy Fraser terms as ‘multiple ontologies of justice’ (Fraser 2007a). Accordingly, she calls for the need to appreciate that ‘justice traverses multiple arenas –some are formal, some informal, some mainstream, some subaltern [...]’ (*Ibid.*: 398). Despite the plurality and

without undermining its validity, Fraser, for ease of analysis, suggests that justice clusters around three principal nodes, namely: the ‘what’ of justice (the substance of justice), the ‘who’ of justice (the justice community) and the ‘how’ of justice (criteria for validating justice) (Fraser 2007a).

#### The ‘what’ of justice or the substance of justice

The **‘what’** of justice is the substance with which justice is concerned, and revolves around distributive justice (Rawls 1958, 1971), recognition justice (Fraser 1995, 2000, 2009) and procedural justice (Young 1990, 1992). Distributive justice is concerned with the fair and equitable distribution of economic costs and benefits (Rawls 1958). It tells us what the costs and benefits are and who gets them. Recognition justice is concerned with the value and respect accorded to social and cultural differences. It argues that justice is affected by decisions rooted in social hierarchies resulting from political economic structure of a society (Fraser 1995, 2000, 2007b; Fraser and Honneth 2003). Lack of recognition due to domination, non-recognition and disrespect may yield a situation where some people are seen as inferior, excluded and invisible, and therefore cannot participate in social interaction on an equal footing with others (Fraser 2000:113). Recognition is sustained through the working of power in institutions, whether formal (for example law, policy and management plans) or informal (for example norms, customs and social practices) (Fraser 2007a, 2007b).

Procedural justice focuses on participation in decision making process, summed up as political representation (Fraser 2007b, 2009). When people are disenfranchised, their participation in decision making and access to fair share of the benefits and costs may be impeded. Participation may be affected by skewed rules that may hinder other members of the society from participating fully as peers (Fraser 2007a, 2007b). Nevertheless, I would argue that even where rules appear to be ‘fair’, power dynamics can greatly affect the interpretation of social institutions that mediate people’s participation in ways that work against fairness and equity. Empirical examples, from political, economic and environmental anthropology as well as some interdisciplinary scholarship, abound for the working of power to determine participation in decision making in ways and directions that were not foreseen (Adhikari et al. 2014; Bollig and Schwieger 2014; Büscher et al. 2012; Lesorogol 2008; Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Linke 2015; Warren and Visser 2016). Furthermore, boundaries may be drawn that exclude some members of the society from participating in decision making and from claiming a share of benefits, for example, common pool resource governance institutions stemming from Ostrom’s design principles (Ostrom 1990).

The three dimensions of justice mutually coexist to make what is generally considered a three-dimensional theory of justice (Fraser 2007b). Thus, whilst distributive justice deals



with what contestation of fairness is about, recognition and participation explain why the distribution is the way it is. The three dimensional theory of justice thus oscillates economy, culture and politics (Fraser 2007a, 2007b).

### The 'who' of justice or community of justice

The second node in theorising justice is the '**who**' of justice. Here, the concern is about the people or social actors whose concerns are included in the dimensions of justice, otherwise referred to as the community of justice (Fraser 2007a). The community of justice spans different scales namely: micro (local), national, regional and global scales whose boundaries are pervious and malleable allowing interactions of semi-certain directions (Fraser 2007b). Conceptually, the principles for evaluating actors' claims to inclusion in the justice community are diverse. I mention only two whose contrast is relevant to the analysis in this thesis.

First, inclusion can be defined through membership principle whereby only members who are defined by a political belonging as grounded on existing intuitional reality of governance are part of the justice community (Fraser 2007a). Hence, non-members who are excluded within the governance institutional reality are not subject of justice within that institutional governance. This principle is limited in the sense that, focusing on identity belonging as the criteria for framing claims to justice, excludes chances where effects of unjust action spill over to the non-members or where members and non-members occupy the same geographical space in which the unjust action takes place.

Second is the principle of all-subjected, according to which 'all those who are subjected to a given governance structure have moral standing as subjects of justice in relation to it' (Fraser 2007a). Here, people are included in expectation and claims to justice out of their subjection to a structure of governance that affects their wellbeing. For Fraser, governance structures encompass an open range of powers including formal institutions such as state and non-state agencies that generate enforceable rules that control social interaction at different scales (but see also Ostrom 1990 for designed formal rules to control social interaction in resource governance). Also, informal institutions embedded in social relations form part of governance structure as they shape everyday practices (Cleaver 2012; Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Linke 2015). Hence, the principle of subjection applies to both members and non-members of the governance structure. This principle, as Fraser posits, traverses the limits for exclusion around belonging, whilst taking cognisance of social relationships within and across scales (Fraser 2007a).

## The 'how' of justice or the criteria for making claims to just actions

The '**how**' of justice, is concerned with the way and criteria in which people frame ideas, expectations and claims to just actions. In a pluralist approach of theorising justice, the criteria of justifying and legitimising justice is also shaped by social and cultural contexts (Sen 2009). According to Fraser (2007a, 2009), justice can be legitimised or validated through, amongst others, the criteria of: (i). Need, in which social actors are considered more vulnerable to suffering; (ii). Equality, where equal share of resources, opportunities, and threats is emphasised; (iii). Entitlement, which is located in the relationship between people in their capacity to think, reflect and act independently; (iv). Deservedness, which is based on merit or the effort that people have put to realise an action or outcome; (v). Utility – the degree to which one is able to put resources or opportunities to an economically profiting use.

With this introduction to an understanding of the theory of justice, I now return to the discussion of how environmental justice can be conceptualised along the three dimensions namely: Distribution, recognition and procedural justice.

### *Distribution of environmental costs and benefits*

The point of departure in theorising environmental justice as distributive is that an intervention on the environment yields both benefits and costs. The benefits may be the different environmental goods and services that people make use of to meet various domains of their wellbeing. Costs on the other hand, can be direct inputs for intervention, opportunity costs or risks from adverse externalities that people will have to live with as a result of environmental change or intervention. All these are assumed to take place within and across geo-institutional space characterised with complex relations amongst people themselves and with the non-human environmental attributes. With this in mind, distributive environmental justice questions the manner in which environmental benefits and costs are distributed amongst different social groups (Dobson 1998; Miller 1999). Thus, according to Schlosberg (2007) and Walker (2012), questions that are conceptually critical in distributive environmental justice could include: (i). What are the environmental benefits and costs that are to be distributed? (ii). Who are the subjects that claim fair distribution of the environmental benefits and costs? (iii). How do the subjects frame their ideas, expectations and legitimacy for fair distribution of environmental benefits and costs in relation to other actors?

In reference to the first question, benefits emerge as aspects of the environment or environmental change to which people attach value, whilst costs put a burden on or impede the fulfilment of value. Value can imply a wide range of material and symbolic aspects. It can

be for economic survival, social interaction, spiritual fulfilment, cultural functions or a combination of multiple values. Interpretation of the value of outcomes from intervention on the environment is as diverse as the sociocultural contexts within which the intervention takes place (Schroeder et al. 2008). For example, conservation of a forest may provide aesthetic value to domestic and foreign tourists, whereas to natives, the forest may embody deep cultural functions, including subsistence and belonging. Thus, a controlled access to the forest may create conditions that fulfil the idyllic imaginations of the tourist, whilst limiting the fulfilment of culturally embedded values of the native community.

Regarding the second question, distributive environmental justice is concerned with the actors to whom environmental benefits and costs are distributed. That is, who receives the benefits or costs, such as to form the justice community (Walker 2012). As mentioned earlier, the justice community can be constituted following different principles, but I find that the principle of all-subjected, suggested by Fraser (2007a), presents a broader analysis of actors within prevailing institutions of environmental governance. Boundaries of institutions governing people's interaction with one another within and across communities and their relations to the environment, are often pervious and malleable leading to a great deal of overlap. For example, in CBNRM, users of the resources in question may include both members and non-members of the governance institution. Hence, non-members are excluded within the official CBNRM governance institutions, but in reality, they remain subjected to its effects. By considering the quest of all actors who are affected by governance institutions, the analysis pierces the limits for exclusion around belonging, whilst taking cognisance of the relationships within and across scales. In doing so, an analysis of distributive environmental justice will focus on the *multiplexity* of actors who occupy different scales such as: local (community level), national and international scales whose boundaries overlap (Schlosberg 2007). That is, some actors are able to oscillate across scales, for example, international environmental organisations whose influence traverses global to local spheres of claim making. But even within the local scale, actors are differentiated into social groups shaped by prevailing hierarchies, social strata and cultural identities so that we have clans, kin, ethnicities; socioeconomic categories such as wealth ranks and different land use practices (Adhikari and Lovett 2006; Varughese and Ostrom 2001; Vedeld 2000). At the same time, the differentiated actors are also connected through different institutional ties in multiple and complex manner, reproducing power asymmetries (Latour 1996, 2005; Munro 2009; Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Linke 2015).

Lastly, the manner in which the subjects to justice perceive fairness and equity in the distribution of environmental benefits and costs follows different principles of distribution such as utility, need, desert, entitlement and so on (Walker 2012:45). These principles for claiming just distribution of environmental benefits and costs depend on the social makeup of

the justice community (Schlosberg 2007). Thus, different principles are applied by different actors at different times in order to contest unjust practices or express their grievances which form the justice discourse at different scales (Walker 2012:44).

However, relying on distributive justice alone tells us only who has to live with what environmental costs and who enjoys benefits. It does not explain how the distribution is determined. Patterns of distribution are largely influenced by institutions of governance that mediate decisions of everyday life (Fraser 1995, 2007b; Young 1990, 1992). Therefore, environmental justice should simultaneously focus its analysis on the political and social conditions in which distribution of environmental benefits and costs takes place. Consequently, environmental justice brings to its analysis recognition and procedural valences (Schlosberg 2007, 2013; Schlosberg and Carruthers 2010; Walker 2012).

### *Environmental justice as recognition*

The starting point here is that people have different ontologies and further that they have a right to hold such differences. Recognition means accepting these differences and refraining from interfering with people's world views and the enjoyment of their rights of difference (Martin 2013; Martin et al. 2016; Schlosberg 2007; Walker 2012). Schlosberg (2007) and Walker (2012) argue that bringing recognition into the analysis of environmental justice, helps in understanding the social context in which the distribution or maldistribution of environmental benefits and costs occur. That is, it leads to the understanding of why some actors are left out in the distribution of benefits and others are faced with the costs. Thus, recognition is the foundation of distributive justice or injustice as asserts Fraser (1995, 2000, 2007a). How is this so? Fraser (2007a) explains that when other people's ways of life or of seeing the world is misrecognised (insulted, degraded and devalued), they will most likely live with less social benefits but more costs. To this end, recognition hinges on hierarchies that are embedded in institutions mediating social interactions and distribution (Young 1990, 1992).

Environmental changes or interventions take place in contexts characterised with social hierarchies, differing values and levels of vulnerability, all of which are shaped by institutions such as policies, laws, rules, norms and mores, which are rooted in patterns of representation, interpretation and communication (Fraser 2000). Actors whose social cadres are represented, interpreted and communicated as undervalued, degraded and insulted live with less environmental goods but more burdens than those of higher social positioning (Schlosberg 1999, 2013; Walker 2012). For example, certain livelihoods practices may be devalued by compelling or hegemonic economic orders and may end up undermined by such processes. If our projects of environmental justice are concerned with contexts where social differences is a reality, demonstrated by inequalities between privileged and less privileged

groups, then we have to acknowledge and attend to those group differences in order to understand how they determine skewed distribution (Schlosberg 2007).

### *Environmental justice in procedure or political participation*

Here, environmental justice turns its attention to the political landscape on which actors make decisions that affect distribution of environmental goods and burdens. The assumption here is that, inclusive and democratic decision making procedures are tools or indeed preconditions for achieving distributive justice (Schlosberg 2007, 2013). Procedural (in)justice, therefore is concerned with the process by which members of a community engage in decision making politically. Consequently, justice is defined in relation to the manner in which institutions allow for fair and equitable participation. Procedural justice, thus, on the one hand, offers an explanation to the pattern of distribution of environmental benefits and costs. On the other hand, as Walker (2012) argues, it is a subject or element of justice in its own right. Walker includes, in his definition of environmental justice, phrases such as; ‘meaningful involvement’, ‘access to the decision making process’ and ‘participation in decision making’ (Walker 2012:48). Conflicts over management of environmental resources have often included perceived injustices in decision making processes over the distribution of environmental benefits and costs, characterised with lack of opportunities to be heard and listened to (Schlosberg 2007). Procedural justice has to be looked at in the manner in which the political actions of actors overlap in time and space. That is, when and where environmental actions occur. Injustices at the local level may emanate from processes of decision making which are extra local (Schlosberg 2013). For example, international treaties that govern natural resources such as the Dublin Statement on Water and Sustainable Development (United Nations Organisation 1992b), influenced many national decision making, including in Namibia, and subsequently shaping actions at the local communities to manage water as an economic good with private costs (Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Linke 2016).

Therefore, an analysis of procedural justice would look into availability of information necessary for decision making, availability of resources for subjected parties to participate and power dynamics amongst actors involved in decision making process, including production of knowledge on environmental quality. Power dynamics in participatory decision making process in conservation programmes have resulted into situations where local elites capture the political process of conservation side-lining rural non-elite folk (Agrawal and Gupta 2005; Dasgupta and Beard 2007; Warren and Visser 2016). In other recent examples, conservation NGOs forming *epistemic community*, whose worldview drive conservation patterns, render representation and involvement of local communities constrained (Büscher et al. 2012). Thus, in this approach, the focus of procedural justice in global institutions, such as those

underpinning neoliberalism, leads to uneven flows of capital and knowledge, furtherance leading to a skewed distribution of environmental benefits and costs (Büscher et al. 2012; Igoe et al. 2010; Sullivan 2006, 2013).

### *The mutual intersection of the three dimensions of environmental justice*

Schlosberg, in his different submissions for a multidimensional approach to environmental justice, has consistently and persistently asserted that distribution, recognition and participation dimensions of justice mutually coexist (Schlosberg 1999, 2003, 2004, 2007, 2013). Whereas distributive justice points to the material substance of justice, procedural and recognition justice simultaneously help us to understand the underlying causes of distribution or maldistribution. Procedural justice is like the thread that weaves together recognition and distributive justice (Fraser 2007b). Participatory decision making procedures shape the political process that in turn configures the distribution of benefits and costs. To begin with, there is a direct link between the recognition of actors and their membership and participation in the existing institution of governance or greater community (Martin et al. 2016; Schlosberg 2007, 2013; Sikor et al. 2014). The mere fact that a person or groups of persons are members of a social structure, for example social institutions, does not guarantee their participation. Two factors may determine participation or non-participation.

One, is their recognition and respect by the other social groups in the social structure. Martin et al. (2016) and Schlosberg (2007) argue that the recognition of actors and their practices avails the opportunity for them to participate in the institutional order. That is, as Schlosberg asserts, 'if you are not recognised, you do not participate and if you do not participate you are not recognised' (Schlosberg 2007:24). Thus far, we see that recognition and participation are mutually conditioning each other in the analysis of environmental justice. Two, for actors to participate in a social structure, appropriate resources must be deployed to them (Schlosberg 2013; Sikor et al. 2014; Walker 2012). At the same time, participation in decision making process shapes the outcome of resource distribution. That is, whilst on the one hand, people may be members of a decision making process for environmental action or change; on the other hand, if they do not have appropriate resources including amongst others, bargaining power, knowledge and language to negotiate outcomes, then their participation may be impeded or compromised (Walker 2012:48). Thus, the manner in which resources, benefits and costs are distributed can configure people's ability and motivation to participate. Conversely, lack of participation, which can be caused by lack of recognition and inequitable distribution of environmental goods, may lead to a skewed distribution of environmental

outcomes. The point here is two-fold. One, political and cultural institutions create conditions that can hamper equity and recognition. And two, both maldistribution and misrecognition hamper real participation in political and cultural institutions – the contexts in which environmental change or interventions occur.

The focus, therefore, is on the parity of participation so that injustices are addressed through the elimination of institutionalised domination and oppression – that is, through rules and procedures according to which decisions are made (Fraser 2009; Schlosberg 2007, 2013; Sikor 2013). Consequently, we need to improve the participatory mechanisms so as to improve distribution and recognition. To this end, environmental justice emerges as multidimensional (see Figure 1) where the three dimensions – distribution, participation and recognition – mutually coexist (Schlosberg 2007, 2013).

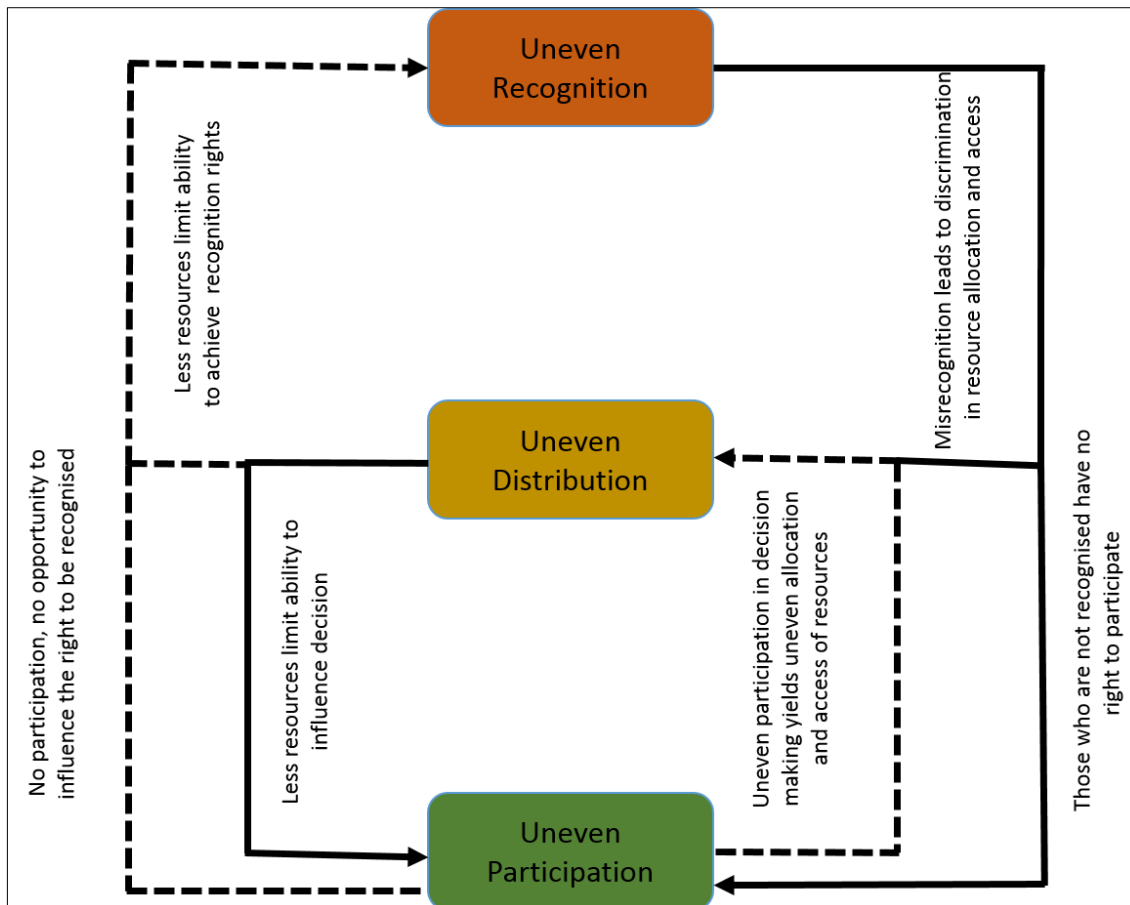


Figure 1: Conceptual framework showing the three dimensions of environmental justice.<sup>9</sup>

### *Linking environmental justice and CBNRM*

CBNRM, as a form of Common Pool Resource (CPR) regime, has traversed the last quarter of a century as an alternative approach to fortress conservation and suitable for sustainable management of natural resources, especially in developing countries (Agrawal 2001; Sunam and McCarthy 2010). In CBNRM, equity is presumably already inoculated into its design by devolving power and authority over resource management from central governments to the communities (Adhikari et al. 2014; Warren and Visser 2016). The action or intervention (CBNRM), is consciously believed to be owned by a homogenous constituent –the community. Collective action at the local is seen to be creating the necessary space for political participation in decision making (Adhikari et al. 2014). Recognising the rights of communities and empowering them to decide on the use of natural resources, is thus considered as constituting a just and equitable distribution of benefits and costs, which in turn offers incentives for

<sup>9</sup> Adopted and modified from (Walker 2012:65).



community participation (Ostrom 1990). In this line of thought, CBNRM is promoted as a means of improving the socioeconomic conditions for poor and marginalized rural communities as well as increasing their power and participation (Kellert et al. 2000). By doing so, CBNRM is depicted as having the potential of reducing existing inequalities, hence harbouring an implicit notion of fairness and equity (Mahanty et al. 2006).

However, as the distribution of the costs and benefits of CBNRM unfolds, the heterogeneous nature of communities (Adhikari and Lovett 2006; Varughese and Ostrom 2001; Vedeld 2000) becomes more lucid and the power imbalances within and between CBNRM stakeholders gets more illuminated. The very questions (such as who participates on CBNRM? whose way of livelihood counts amongst social groups? who lives with what cost and benefits?) that constitute environmental justice begin to expose varied layers and clusters of different interested social groups –those whose livelihoods are threatened by CBNRM and those whose interests thrive on CBNRM. CBNRM therefore, emerges as an arena of asymmetrical power struggles between hierarchies of knowledge, land use practices, domination and subordination (Dasgupta and Beard 2007; Warren and Visser 2016; Wong 2010). Thus another line of literature emerges that questions the potential of CBNRM to realise fairness as well as equity and eventually putting to doubt its goals of improving socioeconomic conditions for the poor to the extent that has been promoted (Agrawal and Gupta 2005; Li 2002; Sullivan 2000; Nguyen 2006). These studies have, in general, observed that CBNRM has performed below the expectation of its equity outcomes.

In their study of participation of communities in decentralised forest governance in Nepal, Agrawal and Gupta (2005) found that local elites had the advantage of literacy and economic power to dominate and influence decision making to their advantage. The problem of elite capture in CBNRM has been widely discussed in a plethora of political economy and political ecology literature since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The literature largely posits that the local power structure within which CBNRM is established is often asymmetrical leading to elite domination as a salient limitation of CBNRM (Bebbington 2007; Dasgupta and Beard 2007; Hadiz 2004; Platteau 2004; Warren and Visser 2016; Wong 2010). Some authors, for example, Dasgupta and Beard (2007) and Warren and Visser (2016), differentiate between elite control and elite capture. For them, whereas the former refers to the control over resources and project interventions that provide access to benefits for non-elites, the latter happens when local elites ‘dominate and corrupt community level planning and governance’ for their own benefit with the potential of limiting access to benefits to the non-elites (Dasgupta and Beard 2007). In addition, Tan Nguyen, examined that unfair relations in community forest management in Vietnam may have led to inequality between the government and local communities over land allocation (Nguyen 2006). The outcome of this is that, inequality may have led to better management of natural resources to the advantage of those benefiting

directly from conservation, at the expense of local livelihoods that constitute the economy of local people, especially the poor. This calls for a need to rethink or re-examine the reality and dynamics of justice within CBNRM.

Equity in CBNRM should therefore be examined through the lens of a three dimensional theory of justice. That is, where the distribution of environmental costs and benefits intersect and mutually coexist with recognition of differences and political participation as configured by institutions that mediate social relations (Figure 1). In so doing, privileged social groups (superordinate) that have the influence on institutional resources to participate and influence recognition are able to determine a favourable distribution outcome. On the other hand, social groups who have limited influence on the institutional resources (subordinates) may not determine a favourable outcome. Consequently, maldistribution emerges, in which case the subordinates live with more burdens and less benefits than their superordinate counterparts. However, I would argue that a theory of environmental justice is incomplete or there is a conceptual oversight, if it does not include, into its analysis, the fundamental outcome of maldistribution – agency exercised through resistance. It is through resistance that subordinates deploy their agency in order to renegotiate a fair share of costs and benefits with the superordinate.

### *Resistance as agency in environmental justice*

Though only explicit in background information and implicit in conceptual analysis in much of literature, resistance to maldistribution is one of the factors that prompted the genesis of environmental justice concept. Subordinates faced with the consequences of maldistribution, produced through policies and programmes, are not just helpless conformists. They exercise agency through resistance in order to renegotiate their claims and determine a favourable outcome. Resistance thus brings to the analysis of environmental justice, the concept of human agency, which occupies a central position in social theory (Giddens 1976, 1979, 1984, 1991; Karp 1986; Long 1989a, 2003, 2004b; Loyal and Barnes 2001). Agency stands for the ability of human actors to act independently and make their own free choices over and against constraints deriving from enduring social structure (Giddens 1976, 1979, 1984; Long 1989a; Loyal and Barnes 2001). Thus, human actors deploy agency as a transformative power, or ‘transformative capacity’ in Giddens’ language, in order to intervene on the world, status quo or bring about social change (Giddens 1976, 1984; Loyal 2003; Loyal and Barnes 2001). Along the grain of this proposition, I would argue that subordinates resist maldistribution of environmental costs and benefits with the intention of transforming the structural interventions in order to yield favourable outcomes.

Gramscian overt revolt or popular movement has dominated much of environmental justice movement as a way through which subordinates deploy agency to counter the

hegemonic structures that produce environmental injustices (Pellow 2007; Rocheleau et al. 2013; Schlosberg 2007; Schlosberg and Carruthers 2010). Environmental justice movements are therefore specifically directed at sensitising the masses and gaining their active consent for a collective action to revolt against a hegemony, such as neoliberal projects that threaten their livelihoods and expectations (Butko 2006). In resisting neoliberal policy decisions whose outcomes subject the common citizen to more environmental costs and less of benefits, environmental justice movements thus present alternative intellectual, cultural and moral agenda in order to renegotiate their rightful position (Bond and Dorsey 2010; Butko 2006; Pellow 2007; Tokar 2013). In Butko's language, it is a 'war of position' (Butko 2006:79). This way, environmental justice becomes part of a wider struggle for social justice and civil rights as was long observed by Colopy (1994). These movements, whether local or global, seek to represent those who receive unfair distribution of environmental benefits and costs. They rally under a banner with leaders and defined membership (Bond and Dorsey 2010; Cole and Foster 2001; Taylor 2000). Their activities are planned and organised, sometimes forging partnerships with extra local actors who share in their agenda for attrition (Bond and Dorsey 2010; Chawla 2009; Schlosberg 2007, 2013). Their means of resistance is active confrontation, which seeks to directly impact on decisions or actions constituting intervention on the environment. Although not guaranteed, these organised and planned resistance lead to changes in policies and decisions that further reconstitute action on the environment or that determine a favourable distribution of costs and benefits. They want to be recognised as valuable actors so that they can participate as peers with more powerful actors and negotiate fair share of benefits and costs (Fraser 2007a, 2007b; Schlosberg 2003, 2007).

Nevertheless, the deployment of agency to challenge unjust or unfair outcomes of policies and programmes is not restricted to Gramscian collective action or organised overt resistance. Situations occur, where human actors deploy their agency through a less confrontational means for reasons that are attributed to prevailing social, cultural and political conditions. For example, in #Khoadi #Hôas, direct confrontation between people and authorities as a means of expressing dissatisfaction is uncommon. Instead, withdrawal from public confrontation with the powerful actors is a common way of dealing with conflicts of that nature. However, it would be naïve or spurious to interpret such passive forms of responding to unjust conditions to be devoid of agency. That all humans are skilled active agents, who deploy their agency, no matter how passive, to influence their world is well established in social theory (for example Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984, 1991) and Long (1989b, 2003, 2004b)). In locating the place of agency in passive resistance to maldistribution in environmental justice, I borrow from James Scott's epic argument that everyday forms of resistance are indeed weapons for weaker actors in their struggle to reposition themselves in class relations (Scott 1985).

### *Agency through everyday forms of resistance in environmental justice*

Scott observed that resistance to unjust conditions can also be expressed through what he coined as *everyday forms of resistance* (Scott 1985:29). He observed that subordinates, peasants in his Malayan case, rarely organised themselves into a local revolution against those who sought to adversely limit their relations to means of livelihoods. But even where peasants attempted outright public defiance, Scott would contend that they were seldom successful or perhaps produced a system that was likely to be hijacked by more powerful class (including local elites) thus achieving objectives that the resistance was not set out for in the first place. Consequently, Scott persuades us to locate peasant's (or more widely subordinates') resistance to unfair conditions in a 'prosaic but constant struggle' with unfair class relations (Scott 1985:29). According to Scott, everyday forms of resistance are passive as contrasted with Gramscian outright collective forms of public defiance (Scott 1979) that characterises much of the activities of the environmental justice movements. They form part of people's daily life and therefore require little or no planning or coordination (Scott 1985:29). They are mostly executed at individual's level in order to express their disapproval of unjust conditions or outcomes against which they cannot mount successful direct confrontation. They form a way of working around rather than forging a revolt or defiance to the authority or elite norms.

A long panoply of weapons of the weak can be identified under different social and cultural contexts and may include 'resistance that take the form of subtle sabotage, passive noncompliance, evasion and deception' (Scott 1985:31) or hidden transcripts like 'offstage speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or inflect' dominant power (Scott 1990:4-5). The advantage of keeping their struggle less passive and confrontational, is that such anonymity helps subordinates to guarantee their safety against being branded as deviants by elite order or answered by oppressive authority (Scott 1985, 1990). Occasionally, the resistance can be with direct confrontation or even violent, but their objective is to arm-twist the power behind the unfair distribution of costs and benefits without being noticed as defiant (Scott 1985). Hence these struggles, I would argue following Scott, have the material links in power imbalances embedded in social institutions that constitute the distribution or maldistribution of environmental costs and benefits (Schlosberg 2007, 2013; Walker 2012).

The effect of everyday forms of resistance on the process of maldistribution is often marginal (Scott 1985:29-31), especially within a short time. Nevertheless, they are not valueless. Their little effect somehow affects the intended functioning of a system in two ways. First, if their resistance does not reach a level that significantly affects the intervention on the environment, then it might support the reproduction or continuity of unfair conditions, represented by *outcome 1* in Figure 2. The result therefore, is more subordination influenced

by some commonplace forms of defiance. For example, evading or withdrawing from participation in CBNRM meetings by communities, may further limit the already constrained chance for them to influence a favourable budget allocation. At this point, rather than being a transformative capacity (Giddens 1979, 1984), evasion or nonparticipation becomes a ‘stabilising capacity’ (Loyal and Barnes 2001:514).

Second, Scott contends that commonplace resistance is multiplied and sustained within a community of justice. To this end, it has a likelihood of leading to a collapse of policy systems or programmes that produce maldistribution. In case this happens, ‘policies and programmes may be recast to suit existing realistic expectations of the weaker actors, or introduce incentives aimed at encouraging voluntary compliance’ (Scott 1985:36). Here, the resistance is a factor of the resultant modification on the environmental action (CBNRM policy, programme or project) represented by *outcome 2* in Figure 2.

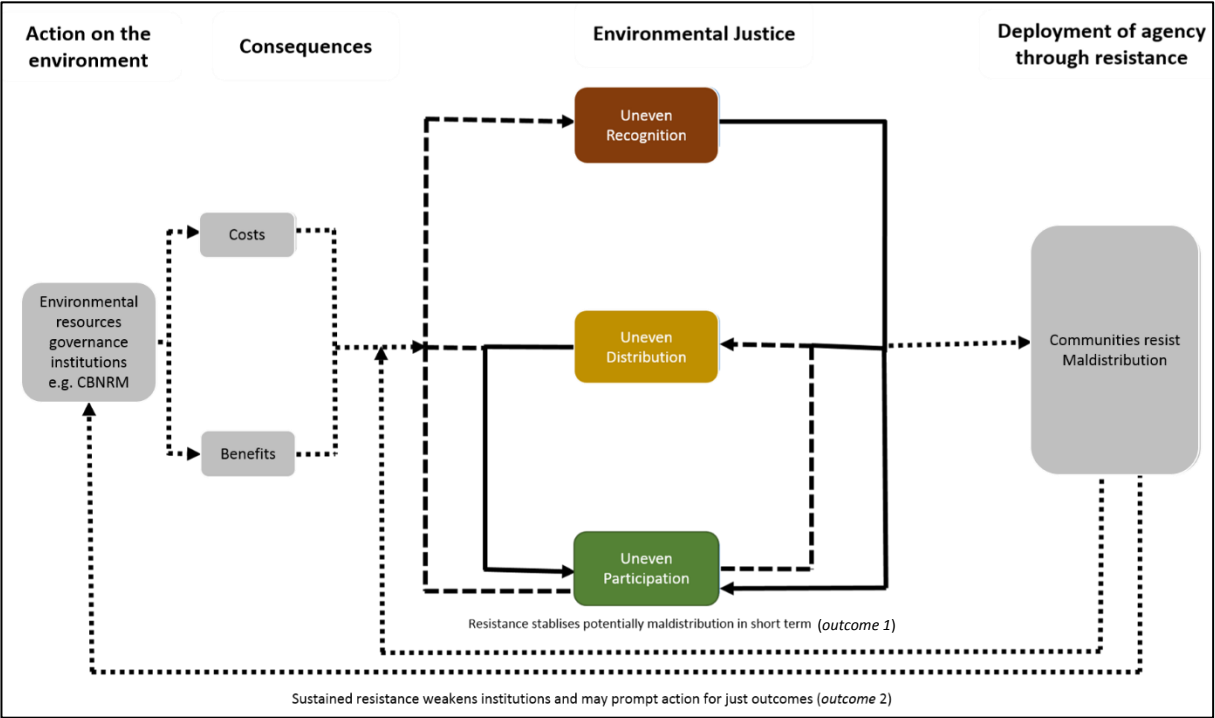


Figure 2: Conceptual framework for analysing environmental justice in CBNRM



## Chapter 3

### The research setting – #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy

#### *Physical location and size*

#Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy is located in northwest Namibia in what is administratively known as the Kunene region. The area is still known to some local people as Grootberg (Kai |Uis in Khoekhoegowab)<sup>10</sup> or to administrators as ward 10, as it was called before the establishment of the conservancy.<sup>11</sup> The conservancy covers an area of about 3,366 square kilometres. It is a communal area that is under the traditional jurisdiction of the |Gaiodaman Traditional Authority. The conservancy borders Torra and Ehirovipuka conservancies to the west and north respectively. To the northwest is the Etendeka tourism concession and the northeast is the Hobatere concession (which became part of #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy in 2008). Freehold or private tenure commercial farms, most of which are owned by farmers of European descent, form the eastern boundaries of the conservancy. The conservancy lies south of the veterinary cordon fence (locally known as the *red line*) that runs across the country and is used to control movement of animals and animals' product in order to mitigate the spread of foot and mouth disease to the southern parts of the *red line*, where commercial farms are located (see map in Figure 3). In the colonial times, the *red line* was also used to control movement of natives especially to mitigate an outspread of liberation war from the northern areas to the south, where the colonial administration had its immense grip.

The conservancy is accessible by a network of two loose earth or gravel roads (Figure 3). The rural areas are accessible using farm roads that meander through bushes and between rock outcrops. Most locals use donkey carts to move between farms/villages. However, when the locals want to travel to far places such as Kamanjab, Khorixas or other towns, they wait along the major roads to hike in other people's private cars heading the direction of their journey and pay a fare that is generally known and accepted.

Two settlements, Erwee and Anker (Figure 3), host the main public services for people living in the area and show the presence of the state. Each of the settlement has a primary

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<sup>10</sup> Kai-|Uis is a Khoekhoegowab word that literally translates to a 'big rock' or a 'rocky mountain'. The word is not only used to refer to the Grootberg the hill but also the office of the conservancy, which previously was the place where the office of Grootberg Farmers Union was located. However, most non-Khoekhoegowab speakers refer to the conservancy area as Grootberg, the Afrikaans word used previously by the white settlers to refer to the hilly area after which Grootberg Lodge was named.

<sup>11</sup> Ward 10 is a name that was established by the colonial administrators. The name is still being used by a section of current administrators in region.

school, a clinic and agriculture extension office and that of the government department that deals with rural water supply. There are two lodges owned by the conservancy in the area, Grootberg Lodge in western part and Hobatere Lodge in northern section, which are key tourist attraction and seen by conservation NGOs and conservancy officials as symbols of development and success story for CBNRM in the area. Another landmark in the area is the conservancy office, known to local people as Kai |Uis (Grootberg), which is located in the central part of the conservancy (see map in Figure 3). In the colonial times, this area was a livestock breeding station, established by the Damara homeland administration, where pastoralists brought their local goats (*Damara bokke*) to be crossbred with Afrikaner goats (*Boer bokke*) in order to improve their productivity. The station has since represented the presence of the state in the area. Not only does it house the conservancy office, but also the offices of nature conservation officials/game rangers from the Ministry of Environment and Tourism who, together with the conservancy staff, conduct surveillance to eradicate illegal hunting activities in the area.



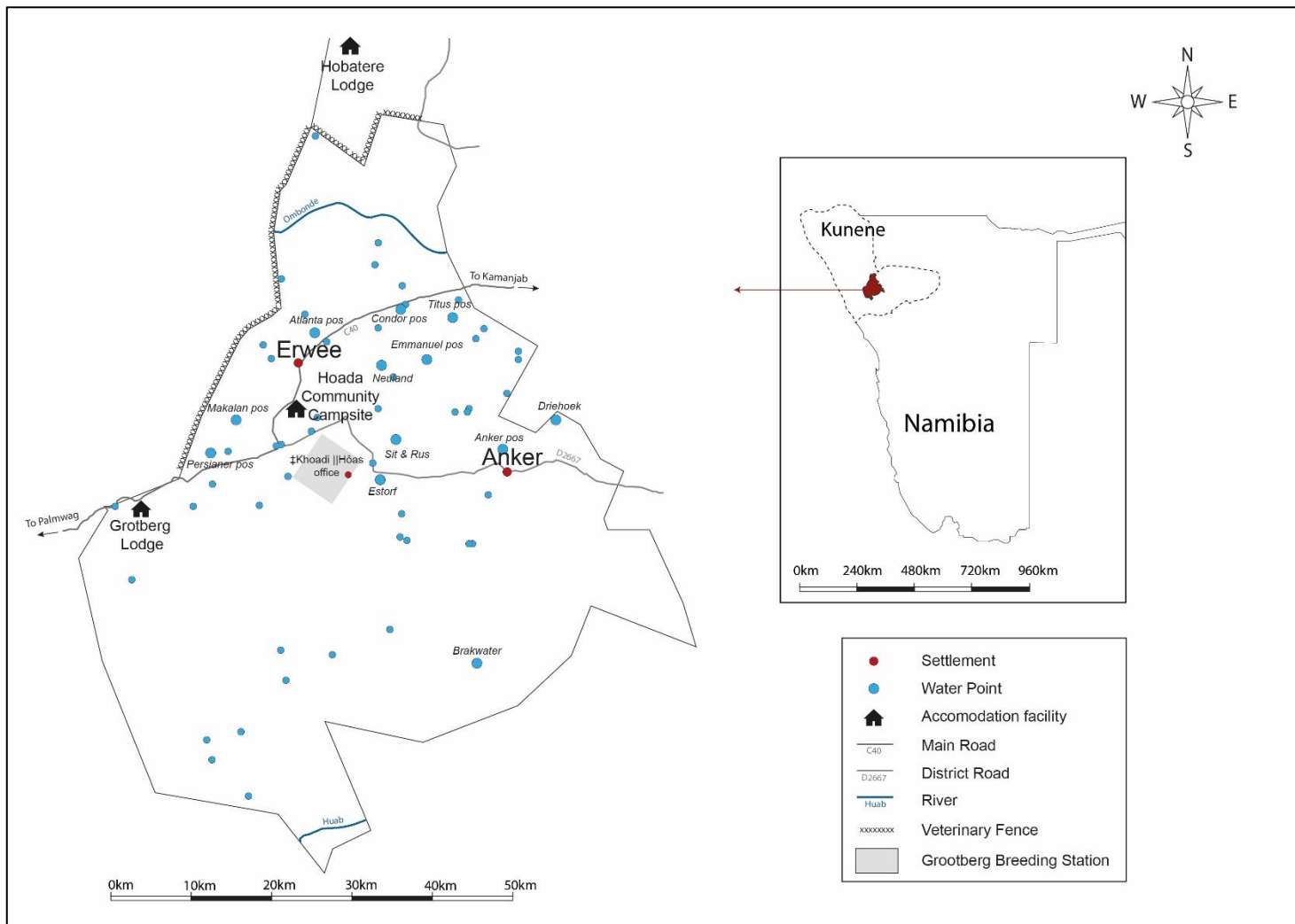


Figure 3: Map of #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy

## *Topography*

The conservancy presents varied biophysical features. The western side of #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy area is largely characterised with elevated rocky hills with deeply cut drainage courses of the surface runoff and ephemeral rivers. In this part of the conservancy lies the Grootberg Hill (Kai-!Uis) and plateau, forming a sharp escarpment at its western edge (Jensen et al. 2002). Because of its touristic scenery, Grootberg Plateau became the site of choice where Grootberg Lodge was constructed.<sup>12</sup> The western part of the conservancy area is covered in rocky soils (*Ibid.*).

The eastern side has a relatively flat terrain and occasional sandy highland plains. There are scattered rock outcrops and granite hills in the area too (Kamwi 1997; Jensen et al. 2002). These eastern parts are characterised with red sandy soils derived from decomposed granite extending to the eastern plains (Jensen et al. 2002). In general, the soils of #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy are shallow, weakly developed and easily washed away during surface runoff whenever it rains. In some areas there are deeper soils but they are largely infertile (Jensen et al. 2002). These parameters make crop production largely difficult and hardly practised in the area, except for small kitchen gardens at the back of a handful of households.

There are two main ephemeral rivers in the northern part of the conservancy area known as 'Ombonde' flowing near Dorsland pos from Ehirovipuka Conservancy and //Huab River crossing in the southwest direction, flowing into neighbouring //Huab conservancy (Figure 3). Apart from the main ephemeral rivers, there are a number of minor ephemeral rivers which include Klip Revier in west. These rivers remain dry except when the rainfall is significant, at which time they flood with water which quickly gushes downstream.

## *Climatic conditions*

#Khoadi //Hôas conservancy is located in an arid climatic zone. Rainfall is rarely experienced yet highly hoped for by local communities. When it rains, it is low in amount and the water is quickly washed away as surface runoff. Data collected by the conservancy staff and analysed by NACSO indicate that the annual rainfall averages from 100mm in the north-western to

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<sup>12</sup> Comments made by the Director of Journeys Namibia, Mrs. Simonetta van Wyk, during the 10th anniversary of Grootberg Lodge in July 2015 at Grootberg Lodge. Journeys Namibia is a private tourism company that has been hired by the #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy Management Committee to manage the lodge on behalf of the conservancy.

250mm in the north-eastern parts of the conservancy area.<sup>13</sup> This is very close to the estimation of the raw data for precipitation collected by the Department of Agriculture Extension and Education Services (DAEES) in Erwee. The data collected by DAEES from 2002 to 2015 shows that the average amount of rainfall for the conservancy area is 260mm (Figure 4).

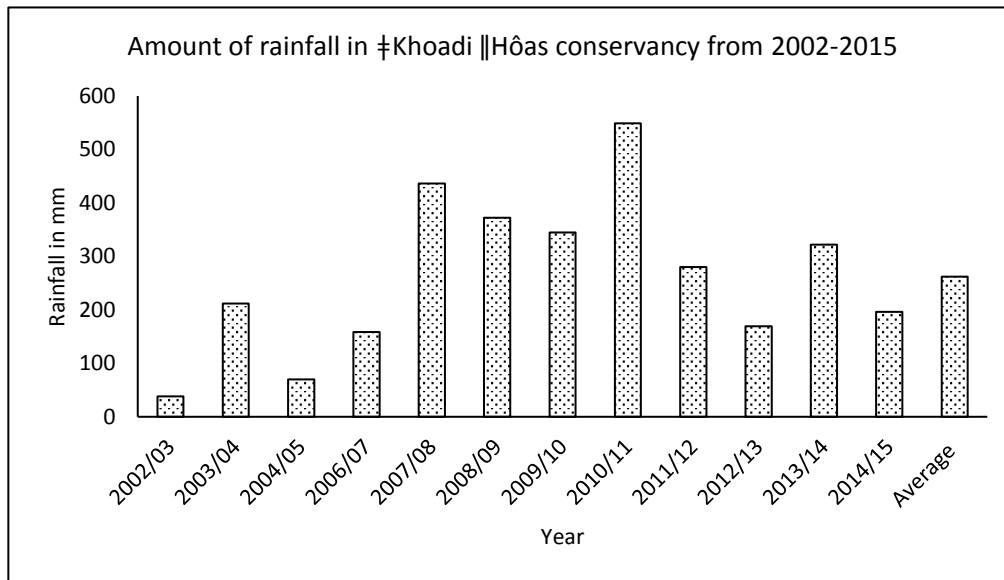


Figure 4: Rainfall data from 2002-2015<sup>14</sup>

Most of the rainfall is experienced in the months of January, February and March.<sup>15</sup> However, rainfall varies not only with time but also space. For example, participants of focus group discussions that I conducted in various villages contended that in the rainy seasons of 2014/2015 and 2015/2016 the eastern parts including farms such as Neuland, Atlanta, Condor, Mieras and Anker (Figure 3) were wetter and greener than the western farms of Makalani, Erwee pos, Perseaner, Estorf, and Sit and Rus (Figure 3). †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy is prone to droughts which expose the main livelihood strategy in the area, livestock keeping, to severe vulnerability. For example, pastoralists in the area recalled that between 2013 and 2015, they had experienced very little rainfall that led to prolonged drought resulting into deaths of cattle in the area towards the end of 2015.<sup>16</sup> The low rainfall is also accompanied by high rate of evapotranspiration that makes the ground lose moisture content faster than it receives, leaving

<sup>13</sup> Data collected by a weather station in Knop pos, which is within similar climatic region as Grootberg, installed by Southern African Science Service Centre for Climate Change and Adaptive Land Management (SASSCAL) measured a total annual precipitation of 161mm in 2017 which is within the estimation of between 100mm to 250mm. See <http://www.sasscalweathernet.org/> Accessed on 01.12.2017.

<sup>14</sup> Raw data computed from DAEES office in Erwee.

<sup>15</sup> Remarks by participants of focus group discussion November 2014.

<sup>16</sup> A male middle aged respondent in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy informed me that his household lost up to 25 heads of cattle between October and December 2015.

the soils dry soon after the rain. In 2009, the evapotranspiration rate was estimated to be ranging from 3,000-3,500 mm per year (Kemp et al. 2009).

As mentioned before, being so important but so rare, rainfall is highly hoped for in #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy and partly constitutes local social life in three significant ways: First, rainfall is discussed in people's daily talks. People talk about when it last rained. If one is new in the area, it is common and normal for the local residents to ask them if it is raining in their places of origin. Sometimes, such questions are also accompanied by jokes such as: 'why did you not bring us rain from where you came?'<sup>17</sup>, and 'now that we have received you as a guest, you bring the blessing of rain'.<sup>18</sup> The talks about rainfall intensify in drier months when the effects of droughts are more imminent. At such times, people talk about rain out of desperation as they worry about the future of their livestock economy.

Second, rainfall is also connected to morality. Sometimes people interpret the lack of rain or the presence of drought to be a consequence of immoral behaviour that is punished by supernatural power. During dry season, lack of rain populates church sermons and individual wishes to God as people connect it to the curse that comes from their sins. A prayer for rain is called nearly every year, in Erwee and Anker, so that people can purge their sins. For example, in November 2015, a prayer for rain was organised by the local leaders of the Catholic Church in Erwee. The prayer was attended by residents of Erwee from different churches including Catholic Church, Lutheran Church and Shalom Pentecostal Church. Participants of the prayer asked God to forgive the sins that had been committed in their land, including gossip, excessive consumption of alcohol and sexual misconduct that were believed to be the cause of the prolonged drought.

Third, the significance of rain is seen in the pastoralists' practice of hanging a rain gauge within the homesteads waiting to collect and measure any slightest form of precipitation. As I was informed by one woman in her 70s, this practice is 'most likely to have been borrowed by the Damara from the commercial farms where they worked as labourers in the colonial times and even in the present day'.<sup>19</sup> When the rainy season begins, some people read the measurements in the rain gauge, and call their relatives in other villages on phone and talk about the amount of rainfall they have received. However, as the rainfall intensity increases, people's interest to observe measurements diminishes.

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<sup>17</sup> Field notes compiled in November 2014.

<sup>18</sup> See footnote 17.

<sup>19</sup> Interview conducted on 14.11.2014 at Blauplaas.

### *Vegetation type and extent*

Aridity and poor soils determine the type of vegetation in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy (Jones 2006b). During the long dry season, the vegetation is dry and the ground is bare without much grass cover. When it rains, vegetation quickly sprouts in lush green foliage. It grows fast within weeks and soon produces flowers and seeds. They are again caught up by the scorching heat from sunshine that welcomes subsequent dry months.



*Picture 1: Topography and vegetaion of western part of #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy*

Much of the conservancy, especially the eastern highland plains, is characterised with Mopane trees and the Ana trees. Most dry river beds and water courses are populated by Camelthorn (*Acacia erioloba*, locally known as //Ganab) and *Acacia nebrownii* (locally known as *ana-hais*) (Jensen et al. 2002). Pods of //Ganab and the *ana-hais* are collected and stored by households and used to feed goats and sheep during the dry season. Within and after the rainy season, the red sandy soils of the eastern highlands plains are characterised with grasses including *Stipafrostis uniplumis* and *Stipafrostis hirtigluma*. However, in the dry river beds, there is a climax of *Cenchrus ciliaris* (*Ibid.*). By the month of September, most of the grass disappear as it is overgrazed by both cattle and wild animals.

The western rugged ridges of the Klip Revier and the Kai-!Uis area (Grootberg hills) are characterised with more aridity-adapted vegetation. Most plant species in this area are succulent and include *Pachypodium leali* and *Moringa ovalifolia*. A number of *Euphorbia*

*spp.* are also common in the area, and more dominant is the *Euphorbia damarana* (Kamwi 1997; Jensen et al. 2002). Some aridity-adapted grasses are also covering the western rocky ridges including the *Antephora ramose* (Kamwi 1997; Jensen et al. 2002). In any case, before the establishment of the conservancy, the areas around Klip Revier and Kai-Uis, which is currently an exclusive wildlife and tourism area, were used for dry season grazing by the residents of the area.<sup>20</sup>

### *Wildlife in the area*

#Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy has a wide range of wild animal species which, in general, is locally believed to have been on the increase since the 1990s after the establishment of the conservancy in the area. However, wildlife population fluctuates seasonally and annually in the conservancy. To determine game numbers, the conservancy relies on data collected by environmental shepherds (game guards), which they enter in the event book –a natural resource monitoring system developed by NGOs for communal conservancies in Namibia. Additionally, the conservancy uses the data from the annual game count, which is coordinated by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET). During the annual game count, MET officers, conservancy staff and volunteers from the communities record the number of animals seen per 100 kilometres along designated patrol routes. The two methods may capture a general estimate of the diversity of game but may also greatly underestimate the population. Nevertheless, the data remains a reasonably reliable estimate. Hence, Table 1 below shows a summary of selected wild animal species in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy for years 2015 and 2016.

*Table 1: Population of selected species in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy.<sup>21</sup>*

<b>Species</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>
Gemsbok	144	75
Giraffe	121	143
Kudu	72	246
Ostrich	20	33
Springbok	69	354
Steenbok	91	110
Hartmann's Zebra	237	526

It is noticeable that data on high value species, such as elephants, is missing, most likely because the government considers the revelation of their data to be sensitive to anti-poaching

<sup>20</sup> Interview with an official of the conservancy in October 2015 in Anker and remarks by participants of focused group discussions in 10 farms.

<sup>21</sup> See source at <http://www.nacso.org.na> accessed on 27.02.2017.

campaigns. However, the high presence of elephants in the area is unequivocal and is locally bolstered in three ways. First, warning road signs are clearly placed along the major roads passing through the conservancy to warn motorists on the possibility of presence of elephants ahead (Picture 3). These signs inform motorists to drive through the conservancy with caution in order to avoid a potential accident with elephants. Second, the name of the conservancy – #Khoadi ||Hôas – means a corner of many elephants. Indeed, the logo of the conservancy, of two elephants ‘greeting each other’ with the trunks (Picture 2), magnifies this meaning further. In reality, #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy lies in a migratory corridor for desert elephants from Etosha National Park to the western areas (Jones 2006b). Third, and equally important, is that elephants are part of local people’s everyday talk. People talk about the elephants on a daily basis in relation to the destruction they cause at the water points and fear for safety (see Chapter 8).



Picture 3: Road sign warning on elephants



Picture 2: Logo for #Khoadi ||hôas conservancy

### *The people of #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy*

A vast proportion of the population of the #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy consists of the Damara people. Whilst ethnography of the Damara is not the focus of this thesis, their social construction in both colonial and indigenous discourse is relevant in analysing the relations of communities in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy to CBNRM as policy approach to both resource sustainability and poverty alleviation. The Damara, or #Nūkhoen in Khoekhoegowab, literally means black people. They belong to the Khoe-Kwadi family and speak Khoekhoegowab language, which is popularly known in Namibia as Khoekhoe or Damara-Nama. The orthography of the language consists of four clicks: Palatal or retroflexed stop (!); lateral affricate (||); alveolar stop (#); and dental or alveolar affricate (|) (Haacke 1976). The language is also spoken by the Nama people who mostly live in southern Namibia with a few, the

Swartbooi Nama, living in northwest Namibia together with the Damara. Before their ways of life was disrupted by colonial settlers, the Damara are considered to have moved between hunting/gathering and herding in the plains of the Namibia's Savanna (Barnard 1992).

The colonial and indigenous discourses in both pre and post-independence periods have negatively constructed the social image of the Damara as an underclass following a pattern of subjugation resulting into structural marginalisation and eventual poverty (Rohde 1997). In the 19th century, the Damara lost the land they occupied in central parts of present day Namibia to more powerful Herero and Nama communities, who raided their stock and forced them to provide labour for their growing herds of livestock (Henrichsen 2008). Vedder in particular called them 'slaves of Herero', during the German colonisation (Vedder 1938 in Malan 1980). Not only did they lose their herds of livestock to neighbouring communities, but they also lost hunting grounds. In addition, wildlife was already dwindling as a result of European hunting ventures with more powerful weapons (Barnard 1992; Bley 1996; Henrichsen 2008). As this happened, the Damara were dispossessed of their land and deprived of their important means of economic survival, turning them into labourers (Henrichsen 2008) or 'rural proletariat' in the words of Rohde (1997:8). The European colonial settlers would exploit this class relations and collude with notably Herero chiefs to sell Damara people as labourers to as far as Cape Colony in present day South Africa (Henrichsen 2008). However, today, these historical details do not augur well with communities of #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy as they find it demeaning.

The structural subjugation continued throughout the German colonisation after the German and Herero peace agreement through to the South African administration when the Damara, as neighbouring communities, largely remained to be a source of labour for mines, commercial farms and other economic sectors dominated by people of European descent (Henrichsen 2008).<sup>22</sup> Even after the creation of the Damaraland in 1970s, during the apartheid rule, the Damara continued to live in an area that is vulnerable to droughts. Since livestock mobility is an important coping strategy to drought in arid areas, restriction on the movement of Damara livestock within the wards of Damaraland made livestock keeping extremely vulnerable to adverse environmental conditions (Rohde 1997). Despite this structural marginalisation and deprivation, the colonial and indigenous discourse persistently constructed the Damara as lazy, alcoholic, wasteful (*kwangara* as the Oshiwambo refer to them) and unskilled cattle herders (*Ibid.* but also personal observation). Following my personal observation, I contend with Rohde (1997) that these social images or stereotypes

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<sup>22</sup> See for example Bley (1996) for detailed accounts of 'Namibia under the German rule', especially the German-Herero Agreement of 1894 and its consequences.



about the Damara are still very present and reified in Namibia today, especially amongst the Bantu groups. Even the Damara themselves ascribe to and reproduce the negative social construction in their everyday life. For example, some of the Damara people in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy reproduce the negative social construction about their community when they occasionally tease each other with phrases such as: ‘Don’t eat everything like a *Damara*, save something for tomorrow’; ‘We *Damaras* like alcohol more than food’; ‘She was given goats by the government but she ate all of them. She behaves like a real *Damara*’; and ‘That man was paid his pension yesterday. We cannot find him at home. He will come home after two days when the money is finished in alcohol. *Damaras* are like that’.<sup>23</sup> The list can go on and on, but the examples should not be understood to overgeneralise the embodiment of the stereotypes by the Damara. Some Damara people in †Khoadi †Hôas are also very conscious of the negativity and misconceptions of this social construction. For example, some people challenged the stereotypes through remarks such as: ‘Now the president of the country is a Damara. The *Damara* is rising and will no more be seen as useless. A Damara is now the father of the people of the land of the brave’ and ‘*Damaras* are the best in football in Namibia. We are the stars in Brave Warriors [Namibia’s national soccer team]’.<sup>24</sup>

The point here is that the reification of the negative image about the Damara is an outcome of the historical subjugation, dispossession and disenfranchisement of the community by the colonial master and other indigenous communities (Henrichsen 2008; Rohde 1997). Indeed, the analysis of unjust distribution of resources and livelihood vulnerabilities amongst communities of †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy should pay attention to historical injustices that underpin their existence especially in relation to land tenure and subsequent relations to other natural resources. The analysis should acknowledge that poverty in the area is a product of many years of subjugation, limited access to means of production (Henrichsen 2008) and unfair land tenure that restricted movement of Damara livestock to their homeland constrained mobility as salient means of reducing risks and vulnerability to drought (Rohde 1997).

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<sup>23</sup> Remarks from different Damara people in the Erwee and Anker in 2015.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

### *Resource governance before independence*

As consequence of policy and regulatory recommendations by the Odendaal Commission established by the apartheid administration in 1962, the ‘tribal homeland’ for Damara people (Damaraland) was created as an ethnic territory.<sup>25</sup> Damaraland spanned over a vast semi-arid area in the southern parts of northwest Namibia, covering an area of 48,000 square kilometres (Rohde 1997). It was divided into 12 wards for ease of administration (Pauli 2010:34). It is noteworthy that a Damara ‘tribal enclave’ had existed since 1894 when Germans ceded |Â#Gomhes (popularly known as Okombahe), and grew over the next seventy years into a ‘Native Reserve’ covering at least 4,200 square kilometres by 1947 (Rohde 1997; Rohde et al. 1999). However in 1964, the Odendaal Commission merged the area with other native reserves, (Otjohorong, Sesfontein and Fransfontein), state land and 223 commercial farms which were bought from the white farmers at market prices including payments for any improvements done on them (Rohde 1997; Rohde et al. 1999).

The Damara administration was established as the second-tier government responsible for Damaraland, although only formally in 1978 (Rohde et al. 1999). However, it was not until 1985 that the Damara Council would formally set up the structure of its tribal authority according to the self-governing law (Rohde et al. 1999). The administration was headed by the King of Damara communities (King Justus ||Garoëb), who was assisted by senior headmen representing different administrative wards in Damaraland.<sup>26</sup> Under the senior headmen were junior headmen, or sometimes simply referred to as headmen, who took care of a few villages or farms. The administration then established an Executive Committee constituted by the King, senior headmen (councillors who represented the wards), a secretary and the directors of different various departments that the colonial government considered essential for the natives. The secretary and directors (heading each of the Damara Council Departments) were white bureaucrats appointed by the central government (colonial administration in Windhoek) to work with the Damara administration. All activities were coordinated from Khorixas town where the headquarters of the Damara homeland administration was located. Agriculture extension officers or technicians (initially white but later a few Damara people were included)

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<sup>25</sup> The Odendaal Commission, officially known as *The Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs*, was established in 1962 by the Republic of South Africa that governed South West Africa (Namibia) as one of its provinces. The Commission studied and recommended the creation self-governing ethnic homelands in South West Africa with particular emphasis on different types of economic viability and infrastructure for whites and native blacks. The Commission noted in its report, colloquially known as the *Odendaal Plan*, that ‘as far as it is practicable a homeland must be created for each population group, in which it alone would have residential, political and language rights to the exclusion of other population groups’ (Republic of South Africa 1964:55).

<sup>26</sup> These senior headmen were appointed by the King from the different clans constituting the Damara community, or ‘tribe’ in the language of the colonial administration.

were appointed by the homeland administration and stationed in places like Anker, Erwee and Grootberg breeding station (see map in Figure 3) within the homeland.

Before 1970, the land where #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy lies was held under individual freehold tenure by commercial farmers of European descent. The farms differed in sizes but generally ranged from 40 to 250 square kilometres (Rohde et al. 1999). Each farm had a perimeter fence, put up by the commercial farmer, to control livestock movement and demarcate farm boundaries. The main farm or homestead (*opstal* in Afrikaans) had a farmhouse. A farmer could also have smaller farm or post (*pos* in Afrikaans) adjacent to the *opstal*. The *pos* was used for grazing when the pasture in the *opstal* was degraded. In addition, 'a *pos* could be established by an Afrikaner farmer for the son who wished to move to his own farm'.<sup>27</sup> Each *opstal* and *pos* had a water point, including a borehole, a water tank and a water trough for the livestock. The farm house was constructed near the main water point. The *opstal* and *pos* were given names, usually in Afrikaans, by the farmer. During this time, the colonial government issued African (native) communities with permits, under the prevailing Pass Law, 'which allowed [them] access to the farms on an ad hoc basis' especially as labourers (Rohde et al. 1999:335). However, in 1970, following the recommendation of the Odendaal Commission to set up native homelands or Bantustans as part of the apartheid policy, these farms were expropriated by the colonial government from the commercial farmers to form a re-delineated Damaraland. Consequently, people who were identified by the state as Damara were resettled into these farms, initially forcefully but later out of their own volition (Rohde et al. 1999; Sullivan 2002). As a Bantustan, the land tenure changed from freehold to communal. Pastoralism and pastoral lifeworld, were similarly reintroduced into the area. Communities were deliberately sparsely distributed by the government in the area to allow for the prevailing notion of carrying capacity of the commercial farming system that previously existed there (Rohde et al. 1999). Since then, pastoralism has re-emerged in the area as an important livelihood strategy for the communities living in #Khoadi ǀHôas.

However, before the codified system of land allocation was established in Damaraland in 1978, informal institutions effectively operated to control land tenure (Rohde et al. 1999:335). 'Extension officers working for the Damara Council's Department for Agriculture' worked informally to allocate land rights to newcomers (*Ibid*: 335). Land rights were thus negotiated and settled within the ward level through an informal collaboration between the extension officers, the headmen, ward councillors and the residents of the farm (*Ibid*).<sup>28</sup> In order to reduce resistance from the communities in the farms, newcomers preferred to settle

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<sup>27</sup> Interview with a councilor of the |Gaidama Traditional Authority on 13.06.2015.

<sup>28</sup> Interview Linus on 22.05.2015.

in farms where their relatives were already settled. Consequently, the farms came to be mostly occupied by people of the same family.

Although land allocation in Grootberg was reserved for the Damara, a minority population of non-Damara people, especially Herero, also settled in the area. Two related factors could have led to this occurrence. One, there were some non-Damara people who had been working as labourers in the commercial farms prior to the expropriation of the farms. Because of their interaction with the Damara over a long period of time, they became proficient in Khoekhoe language and affiliated to the community and thus became eligible for land allocation, especially under the existing informal institutional arrangement. Two, there existed intermarriages and family relationships between Damara people and those of other communities, especially when serving as labourers in the commercial farms. They were therefore settled as part of the families with which they had a relationship.

A major outcome of the creation of the Damara homeland in this area was the transformation of tenure rights in relation to natural resources. Land and water changed from being private (freehold) property to communal (common) property. Previously, this was a place where a few commercial farmers could control movement of a few number of livestock and increase productivity through technical agricultural husbandry and improved market, thanks to colonial government policies that favoured the white population. With the resettlement of the Damara, the area was now witnessing a re-introduction of pastoralism, a subsistence economy that thrives on ability of people and large herds of livestock to move within a landscape in response to limiting climatic factors. The perimeter fences around the farms could not be honoured as the area had been turned into communal grazing area for the Damara. In addition to livestock, wildlife traversed the area and was part of the subsistence economy of the Damara as an informant recalled:

Damara people started relocating in this area around 1970. We hunted because wild animals moved around and it was part of our food.<sup>29</sup>

However, the illegality of hunting was reinforced when the Nature Conservation Ordinance was shortly enacted into law in 1975 (Republic of South Africa 1975). Consequently, nature conservation department, a function that solely remained with the central government in Windhoek, established its office in Khorixas to undertake wildlife surveillance in area and mitigate poaching and other forms of illegal hunting. The informant whose voice is quoted above further recalled:

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<sup>29</sup> Remarks from an interview with a councilor of |Gaiodaman Tradional Authrotiy 13.06.2015.

Some five to six years later, the government in Windhoek decided that hunting was illegal. Around 1982, nature conservation office was established in Khorixas from where they made surveillance on poaching and illegal hunting in Ward 10 and the entire Damaraland. Before that time, they only operated in Etosha National Park.<sup>30</sup>

It should be noted that whilst hunting was prohibited within Damara homeland as observed in the quote above, white farmers were allowed lawful consumptive and non-consumptive use of game in their commercial farms, since 1963 (Botha 2005). They needed to apply for special permits to hunt game within their farms for meat or trophy as well as to allow for tourism (Barnes and De Jager 1996; Botha 2005). Thus whilst the Damara people lost hunting as part of their subsistence economy, for the white farmers, game hunting and tourism in their farms grew into a multimillion Rand industry (Barnes and De Jager 1996; Jones 2010). This helped to foster inequalities between the white and black, typically affirming the dualistic development trajectory of the apartheid policy.

Whilst criminalising hunting was aimed at reducing loss of wildlife, frequent and prolonged droughts saw the decimation of wildlife in the area (Sullivan 2002). In addition, a growing international market of ivory, rhino horn as well as other trophy materials exacerbated the proliferation of organised poaching in northern Namibia (Sullivan 2002), with a possible spill over to northern parts of Damaraland including Grootberg.<sup>31</sup> Local people, who were already adults and living in the area in colonial times and before the establishment of the conservancy, informed me that the conflict between people and wildlife was not as severe as it is in the present times largely because of low game population and low human population in the area at that time.<sup>32</sup>

Most boreholes, which are the main source of water in the area, were sunk by the colonial South African administration (Bollig 2013; Schnegg and Bollig 2016). Like in the case of land, property relations (access) around water was informally negotiated following the mobility of livestock and people. The need to survive in the limiting climatic conditions through migration of both people and their livestock within the communal grazing areas configured a

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Some sources report that some officials of the South African Defence Force (SADF) in the northern areas aided and profited from poaching. See for example Ellis (1994) and Owen-Smith (2010).

<sup>32</sup> Informants could remember that there were a few incidences where there were presence of problem animals and the Damara administration would ask the nature conservation officials to go and take them away. For example, they recalled that the government would call for a helicopter to drive out elephants from the villages where people lived and herded their livestock because they brought out problems to people. However, some informants agreed that the only helicopters that flew to drive away the elephants did so in commercial farms. Other informants contended that sometimes the SADF would help to drive problem-causing elephants with their helicopters out of communal areas having been requested by the Damaraland administration through the nature conservation officers in Khorixas. Though these narratives were different, there was a general agreement amongst informants that a helicopter would drive problem causing wild animals, especially elephants, from the farms into Etosha National Park.

loosely held property status on water points (Rohde et al. 1999). That is, there was a general acceptance by communities occupying a farm to allow livestock from other farms to drink water at water points in their farms. Issues related to cost of water were handled by the Damara administration through the extension officers. These included improving and maintaining the infrastructure at the water point such as water pumps, dams and pipes. Since most boreholes were fitted with diesel engine pumps, diesel was provided and paid for by the state through the Damara administration. Whenever there was a problem related to the supply of water in the different farms or villages, for example damaged infrastructure or need for diesel, people in that farm or village would report to the agriculture extension officers in the area (Anker and Grootberg), or any government officer closer to them, either directly or through their headman. The report would then be taken to homeland's office in Khorixas from where necessary action would be taken. Actions would include sending technicians to the farms to repair water infrastructure or to take diesel to the pastoralists for pumping water for their use. Water was therefore basically free for communities (Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg et al. 2016; Schnegg and Linke 2015), and any destruction or loss was a financial burden of the government and not pastoralists.

### *Resource governance in post-independence*

After independence, the law that established homeland administration was repealed and all the apartheid policies declared unjust and redundant. The Damara homeland administration collapsed. However, Grootberg has remained a communal area but with new forms of resource governance. One, the nationalisation policy of the independent Namibia that traversed time and space with the political mantra '*one Namibia, one nation*' devalued the relevance of 'tribal enclaves' and changed debates on communal land ownership. Whereas in the colonial times the national politics defined the land in this area to belong to Damara people, after independence the politics transformed the public discourse of ownership –land in the area became a property of the people of Namibia, not just a particular community. The implication was that people from other communities have the freedom to settle within the area in pursuit of their own livelihood. Consequently, the number of non-Damara people living in the area has increased, though it is still a minority portion of the population. They have moved into the area to work for the government, do business, keep livestock or live with their spouses or partners. Despite the popularity of the nationalisation policy, local perception over territorial ownership and control over communal land have persistently remained undefeated and entangled with

those of the colonial period. This situation is closely linked to the second change that occurred in resource governance as discussed in the following paragraph.

Two, the enactment of the Traditional Authorities Act in 2000 by the Namibian Parliament allowed for the establishment of traditional authorities to be the custodian of communal areas where people who consider themselves to belong to those *traditional communities* live (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2000b). The Damara community has since formed different traditional authorities alongside its major clans, and which accordingly constituted the former Damara homeland administration through their respective senior headmen.<sup>33</sup> One of them is the |Gaiodaman clan whose leadership emerged as the traditional authority responsible for †Khoadi †Hôas area. The traditional authority is headed by the Chief who appoints councillors to administer customary law in the area under his jurisdiction. The traditional councillors may represent the different areas or leagues within the entire †Khoadi †Hôas area, usually consisting of varied number of farms or villages. Each farm or village has a headman. In the farms where a traditional councillor stays, there is no separate village headman. Though with a different *modus operandi*, the traditional authority reproduces territorial perceptions over land amongst the Damara of †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy. It is thus not uncommon for Damara people living in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy to feel insecure when people of other communities move in to settle or graze their livestock in the area.

Three, land is regulated through the Communal Land Reform Act that was enacted in 2002 (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2002a). As mentioned above, the |Gaiodaman Traditional Authority, according to the Act, is the custodian of communal land in which †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy lies. Land use for pastoralism is regulated through customary rights. The traditional authority allocates customary rights for residential and farming purposes. The right is allocated over a plot of land of a given size that is determined by Traditional Authority. In †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy, the customary right is the area where people build their houses and kraals for livestock. It is hard to find customary land right exceeding 5 hectares 'because the land is considered not big enough'.<sup>34</sup> To be allocated customary right, an applicant has to identify the area of interest, usually near other homes in order to save other areas as commonage for grazing. Thereafter, the applicant seeks the approval of the village headman. If the applicant is a newcomer into the area, the village headman consults the community members regarding the intention for allocation of

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<sup>33</sup> Remarks from an interview with a councilor of |Gaiodaman Traditional Authority on 13.06.2015.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

customary right, at which point the availability of water is considered. Afterwards, the applicant pays a fee of N\$600 to the village headman, part of which will be taken to the Chief and part of which the headman keeps for himself or herself. The ratio of sharing the money between the village headman and the chief is not fixed but negotiated privately between them. The applicant can then fence the area with the permission by the Kunene Communal Land Board or simply put demarcation depending on financial capability. Though the law requires that people register their customary rights with Ministry of Land Reform through the Traditional Authority and Communal Land Board, so as to secure it, not everybody has done so. Land can be allocated to any adult whether man or woman and inherited by spouses or children.

Four, boreholes remain the main source of water in the area. Each village has at least a water point consisting of a borehole fitted with a pump (most of which are diesel engine pumps), a communal concrete dam (reservoir) where the water is pumped to, at least a water trough from which livestock drink and two plastic tanks which mainly store water for domestic use. In total, ‘there are about 176 registered boreholes in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy’,<sup>35</sup> of which 161 are functional (Table 2). Of the functional ones, 109 (67.7%) operate on diesel engine, whilst 48 (29.8%), 2 (1.2%) and 2(1.2%) operate on wind, hand and solar pumps respectively. The water is salty, though largely certified by the government as safe for human and livestock consumption. Some farms/villages are however unlucky to have boreholes whose water is not suitable for human consumption. On such farms, people have to fetch water for domestic use from neighbouring villages.

Table 2: Number of communal water points in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy.<sup>36</sup>

Condition of the water point	Pump type					Total
	No pump	Diesel Engine	Wind Pump	Hand Pump	Solar Pump	
Functioning	-	109	48	2	2	161
Not functioning	8	4	2	1	-	15
Total	8	113	50	3	2	176

A few natural water springs exist on the eastern side of the conservancy although most of the time, they hardly produce water and are less likely to be relied upon by the communal farmers and their households. As mentioned above, when it rains in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy, just

<sup>35</sup> Interview with an officer in charge of DWSC on 19.03.2015 at Erwee. See also Chapter 8 for discussion on CBWM practices in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy area.

<sup>36</sup> Raw data provided by DWSSC at Khorixas in 2015.



like in most parts of Kunene south or former Damaraland, the sporadic ephemeral rivers fill with water that gushes downstream. Some waters are collected in shallow pans called *laus* in Khoekhoe. When water is collected in the *laus*, there is a relief to the farmers in two ways. One, the livestock does not have to drink the water at the regular water points meaning that the farmers may pump water fewer times than they do in the dry season. Two, wild animals particularly the elephants can also drink from the *laus* relieving pressure on the water at the water points. This implies less cost of water for the farmers. However, the *laus* may also cause misfortune for the communities as it is risky for younger children who are always eager to play and swim in them for the risk of drowning.

Whilst the main source of water in the area remains the same as was in the colonial times, water governance has significantly changed. After independence, the government decentralised management responsibility to communities through the Community Water Management policy approach. The government rehabilitated most of the water points. The costs of maintaining the infrastructure have been gradually transferred to the communities, although major repairs like replacing completely broken pumps and re-drilling boreholes is done and paid for by the government. The costs of buying diesel and minor repairs have completely been shifted to the communities. This implies that most costs emanating from damages or destruction are a responsibility of the communities. This is a complete shift from what happened in the colonial time when such costs were a burden of the government. There has been institutional and organisational transformation in water governance in the area in order to deal with these costs. I discuss these institutional dynamics in Chapter 7, but as a prelude, the government through the Community-Based Water Management (CBWM) recommended that households share these costs proportionately according to the usage. In addition, water point associations and their respective water point committees were established by the government as the organisational structure through which communities would enforce these cost-sharing rules.

Five, national policy reforms on nature conservation in early to mid-1990s saw the enactment of the Nature Conservation Amendment Act that legally introduced CBNRM as an approach for managing wildlife in communal areas (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1996). The act devolved usufruct rights over wildlife to communities through communal conservancies as a legal entity. Consequently, in 1998, #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy was formed and gazetted covering the communal areas in the entire Grootberg. This dramatic institutional transformation implied two things. First, communities in the conservancy area obtained the right to draw benefits from consumptive (quota hunting) and non-consumptive (tourism) use

of wildlife in the area (Nuding 2002). This meant that, on one hand they could use these benefits in order to address their local development needs and address local poverty. On the other hand, they obtained rights that only previously existed for white farmers and hence formed part of the post-independence political dispensation to address historical injustices. Second, the right to economic benefits would offer incentives for participation. That is, communities in the area would find interest in managing the wild animals because they stood a chance of benefiting economically from them (Ashley 2000; Jones and Weaver 2009). The idea was that communities would find a trade-off between the burdens accrued and the benefits drawn from living with wild animals.

The expectation is that socioeconomic development for local pastoral communities would motivate ecological sustainability. Rather than being disliked for the economic damages they posed, and especially that hunting was criminalised since 1975, here was a new approach that, according to those who promoted CBNRM into policy, identified and promoted wildlife as a natural capital that could be invested in order to diversify and secure rural livelihood for communal farmers (Ashley 2000; Long 2004a; Lepper and Schroenn 2010; Farrington et al. 1999). Furthermore, in the colonial time, wildlife governance outside protected areas was both a responsibility and privilege to farmers of European descent. Communal conservancy programme was promoted by conservation elites as a chance for a historically subjugated, dispossessed and disenfranchised pastoralists to be in charge of wildlife management. The conservancy became the institutional structure through which these objectives would be worked out and realised. Conservation NGOs and the government worked together across time and space to support the conservancy in developing rules and procedures to govern people's relations with wildlife. The result that, #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy has established a stable management committee of sixteen members who are responsible for the overall governance of the conservancy affairs. There is a conservancy secretariat made up of employees who implement the decisions of the committee and of the members. A significant investment into tourism activities (largely through donor funding) has seen the establishment of Grootberg Lodge, Hoadá Campsite as early as 2005, and recently, the rehabilitation of Hobatere Lodge. In addition, the conservancy has established a trophy hunting enterprise in the area attracting investment from hunting companies, which are mostly foreign-based. Therefore, the communal conservancy programme gave foreign capital and tourists the access to communal land and wild animals as part of the *modus operandi* of a neoliberal development agenda.

The conservancy has a natural resource management plan that indicates how surveillance and reporting is done in order to conserve wildlife. Part of the natural resource

management plan has been the land use plan that demarcates areas for specific activities namely: a) area for human settlement and cropping; b) area for multiple use with livestock keeping as a priority; c) area for exclusive wildlife conservation; d) area for exclusive tourism; e) area for trophy hunting and tourism (see Chapter 9). In addition, the conservancy has a benefits-sharing plan to distribute the income from conservation enterprises and a self-reliance scheme to compensate losses caused by conservation to communities. As was coined by the conservationists and conservation NGOs who pushed through CBNRM into policy, the two management plans are expected to spur development, reduce inequalities and contribute to poverty alleviation in the area. This is an expectation that many people in the area have lived with since the establishment of the conservancy in 1998, but has significantly faded away, as I show in Chapter 9, Chapter 10 and Chapter 11.

### *Characteristics of households in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy*

About 4,308 people or 800 households live within #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy area on 44 farms or villages.<sup>37</sup> As already mentioned earlier, majority of the people living in the conservancy are of Damara community. Other communities (Herero, Ovambo, Nama and Haillom) also live in the area, especially those who have intermarried with Damara people or those who work in government facilities such as the two primary schools, two clinics, agriculture extension offices, and water services department. These communities remain a minority relative to the Damara in terms of population. Hence, the popular language spoken in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy is Khoekhoegowab.

The area is sparsely populated, with an estimated population density of two persons per square kilometre or between 10 and 15 households per village, with the exception of the two semi-urban settlements (Anker and Erwee) and Condor *pos*.<sup>38</sup> People live in households of varied sizes of between 5-8 members. Whilst a household may mean different things for different people in different places, in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy, I considered a household to be people who live within the same courtyard, sharing the same fireplace and eat from the same pot. Though it is very normal and common for people in #Khoadi //Hôas to eat from other

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<sup>37</sup> See NACSO website <http://www.nacso.org.na/conservancies/khoadi-hoas> accessed on 24.02.2017.

<sup>38</sup> Condor *pos* was set up by the Damaraland administration before independence as one of the two auction market for livestock in the Grootberg area. Though the idea later collapsed because of influence from commercial farmers who would buy livestock directly from individual communal farmers in their villages, the farm has been used as a point for buying livestock only on special permit issued to individual buyers by the government. It is believed locally that the growth of the village may have been influenced by these factors around marketing of livestock. I return to the details of livestock keeping and marketing in #Khoadi //Hôas in Chapter 7.

households, members of the same household do not need to ask for permission or be invited, including just as a polite gesture, to eat or use any food stuff in that house. I do not define household along the lines of sharing livestock or kraals for it is common to find people from different households keeping their livestock in one kraal. Such are common amongst part-time farmers who live and work in the cities and keep their livestock in the farms with one of their family members (Schneegg et al. 2013). In such a case, the livestock is owned by the part-time farmer whilst the milk from the animals, if any, is consumed by the household residing in the farm.<sup>39</sup> The local definition of household head oscillates between breadwinner, the decision maker and age. It is relative to each household, but generally stabilises at the breadwinner who in most cases influences decision and is of older age.

More than half of the households in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy are female-headed. This is attributed to, amongst other factors, many cases of single mothers parenting their children born out of unstable relationships, which are common in the area in specific and Namibia in general.<sup>40</sup> In addition, it is common to find young parents leaving their children in the villages under the care of their parents in order to seek employment (usually low paying jobs) in towns and commercial farms. Children are mostly left with their mothers' mothers. The average age of heads of households in the area is 58 years with a standard deviation of 13.9. This illuminates two realities of defining a head of household as the breadwinner in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy. First, most of the older people have livestock which is an important symbol of wealth for most households in the area. Younger people tend to have livestock in less numbers than their parents or older people. It is also common to find younger people keeping their livestock together with their parents. Second, all the citizens of Namibia who have attained the official retirement age of 60 receive a state grant pension (N\$1,100 by January 2016) which is an important source of income for most rural households, especially in #Khoadi //Hôas area.

People live in villages that are clustered around active water points. The villages are still known by their Afrikaans names they had prior to the conversion of the area into a communal area to constitute former Damaraland. Newly established farms, which are a minority, are however given Khoekhoe names. A larger population of people in the area live in the two semi-urban settlements of Anker and Erwee. The two settlements were also part of the Odendaal

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<sup>39</sup> Money and other resources sent to the households by those living in the cities or other areas to support the household or the husbandry of their livestock were treated as incomes to that household. The livestock were also included as part of the household's asset because they constituted households livelihoods through provision of milk and configuring household labour allocation.

<sup>40</sup> Namibia's Ministry of Health and Social Services reported in its 2013 Demographic and Health Survey that Kunene region had the highest proportion of teenage pregnancy in country (39%) (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2014:63-64).

farms purchased to resettle Damara people, but grew into larger settlements because the Damara administration established in them facilities like schools, clinics and other essential government services for the local inhabitants. Accompanying the growth of these two settlements has been the development of small shops and pubs that help to breathe a relative proportion of urban life in the area.

### *Housing and household characteristics*

Typical houses, whether in the rural or semi-urban settlements, are constructed using mopane wood poles on the walls and iron sheets (locally known as zinc) on the roof. The walls of the houses (73% of sampled households,  $n=81$ ) are covered with clay, often reddish in colour, and mixed with cow dung. The walls are fixed with small windows (about one square metre) made of varying materials (cardboard, wood, iron sheets, wires and glass). Depending on the size of the family, the houses are of various sizes containing between two to four rooms including a sitting room. However, because the area is hot especially at day time, people rarely sit in the house but outside under a shade that extends from the main house.<sup>41</sup> Some people enclose these extension shades using closely fitted short mopane poles or plastic nests and pieces of fabric. Consequently, what is known locally as the sitting room is generally used for storing household items. Most houses have cemented floors whilst others are bare earth or sand. However, there are also a few houses made of bricks (24% of sampled households,  $n=81$ ), especially those belonging to wealthier households, thus indicating a growing socioeconomic stratification in the area.

Courtyards (85% of sampled households,  $n=81$ ), are often fenced using binding wires that run across sticks hanging just above the ground and poles placed on specific location to reinforce the fencing. Fencing is done not as a means of living a private life away from the community, but primarily as a way of demarcating and securing the customary right within which the household lives. Fencing is also done to prevent wild animals from getting easy access to the courtyards and kraals especially in the night. Otherwise life is generally communal in the villages of †Khoadi †Hôas, for example, through sharing food, water and grazing area. Cooking is done in a fireplace that is located outside the main house but within the courtyard. The fireplace has a shade constructed with mopane wood poles on the frame and old iron sheets on the roof or any material that can prevent the scorching heat from the direct sunlight of the

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<sup>41</sup> Average air temperature in Kunene south can be above 30°C in summer. In winter average daytime temperature ranges from 22°C to 24°C. The temperature however falls to below 10°C in the night during winter months between June and August. See SASSCAL online weather station at <http://www.sasscalweathernet.org> Accessed on 01.12.2017.

arid region. Even when food is not available (which is common amongst many households) people gather at the fireplace to chitchat and catch up with the daily news in Khoekhoe from radios that hang on one of the wooden poles supporting the roof of the shade.

In summer months of November, December and January, evening gatherings or chitchat at the fireplace go on until as late as nine o'clock because of the uncomfortable heat that the sun leaves behind as it sets to usher in clear starry night sky. In winter months (June, July and August), these family gatherings at the fireplace end as soon as the sun sets. This is because the air temperature can drop drastically to below 10°C or even to freezing point in the night. To mitigate the cold in the sleeping rooms, people put coals of fire from the fireplace onto metallic sheet and place it in the rooms. The windows are open to let out 'bad air [carbon monoxide]' from the rooms that 'can chock people to death whilst asleep at night'.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, they have to check and kill snakes, especially zebra snakes, that often crawl into houses for warmth during winter months.<sup>43</sup> When the room is warm enough and any creepy snake eliminated, people close the windows and place old rags at the base of the door (to prevent snakes from coming into the room). They then get into their springy metallic beds covered with mattress and blankets to catch sleep before the cold returns into the room a few hours later.<sup>44</sup> During the rainy season between November and March, most roofs leak and people spend time blocking the holes with silicon, tar, a piece of fabric or chewing gum.

The kraal for goats, sheep and calves, is located within the courtyard whilst that of cattle and donkeys is built outside the courtyard. The kraals are made of about two meter high mopane wood poles reinforced with a wire to keep away predators. The wealthier the household, the more elaborate, high and strong the kraal is. The size of the kraal enclosure depends on the size of the herd which also depends on the socioeconomic status of households as I discuss later in Chapter 7. However, as mentioned earlier, it is also common to find people of different households sharing a kraal. Hence, a household can have a bigger kraal that accommodates a larger herd but part of the herd belongs to other households or people living in the cities.

In the rural areas of #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy, open defecation in the bush is common (more than half of the households use bushes as toilets). To the locals, the danger with this practice is not the hygiene associated with open defecation, but with the risk of being

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<sup>42</sup> Remark from a male respondent in #Khoadi ||Hôas on 22.05.2015.

<sup>43</sup> Nearly every winter night, I killed a snake in my room. On some nights I missed seeing a snake that ended up spending nights with me in the room only to see them at daytime as they crawl outside the room as it warmed up.

<sup>44</sup> Some people sew their own blankets from pieces of clothes.

attacked by elephants, especially in the night. A few years ago, 'Namibian Red Cross Society constructed communal pit latrines in selected farms/villages' accounting for less than 30% of households ( $n=81$ ).<sup>45</sup> Only less than 10% of the households ( $n=81$ ) have and use their own pit latrines, whilst less than 14% of the households ( $n=81$ ) have and use flush toilets (this is more common in Erwee and Anker settlement than in rural villages). By and large, physical infrastructure and assets tend to be part of the salient features determining socioeconomic categories in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy. These settlement pattern and associated characteristics is widespread in the entire Kunene south or former Damaraland.

### *Socioeconomic activities*

Although a combination of various livelihood strategies makes life possible in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy, the dominant economic activity in the area is semi-sedentary pastoralism. People keep large livestock (cattle, donkeys and horses) and small stock (goats and sheep). Cattle graze communally in the commonage, usually in the night without a herder, and habitually return to the water point in the early hours of the afternoons to drink water. The drier it gets the further away from the villages the cattle graze. This does not only present challenges in managing costs for providing water as the cattle drink from any nearby water point; but it also exposes the cattle to depredation by wild predator animals. Small stock are herded in the commonage near the villages. Herders are often accompanied by dogs to enhance protection against predators, especially jackals and cheetahs. Donkeys, horses and mules also graze near villages because they may be urgently needed for transportation. To ensure that horses, donkeys and mules do not graze far from the villages, people identify those that control movement of the herd and tie their front limbs with a rope so that they can only move with difficulties and within a short distance.

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<sup>45</sup> I was told this by members of the communities but I was not able to confirm it with the Namibian Red Cross Society.



*Picture 4: Photo of people travelling on a donkey cart pulled by mules*

In the absence of a recent livestock census, I rely on data from my household survey to give a prelude to the extent of livestock keeping in the area, though I return to discuss the details of this topic in Chapter 7.<sup>46</sup> Data from household survey show that 86.8% ( $n=81$ ) of the households, had livestock. Cattle, goats and sheep are respectively prioritized in economic value and considered a store of household wealth. This is because: a) They provide food (milk and occasional meat); b) The livestock can be sold in the livestock markets to meet pressing households' needs for money and; c) Cattle, goats and sheep have cultural value when contributed for slaughter during funerals, weddings and other ceremonies. Donkeys, mules and horses are important in households' livelihoods because they are used as means of transport, thus supporting household economic and other daily activities. Mules are preferred

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<sup>46</sup> The most recent livestock census data available at the local agriculture office in Erwee was done in 2009. Data from this census shows that there were 509 households, which were active in livestock farming in all the 40 villages within #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy, accounting for more than three quarters of the possible number of the households in the area then. The data shows that cattle keeping dominated the other livestock as an economic activity for most households in the area. It estimated that there were 13,080 heads of cattle (or 26 per household), 24,943 goats (49 per household), 7,976 sheep (16 per household), 490 horses (1 per household), 1,664 donkeys (3 per household) and 56 mules (almost none in every household). I expect the data to have changed within the five years leading to my fieldwork considering that there were good rains in 2011 and drought in subsequent years. Therefore, I find that the data may not give a closer estimation of the situation. In addition, the data from the agriculture office is gathered through the records of the livestock each farmer gives for their tagged animal. Though it is a regulatory requirement that each farmer should register and tag their livestock, not every farmer in #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy tags all their livestock. This further casts more doubts on the accuracy of the data on livestock numbers provided by the agriculture office.



to donkeys and horses 'because they combine both the speed of the horse and the strength of the donkey'.<sup>47</sup> It is thus common to find people who breed mules in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy.

Going by the mean measurement, each household owns 20 heads of cattle, 27 goats, 9 sheep, 3 donkeys/mules and at least a horse. However, percentile distribution of the livestock illuminates the existing inequalities that are obscured by the means as I discuss in Chapter 7. In general, the distribution of most valued livestock asset is significantly unequal throughout the area, hence there is a likelihood that livelihood shocks to pastoralism affect households in unequal manner with implication on justice concerns (see Chapter 7 and Chapter 11).

As mentioned earlier, people combine pastoralism with a variety of livelihood strategies in order to survive, especially to provide food (Greiner 2011, 2012; Schnegg 2016a, 2016b). These strategies include relying on state grants, remittances, offering casual labour, petty businesses and state drought relief food. Other than diversifying livelihoods sources and strategies, sharing and migration are common social practices through which people reduce vulnerabilities to livelihoods. People share a wide range of things, but mostly, food. Rarely do people share money because they consider it too private. Nevertheless, even with these elaborate survival strategies in this hardship area, many households in †Khoadi †Hôas still live a precarious life characterised with frequent hunger and inadequate supplies of basic needs. It is noticeable that though †Khoadi †Hôas is a conservation area and tourist destination, except for the few employed in the conservancy and its lodges, people are hardly involved in livelihood activities that are directly related to conservation or tourism. Veld food is hardly collected or seen as a regular source of household food or money to buy diesel for pumping water. The local people do not even invest their time and skills in tourism related activities, for example, crafts or cultural dances.<sup>48</sup> In fact, by December 2015, Grootberg Lodge organised tours for their guests in the nearby Himba village located in the neighbouring Ehirovipuka conservancy just across the veterinary cordon fence (locally known as *red line*) to the north.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Remarks from a male respondent on 22.05.2015.

<sup>48</sup> The exception here are the occasional dances and songs at the Hoada Campsite by a church choir from Erwee to entertain guests who may appreciate its members with tips in form of cash between N\$ 10 – N\$100 or sweets. The choir conducts these dances and songs whenever it is fundraising for an event or to buy choir instruments or uniform.

<sup>49</sup> I have learnt after my fieldwork that the tours to the Himba village were stopped in 2016. The reasons are not clear but some sources say that it was a reaction to the Himba who drove their cattle into the conservancy during drought in 2015. It has since been replaced by a tour to Damara homes, in order to learn about the *Damara culture*.

### *Common food in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy*

The most common food eaten in most rural households is maize meal called *pap* or porridge with sour milk or meat. *Pap* is made of boiling water and maize flour. To make *Pap*, one has to boil water in a sizeable pot depending on the number of people to be served and how hungry they are. Some salt is thrown into the water to bring up the taste. Maize flour is added to the boiling water, whilst stirring to form a thick sticky paste that is then allowed to simmer on low heat whilst the relish (usually meat) is getting ready on the side. However, in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy, *pap* is usually eaten with sour cow milk. To make sour milk, fresh milk from the cow is left to ferment in a closed container inside the house for about three to four days. Each day, an adult or youth member of the household opens the container and stirs the fermenting milk with a stick to let out gases. When available, sugar is added to sour milk in order to sweeten it up.

Rarely do people slaughter livestock for household consumption, but when it happens, it's usually but not always, related to other reasons such as: if the livestock was sick or injured; to get meat for a celebration, ceremonies; or to send meat to relatives living in the cities. Generally, sugar, maize flour and milk are essential food items in households of #Khoadi ||Hôas. Other foods are also eaten especially after an inflow of money or when relatives working and living in cities or towns visit the villages. Climatic and soil conditions are not favourable for crop production, though a few people have small gardens behind their houses. Consequently, vegetable consumption in households is rare in the area. It is noteworthy that other than milk, all other essential food items (sugar and maize meal) are purchased by households. In an area where cash incomes are constrained, households in #Khoadi ||Hôas can generally be described as food insecure, especially during drought when milk production for the lactating cows 'dry out'. People hardly have more than two meals in a day and usually it is almost the same food (milk and *pap*) throughout the week. Food scarcity is even evident with the dogs that eat, *pap* mixed with water for not more than two days in a week. One can easily tell the dogs' undernourishment from their physical appearance, especially on their ribs that vehemently show underneath their skins.

## Chapter 4

### Research methods

#### *Selecting †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy as the research site*

To select a conservancy to study, I considered three pragmatic factors. One, proximity to Fransfontein area, where I would continue with data collection for phase two of the LINGS project. Therefore, I gave preference to a conservancy that was close enough to the area in order to allow me to travel with ease and reasonable use of resources, including time, between the two locations. In addition, the proximity to Fransfontein area would also be important in comparing data collected and published from Fransfontein research area (Schneegg 2016a, 2016b; Schneegg et al. 2016; Schneegg and Linke 2015, 2016), with the new data from the conservancy. I therefore paid attention to similarities of cultural and ethnic background. Two, the conservancy should have been in operation for a longer period of time in order to provide significant data to assess the consequence and outcome to communities in the area. This means that the older the conservancy, the more likely it was for me to select it for the study. Three, the conservancy should be in operation during fieldwork and accessible for a study. This would offer me the opportunity to observe and study the different practices of community conservation and how pastoral communities experienced its consequences and outcomes. Therefore, I considered the presence of an active conservancy management committee that provided overall governance; if the conservancy organised meetings which, in CBNRM's assumption and expectation, are spaces for community participation and where decisions are negotiated, made and contested; the presence of a conservancy staff that implements its decisions; and the presence of active enterprises that generate income for the conservancy, hence influencing benefits distribution.

In May 2014, I searched on the online inventory provided by NACSO on communal conservancies near Fransfontein.<sup>50</sup> I developed a list of six conservancies from which I could possibly select a case. They included †Huab, Uibasen Twyfelfontein, Doro †Nawas, Anabeb, Torra and †Khoadi †Hôas conservancies. From the reports prepared by NACSO, †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy presented an interesting case. First, it was one of the oldest conservancies in Namibia having been registered in 1998. Second, the conservancy had an operational

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<sup>50</sup> The Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organisations (NACSO) is an association comprising eight Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and the University of Namibia. The purpose of NACSO is to provide services to rural communities seeking to manage and utilise their natural resources in a sustainable manner. See <http://www.nacso.org.na/conservancies> last accessed 29.10.2017.

management committee and a secretariat of employees that implemented the decisions made by the management committee and the members. Third, the conservancy was presented in conservation NGOs' reports as a success story and model for CBNRM in Namibia. For example, #Khoadi ǀHôas was famous for being the first communal conservancy to construct a hundred percent community-owned tourist lodge – Grootberg Lodge (Lapeyre 2011). Furthermore, the conservancy had become a stable player in Namibia's trophy hunting industry since the year 1999 (Nuding 2002; Roe et al. 2001). NACSO reported severally that these enterprises were generating cash income for the local community and creating employment for the local people (See also Lapeyre 2011). In 2010, Grootberg Lodge was awarded a Community Benefit Award at the prestigious World Travel and Tourism Council's 'Tourism for Tomorrow'.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, #Khoadi ǀHôas was a pioneer conservancy in implementing an integrated programme for wildlife conservation, pastoralism and water management through the construction of elephant proof dams.<sup>52</sup> The conservancy is predominantly inhabited by Damara people, speaking Khoekhoegowab language and with similar historical and cultural background as well as biophysical conditions as communities around Fransfontein.

I developed an interest to be part of the communities in #Khoadi ǀHôas in order to assess how these achievements and cash incomes from community conservation efforts, that populated much of CBNRM's public discourse, were experienced by local communities and constituted local discourse. I got interested in understanding consequences and outcomes of integrating wildlife conservation, pastoralism and water management.<sup>53</sup> In sum, although #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy is some 100km away from Fransfontein area and in spite of the fact that the culture of communities living there is largely the same as those in Fransfontein area, my choice for the conservancy as a case was, by and large, influenced by its representation as a CBNRM success story in popular or public discourse. The next step was to make contact with the conservancy officials and other gate keepers as well as grandeurs of the field so that they could permit me to work with communities living in #Khoadi ǀHôas area.

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<sup>51</sup> See for example <https://grootberg.com/conservancy/> last accessed on 29.10.2017.

<sup>52</sup> See for example (NACSO 2015).

<sup>53</sup> See for example, note 52 and the representation of the achievement of the conservancy in integrating conservation, pastoralism and water management in #Khoadi ǀHôas at <http://www.nacso.org.na> last accessed on 29.10.2017. The conservancy was part of the project implemented by Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) and funded by USAID to construct elephant proof dams in order to minimise damages caused by elephants in the area.

### *Passing through the gatekeepers and grandeurs of the field*

I travelled to Namibia from Hamburg in August 2014 and organised a visit to the field in the second week of the month. I was joined by my colleague, Theresa Linke, whose primary role was to introduce me to communities of Fransfontein area with whom she had worked during phase one of the LINGS project—the work whose phase two I would continue with. In Fransfontein, we were received by Melitta Ortner and Eddison Oaseb, who had been Linke's research assistants in 2011. We spent one week in Fransfontein visiting households in the three communities –Grootvlakte, Kleinrivier and Brakwater where Linke had conducted her research (Linke 2017).

As DeWalt (2015:266) persuades, securing the support of gatekeepers of the field is a necessary initiation process of the fieldworker. Gatekeepers, according to her, are 'local leaders and organisations who represent, or claim to represent the community to be studied or who have access to the setting in which the research will take place' (DeWalt 2015:265).<sup>54</sup> For #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy, the most obvious gatekeeper, with conspicuous grandeur, was the conservancy officials including the manager and the chairperson. I used networks that they would trust and respect (Kawulich 2011), to access them for the first time. Accordingly, I met Jorries Seibeb, a resident of Fransfontein who my primary supervisor had introduced me to. Jorries was a senior teacher in Fransfontein and was one of the founding officials of ǀHuab conservancy. As a result, he was known amongst many conservancies in Kunene south, including #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy.<sup>55</sup> In addition, because the population of Kunene south is low, people of the same community tend to know each other through extended relationships like marriage, kinship and associated migration (Berzborn and Schnegg 2007; Greiner 2010; Pauli 2013). Jorries made appointments with the manager of #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy. In August 2014, he accompanied me to the conservancy for initial familiarisation exercise.

We had a meeting with three senior staff –two women and one man. The conservancy manager, gave a general introduction and background of the conservancy, including its history, the size and settlement patterns in the area. She proudly talked of the diversity of wildlife; the tourism and trophy hunting industry; and recollected with pride on the awards they had received as a conservancy and individual staff. From her introductory remarks, I could discern the experience that she had acquired whilst working for the conservancy since its formation,

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<sup>54</sup> See Broadhead and Rist (1976) and Crowhurst and Kennedy-Macfoy (2013) for more details on the roles of gatekeepers in field.

<sup>55</sup> Most of the officials for communal conservancies in Kunene south were or are still local elites employed by the government. Majority of them are teachers and thus have prior knowledge of one another under the caucus of their teaching profession. It was thus little wonder that Jorries would be familiar with the officials of #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy whose chairperson and vice chairperson were senior teachers in Anker and Erwee respectively.

and thus would be an important informant for my research. I could also tell the many guests and researchers the conservancy had hosted by looking at the many pictures that decorated the inner wall of the office and the brief captions beneath them. My presence as a researcher obviously would not be new to the conservancy staff as the conservancy manager remarked:

Our conservancy is visited by many researchers and students like you. So we welcome you. I am happy that you want to live with our people so that you can see the way things are and document what our people say [about the conservancy]. We will be happy to get your results so that we can see where to improve our operations.<sup>56</sup>

The presence of the chairman of the conservancy was important especially in granting me the permission to conduct research in the conservancy and to consult the conservancy staff and records. But this did not come easy, as he interrogated my intentions and how my research would benefit the conservancy. The presence of Jorries Seibeb, as a local face, was very instrumental in navigating through the gatekeeping. They knew him as a respected teacher and one of the founders of ||Huab conservancy. His explanation of my intention as a doctoral student and requisite support I needed from them, amplified my efforts and eventually gaining acceptance from the conservancy officials.

In September 2014, we visited the chief of the |Gaiodaman Traditional Authority in his residence, in whose traditional area the conservancy is located. I was accompanied by my research assistant. We were welcomed by the TA chief and council and permitted to stay and work in the area. Later that evening, the chief made a phone call to the local radio station to announce of my presence in the area and inform communities that he welcomed me. I was significantly certain that I had successfully passed through the gatekeepers of the #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy and their grandeurs, because I had the permission from both the conservancy officials and the chief of the traditional authority responsible for the area.

### *Language course – Learning basic Afrikaans*

I needed to learn a language spoken by the communities in order to enhance my participation in their everyday life. People in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy and Fransfontein area are predominantly Khoekhoegowab speakers. In addition, because of the long active presence of colonial administration in the area and the contact of the Damara people with Afrikaaner farmers, mostly as commercial farm workers, a significant number of elderly people in the area speak Afrikaans (Fourie 1995). Children also learn Afrikaans language in school. Therefore, Afrikaans could be considered as the lingua franca in the area. I heard difficulties learning Khoekhoegowab within a short time because of its complex orthography. Therefore, I decided to learn Afrikaans, with the help of a private tutor, in Windhoek, after my introductory visit to

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<sup>56</sup> Remarks by Hilga |Gawises on 15.08.2014 at Grootberg.

the field in August. I took the language course for two months (September and October). Since I had a work station at the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC), I used that opportunity to practise my basic Afrikaans with some of the staff of the organisation. Meanwhile, I prepared for a pre-field visit so as to acquaint myself with the communities living in #Khoadi ǀHôas and identify the village where I would stay for my ethnographic fieldwork.

### *Selecting villages*

At the end October 2014, I went back to #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy to begin my fieldwork. I had three objectives during this visit. First, I wanted to get a geographical orientation of the area, know the distances between villages, meet the communities and begin building some rapport with them. Second, I wanted to identify and select the villages that I would work in, get a general characteristic of those villages in terms of how populous they were, the resources that were available and the presence of water management committees. A third objective was to identify which village I would stay in and begin contact with a willing host family.

I was accompanied by my research assistant, Melitta, to #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy. We camped at Grootberg, next to the conservancy office. Every morning we woke up from our tents, prepared our breakfast and joined the rest of the conservancy staff in their early morning meetings. The meetings started with a Christian song and a prayer said by a staff member. I spent the first week reading through conservancy reports and interviewing conservancy staff on the operation of the conservancy, its history and how it was administratively organised. The conservancy assigned one of its environmental shepherds to show us the villages and introduce us to communities. We spent 5 days visiting all the 44 villages in the area. In every village, we met with a village headman or headwoman or in their absence, adults and a few people who were present, including women and their children. We did not find people in some villages whilst in five villages there were less than five households. Our meetings lasted between thirty minutes and an hour depending on the curiosity and excitement with which the communities sought to know our objective and the depth of our explanation in response to their questions.

I used these pioneer visits to find out some basic information about the villages that would help me in selecting them for in-depth ethnographic fieldwork. I sought to know the size of the village in terms of: number of households, if the village had its own active water point, the number of active water points in the village, if they usually shared water points with other communities, the kind of water pump installed at the boreholes, the presence of an active water point committee and so on and so forth. When we arrived in Neuland village, we met Alfred !Urikob and his sister, Rosina !Urikos. Whilst we conversed with them, Melitta realised that she was a relative to Alfred and Rosina. So we spent more time in Neuland talking to people and taking coffee offered to us by Alfred's wife. Alfred and the wife spoke English and we could

understand each other, though with some difficulty. Upon my request, Alfred welcomed me to stay with him in his hut that had three rooms.<sup>57</sup>

In addition to the opportunity to be hosted by Alfred in his house, Neuland village had its own water point and a water point committee. The water point committee had three of its members staying in the village. Alfred, one of the committee members, was responsible for pumping the water and taking general care of the water pump having been trained by government officials in 2010. I therefore decided to make Neuland village the geographical fulcrum of my fieldwork. For easy mobility during data collection, I purposively selected villages near Neuland for ethnographic work. In sum, I selected a total of nine villages with no intention of comparing their dynamics. All the villages are located within a five-kilometre radius from Neuland with a great deal of kin relations and social interactions.

### *Experiencing the field through participant observation*

I wanted to experience the field by taking part in people's daily activities, interactions and events in #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy and to understand how they shaped and were shaped by wildlife conservation and water management. I employed participant observation, a salient and distinguishing anthropological method, in order to learn the explicit and tacit aspects of communities' life routines (DeWalt 2015; DeWalt and DeWalt 2010). Consequently, I lived in Neuland village from November 2014 to December 2015, with breaks in between to do data entry and literature review in Khorixas town, as well as to undertake data collection for LINGS project in Frasnfotein area. With the help of my host, I approached Kevin Doeseb, a resident of Neuland village, who we had also met during our first visit to the area, to be my research assistant. Kevin went to school until grade 10 and had lived in Windhoek. He spoke English well, excellent Khoekhoegowab and Afrikaans as well as some Otjiherero. He agreed to work with and support me, showing me around, interpreting and translating interviews, discussions or general conversations. He was very familiar with the villages and residents of the conservancy. In addition, Kevin was a keen follower of the activities of the conservancy and would also be an informant and adviser to me on upcoming conservancy events. Furthermore, he liked to debate on local, national and international politics. Thus, he was not only supportive

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<sup>57</sup> Alfred's wife and children often lived in his other house in Anker so that the children could attend school. There are only two primary schools in the area located in the two semi-urban settlements of Anker and Erwee. Children stay with their parents or relatives in these settlements so that they can attend school. As a result, some people had two houses, one in the village usually referred to as 'the farm' and the other in these two settlements. When schools are closed in April, August and December (locally known as school vacation), children and their guardians return to the farm. During these school vacations, Alfred's children slept (at night) on a mattress on the floor of the sitting room. This is a common and normal practice amongst the Damara in #Khoadi ǀHôas and therefore by occupying one of the rooms in Alfred's house, I did not unfairly deny the children their comfort because of my position.



in knowing the field and interpreting communications, but his companionship was also enjoyable through his seamless political debates which sometimes included criticism of local practices of managing land, water and wildlife.

Although my observation and engagement with the field was concentrated on Neuland and surrounding villages, I followed activities in other villages and areas within the conservancy as well. I would follow an activity or a phenomenon to a village and return in the evening to Neuland. However, in instances where I needed to stay for more days in that village or place, we would pitch up our two tents for short stays. This blended well with local practices, as it was common that during funerals or weddings or December holidays, people from other areas and the cities would pitch up tents in home compounds to sleep during the nights for the entire period of their holidays.

Participating in the daily life of people in Neuland helped me to create a good rapport with members of the community. As I continued to live in the village, people began to see me as a part of the community rather than a stranger. In the beginning, when I was a stranger, we would join a group of people probably in the village or in front of shops in Erwee or Anker and they would pause their conversations and look at me so inquisitively. Kevin always advised me on what to do when I met people and how to behave in an appropriate manner. I learnt some Khoekhoegowab words and basic sentences especially those expressing courtesy and jokes. In the process of learning, I made mistakes especially with the clicks. Sometimes it was the mistakes I made whilst trying the language or learning a few steps of *koordans*<sup>58</sup> in a Pentecostal church or enduring eating donkey meat that formed a significant part of icebreaking. The more I practised the few sentences that I had learnt, the more people in the area opened up to me and started associating with me closely. People already knew that I enjoyed eating *pap* with different spicy stews, but when they saw me struggling with donkey meat on an occasion in Anker, they made fun of me and the fun worked, alongside other factors, to break down local-exotic boundaries with which I began fieldwork.

Soon, people would begin to invite me for a drink at the shop, coffee in their houses or just to welcome me to sit and join a chit chat. They asked me about the similarities of life in my village in western Kenya and theirs. We compared kinds of food, climate, language, ceremonial practices, politics, vegetation and so on. The list cannot be exhausted in a thesis. I soon realised that people were becoming more accommodating to me when I shared stories, about life in the village I grew up in, that they found to be similar with theirs in some instances. They would

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<sup>58</sup> *Koordans* is a style of dance common in Pentecostal churches in Namibia, especially in areas where Damara, Nama, Rehoboth Basters and the Cape Coloureds people are the majority. During the music, mostly accompanied by piano, guitar and drums; people dance in a line following the leader's steps and moves. The moves are more pronounced on the legs. Everybody can join the dance at any time of the music. I was informed by one Pentecostal pastor, with a church in Erwee but who lived in the coastal town of Swakopmund that the dance originated from Eastern Cape, in South Africa.

sometime be sarcastic at some aspects and begin to describe how their practices were different or similar to what I told them. Gradually, people got used to me. They were no longer mesmerised at the entry of the project car into the village. Even my host's dogs were no more barking and furiously charging at me. I was not a stranger anymore.

Consequently, people soon began to share their life stories and even shared their challenges some of which became relevant data for my work. Those who could speak some English visited me at home some times to ask for: food (especially to borrow sugar or maize meal); tools (hammer and hacksaw) and ask for a lift to places I would be driving to. I often shared what I could, not as a way of giving back to communities, but because it was part of the social life in †Khoadi †Hôas and the one that I am used to when in my own village in western Kenya. Being part of the sharing culture further helped to break down the barriers between communities and myself (DeWalt 2015:268). When coming from a town, I would buy sugar, maize meal, tea and pasta for my host. Sometimes, my host's neighbouring relatives would come to borrow a cup of sugar, maize flour or sometimes cooking oil. I also contributed diesel to run water pump whenever it was our household's turn. I never gave out money as a form of exchange except where I was paying for a service. Generally, direct sharing of money is rare amongst communities of Kunene south as money is already considered too private and scarce (Schneegg 2015). Whenever I was approached for money, it was because of the need to make contribution towards funerals and other social events. I would also ask for support whenever necessary. For example, pushing the car when the battery was low, asking for wood to make fire when I arrived at the village late and asking for goat milk to make coffee. People also voluntarily shared with me whatever they could. For example, I accepted sour milk from households who offered it to me. At the shopping centre, I shared drinks with my assistants and my friends who I found at the shops. Participating in the practice of sharing offered me the experience of one of the strategies of coping with limited livelihood resources or opportunities in †Khoadi †Hôas.

I participated in events that brought people together as a community, including contributing money, groceries and attending ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, baptism parties, birthdays parties and church confirmation ceremonies. The details of these ceremonies would provide rich data for understanding preferences and dynamics in allocating household resources including kin networks. In addition, my active involvement in these important events showed my respect, concern and interests for local needs, thereby enhancing my rapport with the communities (DeWalt 2015:266-67). I was often asked to take photos using my camera, although I felt a financial burden later when many people wanted me to print photos for the different households. At some time, I had a light conflict with a lady who was unhappy that I did not print her photos from a wedding yet I had done so for my host's family.

Nevertheless, such conflicts and their resolutions were part of the initiation into different stages of going local to understand everyday life in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy.

Experiencing everyday life of communities was significant in developing a deeper understanding of the link between water management practices, community conservation, livelihood vulnerabilities and resilience. A normal summer day, for me, began at six o'clock in the morning, though the sun would have risen by then. I was usually woken up by the screeching noise produced when Alfred –my host –forcefully opened the metallic door of our house. Our first chore of the day would be to inspect the kraals to see whether or not the livestock were attacked in the night by predator wild animals. As Alfred guided me, we looked into the kraal for small stock and identified goats and sheep with their unique detailed marks. When he was satisfied that all the goats and sheep were safe, we would walk around the kraal looking for any tracks of a predator that might have moved closer. In the process, Alfred taught me how to identify the tracks so that I could do the inspection in his absence. Unfortunately, I always felt insufficiently qualified to distinguish between the tracks of predators from those of dogs that would maraud the courtyard at night.

When done with the inspection of the kraal, we went to the water point to check if everything was in order, identify any damage on or leakages from water pipes. We also looked into the concrete dam to see if the water level was the same as the previous evening. This would help us to know whether or not elephants came to the water point to drink water. If we realised that elephants had come to the water point, we would walk around the water point looking for and counting their tracks so as to determine how many they might have been. We would then identify the damages, which was, in most cases, the amount of water consumed. After inspecting the water point, we would return to the house, get mugs or jugs with which we would milk goats to get the milk for our morning coffee. Meanwhile, Alfred's wife, if present in 'the farm', cleaned the courtyard using a rake and broom. The goats and sheep were then released from their kraals and driven to the field by herder accompanied by dogs to enhance protection against predator wild animals.

As the cattle returned from the grazing field mid-morning, I accompanied Alfred's nephews to milk lactating cows for household milk supply. Meanwhile, Alfred inspected the cattle herd in order to check if all the cattle returned home. In case there was any part of the herd missing, we would leave on a donkey cart for a search in the fields and other water points within the conservancy. The worry was always more to lose cattle to large predators like lions, hyenas or leopards than to livestock thieves. In early afternoons, we opened the taps to fill the livestock watering troughs with water so that the cattle could drink. When the cattle left for the field, in the afternoon, we gathered under a shade in front of the house for the day's main meal –pap and sour milk –prepared by Alfred's wife. We spent most of our afternoons chitchatting,

playing games whilst reflecting on the day's events. The challenges of collecting diesel, for pumping water, from households; predators attacking and killing livestock; damages caused by elephants at the water point; and lack of rain, were usually the major topics of our chit chats. We would discuss, for example, why Alfred did not want to report to the conservancy that elephants had come to the water point in the night and drunk water. In late afternoon, goats and sheep would be brought into their kraals and locked for safety after an inspection to check if all of them returned from the fields. As the sun set, we moved to the fireplace for a possible meal or tea and continued with our conversations as we listened to the evening news and announcements from the radio that hung over our heads on a pole in the shade that protected the fire place. Soon, we would retire to bed and look forward to another day whose rhythm oscillated around livestock husbandry, maintenance of water supply, conflicts with elephants and predators as well as household chores. Normal winter days, although were shorter, followed similar routine.

Being part of this daily struggle to maintain water supply, keep safe from wild animals whilst eking out a living in #Khoadi Hôas conservancy, brought out a more immediate and detailed understanding of situations that are often glossed over in NGO reports on CBNRM. For example, I was able to experience first-hand incidences where people had encounters with the consequences of depredation and damages by elephants. I was able to compare the feelings with which people discussed fresh incidences and those of the past situations. People's daily experiences and responses that framed the local discourse about community conservation was part of my everyday real life test. I witnessed people losing their livestock to predators. Not only did I observe the loss that pastoralists suffered as a result of depredation, but I also experienced their feelings of disappointment, anger and will to revenge which formed part of their criteria for framing justice. Indeed, the challenge of depredation to people living with wildlife became closer and clearer to me when I experienced it in the field on repeated occasions than when only read about it in reported facts and figures.

In addition, having observed and experienced how access to water was constrained by limited household incomes, I could feel the difficulties that elephants caused these struggling communities by drinking large amounts of water from the communal water points as well as when they caused other damages. I witnessed elephants coming to our village and drinking much of the water in the dam on repeated occasions. I was engaged in the desperate practices undertaken by communities to reduce the damages, such as sounding metallic containers and lighting fires to ward off elephants. When our efforts yielded no success, I felt pity on ourselves, helpless and occasionally ended up joining the prosaic struggle for just claims. When the loss was too much to witness, I too blamed elephant conservation for the damages, just like other members of the communities. Things were no longer theirs, but ours. I experienced how difficult it was to get compensation from the conservancy because the conservancy did not have

enough money to provide diesel to all affected villages. I bought airtime for a farmer's cell phone so that he could call the conservancy office because he did not have money to buy airtime. After unsuccessful phone calls, the farmer would lament and blame the conservancy for not being responsible for the loss that the elephants caused the pastoralists. This way, a discussion on unfair relations between conservation and pastoralism would emerge, thus providing important ethnographic detail that forms part of this work. The elephants did not just pose challenges at water points. I observed and experienced a constant fear that people in #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy had of the elephants. I was scared to walk around in the evenings. The fear was widespread amongst communities living in the conservancy. It formed part of everyday talk that one cannot fathom the depth of its reality except by experiencing it first-hand. The rift between conservation and pastoralism became bare to me, affecting me in similar but obviously not equal terms as the communities.

Challenges of sustaining water availability was not only with the elephants' damages, but also with payments for diesel by households. I observed how households organised themselves to share costs related to the supply of water and associated myriad of challenges. A key challenge was irregular contribution to the cost of diesel as well as raising money to repair broken infrastructure. All these made water management institutions change to a given direction, further influencing discussions about fairness. I also got to witness two conflicts over water management, both of which were shaped by people's quest for fair or just actions. But equally important was to have an experience of how financially better off people withdrew from sharing water costs by buying plastic tanks to store water that they could privately use during periods when there was no water. For example, after elephants drank all the water from communal water dam or when there was no diesel to pump water for the community. Such times, they would use water from their private plastic tank for domestic use but also for their livestock for a few weeks.

Experiencing the field also granted communities and informants or respondents a unique opportunity to validate or justify the information that they shared with me. Every time I was part of a phenomenon or incidence, some members of the communities would tell me: 'you can now see that we were telling you the truth'. To them, the very fact that what they had previously told me about was happening in my presence and view, was a validation that they were right and I had to believe their story. In many instances when I interviewed people about challenges facing their livelihoods, some people would remind me that I had witnessed for myself some of their difficulties with life, namely: cattle dying from drought; predators attacking and eating their livestock; the enclosure of the area to control the outbreak of foot and mouth disease from May to October, 2015; the many incidences of elephants coming to drink water from community dam; conservancy meetings marred with sharp division over budget allocation; broken water pumps that took too long to repair and how, as a result of that,

livestock moved to other villages to drink water; and my fear to walk around in the evening because of the risk of bumping into a herd of elephants.

Participating in everyday life also made me to identify relevant topics that I hadn't thought of at the beginning of my research. For example, my decision to follow up people's perception and involvement in illegal hunting in the area was necessitated by my encounter with a man who I saw carrying a dead jackal one evening in the area. In my subsequent interview with him, he confided in me that he hunted and killed the jackal using dogs and made a dinner out of the meat. From my interview with him, I began suspecting that hunting of game by locals could be possible but hidden because it was illegal. As I would learn later in my inquiry, hunting by locals or failure to report illegal hunting is one of the ways of expressing dissatisfaction with unjust distribution of benefits and costs of community conservation. Thus, by experiencing the natural field, new topics and issues emerged that made me to constantly reflect on my research questions and eventually redefining them (DeWalt 2015:260-61).

I also participated in different meetings organised by the conservancy and two water point committees. For the part of the conservancy, I participated in a total of seven meetings all addressing different agenda including the annual general meeting of 2015. Participating in the meetings gave me the opportunity to gather data on how the community was involved in political decision making processes of the conservancy. It is in one of these meetings that I witnessed a heated discussion where some of the community members, especially middle-aged and elderly pastoralists, contested the manner in which destruction by elephants were unfairly compensated for by the conservancy or government. The meetings were, for me, a source of data to analyse power dynamics at play during decision making, starting from: who attended the meetings? Who spoke in the meetings? What things were contested and how were resolutions arrived at? The meetings, in addition, provided data to analyse how equity and fairness were framed, negotiated and contested. For example, in two meetings, one of which was called to launch a film on translocating wildlife from national parks to conservancies, the CBNRM was presented by the conservancy officials, NGOs and government officers as a successful programme that has ensured equity in balancing off the control over wildlife, between the white and the black Namibians. Similar discourse dominated speeches in a meeting at Grootberg Lodge that was meant for celebrating its 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Water point committee meetings were rarely conducted as most of the committees were dysfunctional. However, ad hoc meetings were called in two villages. Participating in these meetings helped me to understand the challenges that water point committees faced in enforcing compliance with the institutional arrangement approved by the government. For example, I observed that some of the cattle owners were away in the cities and were represented by their workers who could not make any decision on their behalf during meetings. At the same time, throughout my stay in #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy, I was able to observe the absence of government

department in the management of water, something that was later on, in an interview with a government official, associated with inadequate capacity at the Directorate of Water Supply and Sanitation Coordination (DWSSC).<sup>59</sup>

Observing livelihood practices brought a closer understanding of some of the livelihood challenges and coping strategies that communities in #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy faced. I observed what people ate and the frequency of meals, which helped me to understand the food security situation in the area; how it informed allocation of household income, constituted socioeconomic categorisation (See Chapter 7), and how it was interwoven with the management of wildlife and water resources. I experienced how hard it was to get food that influenced the number of times people ate a day. My host usually had one meal a day, and that was breakfast. Her sister, who lived nearby within the village usually had more frequent meals because she had regular income from the government as a community health assistant. I took interest in participating in food preparation including fermenting milk in containers and the making of *biltong* –dried strips of meat in order to preserve them. We made *biltong* mostly at the height of drought, in October and November, when livestock died of starvation and other drought associated ailments.<sup>60</sup> Making *biltong* was aimed at preventing wastage. When I shared these experiences with the people, they opened up further to discuss with me the challenges of drought on livelihoods and food security and how they reduced the risks. Sometimes I could not endure the fact that children could hardly have two meals a day.

### Recording data from participant observation

I moved around with a small notebook in which I recorded quick notes describing a practice, incidence or phenomenon. During the evening or weekend, I would use the short notes from the notebook to compose field notes which were more detailed and descriptive. I avoided recording and taking notes in casual conversations because it would appear odd and make people uncomfortable, thus distorting the natural setting that I was interested in. In such situations, I took photos which later I used to elicit my memory of the conversation and rekindle my mental notes which I would put down as field notes by describing the situation and highlighting quotes that were relevant to my work. I made audio recording of meetings, where possible, which were finally translated and transcribed. It is important to admit that I

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<sup>59</sup> See Chapter 8 on the management of water.

<sup>60</sup> *Biltong* is a form of dried, cured meat that has its origin in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Meat, usually of beef or game, is cut into thin strips following the grain of the muscle or across the grain. The strips are then spiced and salted and left to dry. Whilst amongst most commercial farmers, *biltong* is prepared for market economy, amongst pastoral communities of #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy, *biltong* was prepared as a way of preventing wastage of meat during drought when many livestock died that could not be consumed by households all at once.

did not transcribe some conversations especially when I felt that they were not directly relevant to my research topic.

### My role and challenges in experiencing the field

Having been born and grown up in a rural area in Africa influenced the field to my advantage. I was familiar with a number of lifestyle attributes in #Khoadi ||Hôas, ranging from food, to taking a bath from a basin, to herding livestock and to living in a large household. This made assimilation to the field and interaction with people and daily lives easier for me. At the same time, it posed a weaknesses in that my familiarity with some aspects of daily lives of people could make me take them for granted and thus miss out on important information that could enrich my data upon closer interrogation. However, regular reflections on my daily field notes would usually help me to identify such gaps and consequently revisit such topics.

Living with communities also had its fair share of challenges to me. Just like other members of the community, I was involved in a few conflicts with some community members. These occurred, sometimes, when I didn't offer lifts to people because it would inconvenience my work. Whenever such occurred, people would blame me for being insensitive and mean, but my assistant would advise me to downplay the conflicts because such were normal in the community. Other conflicts emerged out of unfulfilled obligations. For example, one time I was invited for a church confirmation celebration for two sons of one of my respondents. Unfortunately, I was not able to attend and it was too late to convey a proper apology. The respondent who had expected me as an important guest was disappointed. She snubbed me for some time until we bought some gifts for the sons so as to make it up for her. This resolved the impasse and brought reconciliation.

Lastly, as part of the field, I was emotional about certain unfortunate situations that befell the communities. These included death of some of my close respondents. In other instances, I felt pity on a number households who could only afford one meal a day for themselves. I felt quite unhelpful to see children scraping a pot for flakes of *pap* as part of breakfast, but I could not help much because I had to retain my researcher position eventually.



### *Conducting semi-structured interviews*

Apart from participant observation, I conducted semi-structured interviews with expert and non-expert informants and respondents in order to collect specific data. Expert informants included conservancy management staff, NGO workers, government officers and consultants with expertise and experience in specific topics and issues on water and community conservation. By non-expert, I mean members of the communities who I interviewed on certain topics and based on their experiences and knowledge. Though the categorisation of respondents into expert and non-expert is normative, I make use of such existing distinction for convenience in comparing viewpoints on claims to justice in CBNRM. My interviews were semi-structured in that I did not develop or organise a full set of questions beforehand. Instead, I prepared guiding questions on topics that were relevant to a thematic area and expertise of the interviewee. In most cases, my interviews were scheduled through appointments either in person or on phone. Sometimes, however, we just walked into homes of pastoralists and asked if we could talk with them for an hour or so, especially those who I had developed good rapport with.

I made an audio recording of all the interviews except in a few cases where the interviewee did not grant consent to be recorded. Therefore, as an ethical practice, in all cases I sought for the voluntary consent of the interviewee before making audio recording. Respondents did not have to give me a reason for their refusal to be recorded. In addition, I assured the respondents that the audio recording of our interviews was only for my own use and for the purpose of the research.

In total, I conducted 70 semi-structured interviews, the details of which are in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Categories of people interviewed

<b>Category of informant/respondent</b>	<b>No. of persons interviewed</b>
Staff of NGOs working on CBNRM nationally and in #Khoadi ǀHôas	4
Government staff working on communal water governance	3
Government staff working on community conservation	3
CBNRM consultants	2
Officials of different water point committees	10
Employees of the conservancy and lodges	13
Farmers with profound knowledge on the historical development in #Khoadi ǀHôas	21
Gaiodaman Traditional Authority	3
Residents who had faced risky encounters with elephants	3
Farmers who lost livestock to predators	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>

I conducted the interviews in different settings depending on the interviewees' choice of the venue or convenience. Interviews with staff from NGOs, government departments and some conservancy staff were conducted in their respective offices, including in Windhoek, Khorixas, Grootberg Lodge and Hobatere Lodge, Erwee and Anker. These were usually scheduled through prior appointments. In some cases, I conducted short impromptu interviews, lasting about 30 minutes, especially if and when I met an interviewee during functions or meetings.

I conducted interviews with members of the community in their homes and sometimes at the shops. We identified persons to interview based on the recommendation from my assistant, people we had talked with, as well as my experiences whilst being in the field. Whilst it was possible to control the privacy of my interviews that were conducted in offices, especially with the NGOs and government employees, with members of the community, I found it difficult to sustain privacy. Levy and Hollan (2015:320) observe that this is a common challenge for social scientists conducting person-centred interviews in many communities. It was very common for family members, passers-by or visitors to join the interviews uninvited. Some joined because they wondered why I had just selected a few people for interviews. Others, especially when I was taking notes during interviews, came thinking that probably I was recruiting people for some financial support from government or charity organisations. For example, once I interviewed an elderly lady in a village, two men accosted us, accusing us of selecting only elderly women for government support and leaving out the rest of the community who were also facing food scarcity. My assistant, had to explain to them for about

half an hour the purpose of the work and that we did not represent or act on behalf of any government agency or a charity or development organisation. In some instances, my interviews were thought to be a mission to collect views that would be used by the conservancy or government to compensate losses due to depredation by wild animals. In instances where parsers-by invited themselves to the interviews, they soon left upon finding that the interviews were not in their interest. However, in some places, they joined in the conversation and contributed in giving responses. A major challenge that would occur with such interference is that the interviewee would rarely bring out personalised behaviours such as emotions but instead display the publicly approved conduct (Levy and Hollan 2015:320).

Most interviews were done in English and interpreted or translated into Afrikaans or Khoekhoegowab. Where the interpreter was not sure of the question or where I was not sure of the response, I was patient enough to repeat the question whilst making it simpler without distorting its meaning and objective. We recorded the interviews using an audio recorder. The interviews were later transcribed by an assistant whilst crosschecking the accuracy of the translation. Where the interviewee did not grant consent for the use of audio recorder, I took notes, paying particular attention to important highlights and responses. In situations where the interviewees could express themselves in English, no interpretation of the questions and responses was done. This was mostly the case with interviews with experts. It is worthwhile to admit that I did not transcribe all interviews, because of limited time. However, I digitally backed up all the audio interviews in my computer and external hard drives from where I listened to the interviews during data analysis and writing.

### *Focus group discussion and participatory exercise*

I conducted focus group discussions in nine villages. My intention was to limit participation of the group discussion to ten individuals and ensure that the representation was as inclusive as possible in terms of gender, age and ethnic group. I was advised against such decisions by my assistant, my host and some members of the community, because it would create tension between us and the communities. That is, those who would not be selected to participate would complain and accuse us of favouritism. I therefore invited all willing and interested adult residents of the villages to the meetings. To invite participants, we drove to the villages that I had selected for ethnographic work. We spoke to the village headman or one who was seen as the leader of the village and asked them to invite adult members of the village to our meeting on the date we agreed on. More than ten people attended the meetings in every village, except in villages where there were less than ten households. In all the villages, inclusion was achieved as the participants included men, women and minority communities wherever they were

present. Group discussions ran for six hours with lunch breaks. I developed a guideline with a set of questions under each topic which I used to guide discussions.

First, we asked participants to develop a village resource map on the ground using a rope and other locally available materials. To do this, we asked participants to collect sticks, stones and leaves that they would use to draw and describe a map of their village. They used the rope to establish the boundaries of the village on the ground. Then, they identified and marked key landmark features in their village including roads, rivers (dry river beds), meeting points, water points, grazing areas and multipurpose kraals. They used these landmark features as the orientation to locate households' main houses on the map and identified how many people usually lived in each of the households, excluding those in the cities and other places. They also identified whether the household head was a male or a female and whether or not they had livestock. We differentiated female-headed from male-headed households using cards of different colours. We asked them to identify and locate, within the map, the resources which were important for their survival in the village. Usually, active water points, grazing area, trees, multipurpose kraals and shops were identified as key resources. I finally took a picture of the finished map and made a sketch of it on a plain sheet of paper.

Secondly, we undertook an analysis of livelihood strategies in the villages. Here, we generated a free list of livelihood strategies that sustained life in each of the villages. The list ranged from livestock keeping, pension grants, petty trade, crafts, employment, offering labour, offering unsolicited support in exchange for food and little money (locally known as *zula*), remittances and gardening. Thereafter, we discussed these activities along the lines of how they affect or are affected by water management and conservation. We then asked the group to identify, through free listing, some of the opportunities that supported or enabled their livelihood strategies as well as the challenges that either undermined them or enhanced their vulnerability to shocks and how they coped with the situation. We wrote these items on cards of different colours. For example, livelihood strategies (Blue), livelihood enablers (Green), livelihood shocks and vulnerabilities (Red) and coping strategies (White). The colours differed from village to village because we asked the participants to choose their own colours to represent an item. After writing the items on the cards, we asked each participant to place them on the ground clustered under one thematic item such that livelihood strategies were grouped together as well as the other items. Participants thereafter undertook a ranking exercise to determine priority strategies, shocks and vulnerabilities. To undertake the ranking exercise, participants allocated stones to the items so that the item with highest number of stones was, accordingly, considered a priority strategy or most pressing shock. Together with the participants, we asked probing questions in order to generate an elaborate understanding of livelihoods situation in the villages. During this time, my assistant and I took notes as well

as audio recording of specific sessions when relevant conversations took place. We also made pictures of the sessions and their visual outcome.

Third, we conducted a food security pathway analysis. Though this was part of the livelihoods analysis, I treated the exercise separately because it required a lot more details specific to food. Here, we were interested in gathering data on local perspectives about being food secure and how they connected it to wellbeing. We asked questions based on five themes: Main foods eaten in different times (hard and good times); where the food came from; how frequently they ate in a day and week; factors that undermined food availability and access; and strategies of coping with food insecurity.

Fourth, we conducted a wealth ranking exercise in order to generate socioeconomic stratification in the area. Here, I guided participants with a pre-set notion of different categories of wealth ranks, such as 'wealthy' and 'poor'. These terminologies were already known by people and formed their local discourse of socioeconomic hierarchies. It was common for people in the villages to compare themselves to others economically and use phrases such as amongst others: 'we are struggling'; 'we are poor'; 'they are rich'; 'they are feeling nice'. It is the description of what these phrases meant to local communities that would differentiate their local usage from their application in public discourse. Therefore, by using a pre-set notion of socioeconomic categorisation, I did not introduce new discourses and guide people towards a particular framing. We included the wealth of people who do not stay in the household but whose assets such as income and livestock affect the livelihood of households in the villages as well as water consumption. In practice, we placed a rope on the ground and asked participants to mark the extreme ends of the rope as wealthy or poor categories. Middle wealth category also emerged and were indicated along the rope. We asked participants to describe the characteristics of households who fall within each of the categories. That is, how they would differentiate households falling in each category. We reframed our questions following the nature of description that emerged. For example, when we learnt that these categories were, in addition to the number of livestock owned by a household, based on the households' ability to cope with livelihood shocks such as drought, depredation, elephant destruction and lack of access to water, we allowed more general discussions on such emerging issues rather than restrict ourselves to categories. These classifications would be helpful in my subsequent data collection endeavours because they helped me to understand how and why different groups framed unfair distribution of costs and benefits.



Picture 5: Wealth ranking session

Finally, we discussed how life had changed in the area over time as best as the people could recall. We pegged the discussion on some key events that people could remember. They included: The establishment of the area as part of Damaraland; Namibia's independence; establishment of the conservancy; establishment of the lodges and the campsite; outbreaks of foot and mouth disease; and the establishment of the water point committee. In practice, we put a rope on the ground and placed cards indicating different historical moments along the rope. Then at a specific historical moment identified on the rope, participants would describe how life was in general and explain why they gave such a description. In circumstances where participants could not reach consensus, I recorded the different opinions posted which I later checked their validity using other methods.

### *Conducting monthly household census*

In order to gain an understanding of the demographic and socioeconomic background of the communities in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy, I conducted a household census. I modified a standard questionnaire used by LINGS to collect data on four sections: household demographic information; socioeconomic situation, including household income and expenditure and food consumption patterns; water management; and involvement in conservancy activities. I introduced new questions in the questionnaire largely using the information and topics that had emerged from focus group discussions and participant observation. Initially, I planned to administer the questionnaire in three phases, at the beginning of 2015, then in mid-2015 and the end of 2015. However, I realised that it was difficult for people to remember household expenditure and other practices that took place over a three-month period. Therefore I decided to conduct the survey every month. In addition, this would also allow me to compare data across months and seasons as well as get an annual

average. The survey was conducted within the first two weeks of every month. This is because most cash incomes, including sale of livestock in public auction markets, state pension and grants and remittances from monthly salaries and wages, were usually but not always received within the first two weeks of every month.

Out of the 44 villages in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy, I conveniently and purposively sampled 20 villages for ease of manageability. The nine villages where I did focus group discussions were selected by default. I included Anker and Erwee because they hosted the larger portion of the population of the area. To select the remaining villages, I considered those that I was informed by the conservancy staff to be having more than 10 active households. Thereafter, I considered accessibility by road. We selected 81 households in total. To select the households for the survey, we considered the two factors: (i). Does the head of the household usually stay in the village? (ii). Is the head of the household voluntarily willing to participate in the monthly survey for twelve months?

To help me administer the questionnaire with a limited time frame, I recruited three data enumerators such that we would form four missions including that of myself and my assistant. I trained all the enumerators on how to understand and administer the questionnaires. Thereafter, we conducted trials of the survey in 8 households in one of the selected villages. Emerging challenges were discussed and solutions found at the end of the trials. Throughout the survey, we identified data gaps as well as errors and made decisions on possible solutions. Occurrence of errors reduced in subsequent surveys because the enumerators became more efficient and effective after repeating the exercise severally. In addition, the household heads gradually became familiar with our visits and opened up to us making responses more accurate and complete than before. Information that we thought would not change within a short time, such as members and head of the household as well as number of livestock owned by households, was collected only three times: In February 2015; June 2015; and January 2016. Generally, the interview with each household took between ninety minutes and two hours.

Some issues that emerged from participant observation subsequently required to be investigated further through the monthly survey. These included questions around elephants' damages at communal water points, illegal hunting, food security and vulnerability. These issues had a direct impact on household income and expenditure that was a central theme in the monthly survey. Consequently, I added questions to address the emerging themes in the survey such that we conducted a survey about the frequency and severity of elephants' damages at communal water points and illegal hunting between July 2015 and January 2016. We also included, in the survey, questions about food security for the months of October, November and December 2015.

In sum, we undertook the survey on a monthly basis between February 2015 and January 2016. In subsequent surveys, the turn out rate was often less than the sample (Table 4). Five participating households dropped out voluntarily, whilst in some months, some heads of households or responsible adults were not available, thus preventing data collection in those households. As a result, the cumulative sample size (*n*), in final analysis, varied across months (Table 4). Data for March 2015 could not be included in the analysis because the turnout was less than 30. Low turnout was as a result of funerals in two of the sampled villages exactly at the same time we conducted the survey.

*Table 4: Rate of turnout for monthly household surveys*

<b>Months in 2015</b>	<b>No. of households</b>	<b>Percent of sample</b>
February	81	100
March	22	27
April	74	91
May	62	77
June	59	73
July	54	67
August	39	48
September	48	59
October	56	69
November	36	44
December	64	79

The survey also provided some useful qualitative data through general talk that occurred between the heads of households or respondents and the enumerators, moments before and after administering the questionnaire. For example, in order to offer proof to their responses, some heads of household or respondents would show me certain household assets they owned or inherited, foods they bought, relief food they received, the blue membership card for the conservancy, cans of diesel, fences brought down by elephants and type and height of livestock kraals. We recorded these offside discussions as comments which I later included as part of my qualitative data according to the themes and topics they enriched.

Due to technical problems, I was unable to enter the data in SPSS database when still in the field. I therefore scanned all the completed questionnaires and organised them into digital folders. After my return to Hamburg in February 2016, I coded and entered all the data from monthly survey in an SPSS database for analysis.



### *Reviewing reports and documents*

#Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy has documented reports about its operation and history. At my request, the conservancy manager granted me permission to access relevant documents and reports from their files. These included: profile of the conservancy, wildlife management plan, integrated ecosystem management plan, conservancy event books, benefits distribution plan, quota setting for the conservancy and conservancy annual budget as well as financial reports. The documents were primary sources of data regarding critical topics of my research, including: the sources and distribution of benefits from the conservancy; practices for managing wildlife; involving the communities in the processes of decision making; and how the conservancy managed costs emerging from conservation. They also gave a rich description of the historical development within the conservancy.

Conservation NGOs in Namibia have a plethora of consultancy reports specific to the conservancy as well as on the national conservancy programme, most of which are available on the internet. I accessed and reviewed some of these reports and working papers. In particular, the Namibia Association of CBNRM Support Organisations (NACSO) maintains an inventory of all conservancies in the country. The organisation also produces an annual report about the status of community conservation in Namibia which provides the achievements made and challenges faced. NACSO's reports as well as those by other conservation NGOs, like WWF-Namibia and Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF), provided rich material for this thesis. I reviewed policy documents, regulations and reports which were sources of my data. I read some newspaper articles that reported on CBNRM in general and those that were particular to #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy. Information from some of the articles formed part of the basis of my interviews with local pastoralists and conservancy staff.

Whilst much successful effort has been made to document work on community conservation, community water management is not as privileged. Only one water point committee could make available their water management plan and constitution for my review. The committee also gave me a copy of the lease agreement they signed with the government over the governance of the water point. The rest of the water management committees neither had the documents nor knew who was keeping them. However, by comparing the management plans and constitutions as well as the lease agreements to those collected or seen in Fransfotein area, I noticed minimal or insignificant difference. I reviewed government policy documents on communal water management as well as the inventory of the water points in the area available at the local office of the Directorate of Water and Sanitation Coordination (DWSC).

Finally, I visited the local office of Agricultural extension and department of veterinary services in Erwee where I accessed documents relating to livestock census and livestock auctions in the area. The office also recorded daily rainfall data and prepared monthly

summaries of the same. Though the accuracy of these data would be difficult to guarantee, they help to augment data about livestock keeping in the area that I gathered using other methods.

### *Analysing data*

After sorting the data, I digitized all of them and stored them in respective folders and devices for backups. I went through my data over and over again making summaries to describe the nature and kind of data that I gathered until I gained knowledge of the data almost at my fingertips and general understanding of how they were linked to my research questions. By doing this, I realised that my data revealed a few, though pertinent issues that I had not thought of in my research design. These emerging issues included discourse through which actors framed and negotiated fairness and justice in terms of distribution of the benefits and costs of wildlife and water management. Another emerging issue was the agency with which pastoralists contested the unfair and unjust conditions which emerged as outcomes of CBNRM. To this end, the data began to illuminate a kind of environmental justice that emerged from CBNRM in #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy. Consequently, I adjusted and redefined my research questions so as to address the issues that emerged significantly from the data and give the research a more refined look as well as adopting environmental justice as an analytical framework.<sup>61</sup>

I thereafter developed the following thirteen themes directly stemming from the data, which I further broke down into topics and subtopics.

1. Livelihood strategies and vulnerabilities.
2. Practices of managing communal water points.
3. Consequences and outcomes of the practices of managing water.
4. Patterns of distribution of the consequences and outcomes.
5. Practices of managing wildlife in the communal area.
6. Benefits of the conservancy.
7. The distribution of conservancy benefits.
8. Consequences and outcomes of the benefit distribution pattern.
9. Costs or burdens of living with wildlife in the conservancy.
10. Shared expectation about conservancy programme.
11. Justice claims on the distribution of costs.
12. Responses to the justice claims.
13. Agency to contest the unfair conditions and distribution.

Afterwards, I undertook a thematic analysis by paying particular attention to how the data from different sources and methods helped to build my arguments for each of the thirteen themes. That is, I considered each of the data from the different sources and methods in order to understand the commonalities and differences that emerged. In the following section, I

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<sup>61</sup> See Chapter 1 for research questions.

describe and explain how I analysed data in order to develop arguments, starting with the analysis of qualitative data.

### Analysing qualitative data through a narrative analysis

My analysis of qualitative data was manual. That is, I did not use any computer-aided method or Software for qualitative data analysis. I applied narrative analysis in order to make sense of how the qualitative data described and explained the themes identified. Narrative analysis is an approach that analyses diverse texts which tell a common form of a story about people's experiences and interpretation of their lifeworld (Riessman 1993, 2005). The analysis is focused on personal narratives which are embedded in the lives of people as they try to make sense of experiences and life around them (Langellier 1989). Narrative here refers to a life story or experiences of people studied, 'woven through threads of interviews, observation and documents' (Riessman 2008:5). In †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy, the story about the consequences of community-based water and wildlife management on the lives of people is created by the bits of experiences that people have had overtime. One experience leads to the other (Riessman 2005), each with its own narrative of how people experience it leading to one story. Different actors (communities, NGOs and government) often told stories, during interviews, general conversations and in written texts about their experiences of living with wildlife and sharing costs of water; the consequences that have emerged and how they interpret those consequences; and eventually how that constitutes their actions. In this work, narratives included: People's personal life stories in relation to livelihoods strategies and patterns; personal experiences with communal water management and living with wildlife; personal stories or responses about certain events, practices or decisions; communities' or collective stories on key themes about their communal resources; relationships between communities in the area and with the conservancy and water point committees; narratives and arguments in NGO reports and newspaper articles about the development and dynamics in the communal conservancy.

To make a narrative analysis, I set off by selecting sections of texts in my audio recording, field notes, interview transcripts and, descriptive notes from photos and sketch maps, as well as parts of reviewed documents for closer inspection. Each of these would form vignettes or episodes around a particular theme or themes. I then inductively weaved these vignettes and episodes in order to develop narratives, paying particular attention to their commonalities and differences; juncture and disjuncture (Riessman 2005). In this process, I analysed three main components of the texts.

### *The content of what was done or told*

I began by going back and forth my transcriptions, field notes, audio recordings, sketch maps, photos and documents in order to scrutinize closely their contents. In analysing the content of the ethnographic material, I looked for the usage of key words that were common across informants and events and how they are associated with each other. A key word is an expression or phrase or metaphor or word that 'shows up repeatedly and expresses important meanings' and reinforced with significant emphasis such as emotional behaviour, or conspicuousness in written texts (Strauss 2005:205). For example, whereas livestock keeping was repeatedly mentioned when describing livelihood strategies and socioeconomic stratification in the area; drought, elephants, predators, irregular diesel contribution were repeated and accompanied by negative emotions and regrets to describe and explain livelihood vulnerabilities. In other examples, employment and training of locals were repeated and highlighted in written text and photos by conservation NGOs to describe and explain benefits from community conservation. After the identification of key words in texts, I traced their commonalities and association in order to develop a narrative around a theme. I ceded the control of the meanings of the contents to the sources and informants or respondents so as to preserve the lifeworld in which the key word was experienced and interpreted (Riessman 2005).

### *How it was done or told*

Not only did I analyse the content of the materials, but I also looked into how they were said or done, what Riessman (2005) calls structural analysis. Here, I paid close attention to the manner in which the statements were made or communicated or how people expressed themselves. To do this, I was attentive to emotional and motivational hot spots (Strauss 2005) or prosody and nonverbal behaviour of the informant or respondent (Levy and Hollan 2015:336-37). I paid close attention to my remarks on field notes, interview transcripts and photos that described people's emotions, actions and nonverbal expressions during an interview or participant observation. I also returned to my audio recording and listened to paralinguistic expressions such as tonal variations in interviewees' talks or conversations. However, a tonal variation did not outrightly imply a particular emotion that is subjective to my own lifetime experience. Consequently, I evaluated paralinguistic expressions alongside their context and content of the material. For example, a loud aggressive tone in a conversation does not necessarily imply anger or conflict. Neither was it obvious that people talking whilst pointing fingers at each other meant that they were quarrelling. But even more perplexing to me was that in my culture, clicking is a verbal sign of disgust and annoyance. Yet, amongst the Damara, clicks are part of certain words and sentences in Khoekhoegowab language independent of the speaker's emotions. Analysing such expressions alongside the content,

context and action or outcome of the phenomenon helped me to develop an accurate interpretation of people's emotions and motivation. For example, to analyse the destruction of elephants at the communal water point and the notion of justice that emerged, I looked at emotions with which the members of the communities spoke, together with choice of words to explain the disappointment; and the vigour and determination with which they showed me evidence of damage. Expressions in meetings made more sense to me when analysed within the context of the agenda being discussed and the outcome of the discussion. For example, people shouting and withdrawing from meetings, put together, not only proved what was contested, but also demonstrated the tools for the contestation.

Sometimes, my emotions and motivation in events or conditions crept into my analysis and building of the stories. However, in such circumstances, I was conscious to ensure that my emotions and motivations were not the sole building blocks for such narratives. I ensured that they only supplemented rather than replace those emotions and motivations of my informants or respondents. Examples are numerous, but key ones are: I joined the church choir in Erwee, one evening at Hoda Campsite, to sing to tourists for tips in order to raise money for buying uniform for the choir. On that evening, I was disappointed that two tourists gave us only chocolates and sweets instead of money, which we sought for so passionately. Another example was how I felt sorry for a man who lost 25 heads of cattle to drought and a woman whose two cows were attacked and killed by lions. A final example is how I empathised with pastoralists whenever elephants drained their water dams when they had no money to buy diesel to pump more water. In these examples and others, although my emotions had their say as part of the field and analysis, the lifeworld of the respondents had its way in final analysis.

### *The reason why it was done or told*

In addition to and alongside analysing what was done and how it was done, I also sought to understand why it was done. This is to bring into the analysis the understanding of why people did things the way did them. That is, the reasoning that people gave to discourses about a theme (Quinn 2005). In doing so, I relied directly on the reasoning in informants' or respondents' discourse so as to generate an understanding of the empirical explanation from their own lifeworld. To develop such a reasoning narrative, I first went through my interview transcripts and notes from focus group discussions, and listened to audio recordings in order to identify and mark instances where people explained what was said or observed (phenomenon, incidence, action or reaction or phrase) about a theme. At the same time, I carefully zoomed into the reasons behind their explanations. Such were frequent in interactional conversations or dialogue transcripts between informants and myself or amongst informants themselves (Riessman 2005).

Secondly, I identified propositions and arguments given in questions and answer exchanges to develop stories on how the informant interpreted the phenomena, incidences, propositions or events (Riessman 1993, 2005). In a number of cases, I found that the way in which informants explained what they said or what I observed did not follow the regular causality language (proposition – reasons – confirmation of the proposition). In such cases, I analysed the explanation by making an inference to the order in which claims were made (Quinn 2005). Lastly, I looked at the commonality of explanations from different informants and paid attention to how they corroborated each other in relation to a particular theme. I allowed room for any overlap that occurred in the explanation that different informants gave (Quinn 2005). The overlap occurred in two ways that I could identify. One, explanation would differ between informants or sources. In which case, the variance in the explanation would, I posit, imply the different lifeworld about the theme that the sources or informants or respondents represented. Two, some explanations would relate to multiple themes whilst forming logical synergies with new or different clusters of explanations. That is, one explanation could be given for more than one theme. For example, informants would explain that they withdrew from buying diesel for pumping water because they felt some households were not regularly contributing their fair share. At the same time, their withdrawal would also be as a result of their unwillingness to pay the costs of water consumed by elephants. In such circumstances, rather than simply see the inconsistency of the explanation that may eventually invalidate the claim, I considered it as an opportunity to understand the interrelatedness of water and wildlife management in the area –the multiplex ties that exist (Schnegg 2016b).

### Analysing quantitative data

I used quantitative data in order to supplement qualitative data and especially where generalisation was necessary (Handwerker and Borgatti 2015). These included for example, household demographic characteristics of communities, household economies, especially monthly income and expenditure, household asset endowments, frequency of damage caused by elephants and depredation in #Khoadi //Hôas. To analyse quantitative data, I identified the necessary variables from the data set which I developed and managed in SPSS. I then computed appropriate statistics and generated reports in terms of tables and charts according to the need. My analysis of quantitative data from the survey has largely been descriptive statistics. I interpret the statistics within the context of information in the data and further use them to corroborate qualitative data collected using other methods.

### *Ethics concerns*

Three issues of research ethics emerge in this work. One, the work has largely been critical on Namibia's CBNRM which enjoys national and international support and praise. Thus, I was confronted with the tension that my findings and critical reflections of environmental justice may turn out as a disappointment to CBNRM supporters, NGO and conservancy officials, with whose support my fieldwork was made possible. I had the tension that the work might appear to be a betrayal to their welcome and support to me as well as information they volunteered that became part of my data. To deal with this challenge, I acknowledge in this thesis that my work does not suggest a failure of community-based water and wildlife management. Rather, it acknowledges its successes but also illuminates crucial challenges that policy can pay attention to in order to realise some improvements. In addition, during fieldwork, I clarified, especially to conservancy and NGO officials as well as the communities, that, eventually I would give a feedback of my findings and suggest some recommendations that could contribute to finding solutions to the challenges that were.

Two, though the consent from communities was only verbal, it was usually given in the presence of others for example, in meetings. I always informed the informants or respondents that they were at liberty to participate, or not to, in interviews. Whoever did not want to participate did not have to give reasons. In addition, before I used the audio recorder, I would ask for the consent of the informant. Within the communities, the use of audio recorder was eventually liked by informants or respondents such that after every interview they usually wanted to listen to their recorded voices. This helped to reduce the scepticism that people might have had with recording at the beginning.

Three, in order to uphold the confidentiality of members of the communities I studied and informants who volunteered data, I have made identities anonymous by using pseudonyms, with the exception of the high ranking officials of formal organisations or where it is impossible, to hide identity.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> This includes situations where I made reference to a newspaper article where an informant name is highlighted. It also include situation where the identity of the informant is obvious and not possible to hide such as officials of the conservancy.





## Chapter 5

### Community-based water management in Namibia

#### *Rural water governance in the colonial period*

Namibia is the driest country in Africa, south of Sahara. Groundwater remains the largest source of water to most people in the country. There has been significant institutional transformation for water management in Namibia throughout history. This transformation has been influenced by various factors including national and global political imperatives, policy adjustments, legislative reforms, the need for accelerated socioeconomic development and the natural resource constraints (Heyns 2005:90).

Before the European settlers subdivided the land in Namibia into a dualistic tenure regime –freehold (private) and communal tenure, there was no universal customary water law. Control over water points was linked to control over the land. That is, the management of a water source rested with the group of people who occupied a place first (Falk et al. 2009; Rohde 1997). Sociocultural practices and norms, within and across communities that regulated land and land-use also regulated access and rights to water in that place. Existence or discovery of a water source prevailed over decisions to settle in a place. Consequently, the family that occupied a place first retained enormous control over water point. Access to water sources was informally negotiated through kin and inter-community relations as was necessitated by the changing environmental conditions and the need to support livelihoods (Rohde 1997).

In 1884, the German government proclaimed Namibia as German protectorate (Bley 1996). The territory became known as the German South West Africa (German: *Deutsch Südwestafrika*) and fell under the Imperial German law. However, there was no universal institution, policy or legislation that governed water matters in the territory (Heyns 2005). A dual land tenure system was introduced where the white settler farmers owned land on freehold (private) tenure, whereas the natives were settled in communal ‘native reserves or enclaves’ (Bley 1996; Henrichsen 2008; Rohde 1997). As the need for water for economic advancement in the arid environment became dire for German administration, the authorities commissioned ground water exploration and extraction that gave rise to a hydraulic mission or revolution in South West Africa (Bollig 2013; Kelbert 2016). Consequently, the German administration significantly invested both financial and technical resources to develop water infrastructure including drilling of boreholes and equipping them in areas that they considered

to be of viable economic interest for the German settlers such as, livestock farms, irrigated crop fields, mining areas as well as upcoming urban centres (Heyns 2005; Kelbert 2016). The cost of supplying water to the settler farmers was recovered at a price that was set by the administration. Meanwhile, little attention was paid to the supply of water in the native reserves, where social institutions that governed land and grazing in particular continued to regulate water access and rights. The natives were seen with respect to their potential to provide labour in the farms and other white-owned economic ventures where cheap labour was a crucial factor of production and economic advancement of the German settlers (Bley 1996; Henrichsen 2008; Rohde 1997).

After the First World War, South West Africa became a protectorate of the Union of South Africa with the recommendations of the League of Nations. From 1920, interest in using groundwater for large scale commercial livestock farming and irrigation in South West Africa grew in gigantic proportion. In line with its laws and administrative structure in Pretoria, the South African administration created in South West Africa an irrigation department, which continued with the borehole drilling mission that had begun with the German colonialism (Heyns 2005). The objective of the hydraulic mission largely remained unchanged. That was, to develop and support a stable livestock farming empire for the white settlers and subsequently ensured their economic stability.

The administration, especially between 1920 and 1932, provided for the development of a financing scheme through loans for the development of water infrastructure in the white-owned freehold commercial farms (Kelbert 2016; Newsham 2007). During this period the hydraulic mission was regulated by a water legislation, *Artesian Water Control Proclamation* that was taken from South Africa and modified to the context of South West Africa territory. The outcome of the hydraulic mission led to largescale extraction and storing of ground water in order to meet the growing demand (Heyns 2005). As the need to legislate and regulate (manage) the supply of stored water arose, the Legislative Assembly of South West Africa promulgated the Water Ordinance in 1932. The Ordinance created a structure (Water Board) that provided for the formulation of a policy that would deal with decision making over the long-term management of water resources (Heyns 2005; Kelbert 2016). Thus, the demand-driven objective of the administration expanded to encompass not only drilling and damming of water, but also the management or in broad sense governance of the water resources. Nevertheless, no formal water policy document was developed until after independence (Heyns 2005; Kelbert 2016). National water resource development and governance directly affected the areas where the white settlers lived or had economic interests, but had very little

effect in the communal areas where the natives lived (Kössler 2000). In the latter areas, water governance remained linked to the social practices and institutions that governed land use practices.

In the 1960s, after South Africa had dissolved the ‘Union’ and become a ‘Republic’, the administration expanded its apartheid system of government to South West Africa. The *Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs*, colloquially known as the Odendaal Commission, was created to study and recommend how best to formulate and implement the dualistic development agenda for the whites and blacks in the territory as a fifth province of the Republic of South Africa. The Odendaal Commission Report, popularly known as the Odendaal Plan, recommended the replication of the ethnically homogeneous and territorially continuous ‘homelands’, already introduced in South Africa (Republic of South Africa 1964).

Consequently, in 1969, Legislative Assembly of South Africa passed a law creating ten Bantu (native) homelands, also known as *Bantustans*, in South West Africa where natives would be resettled according ‘ethnic identity’, although this was a self-contradiction and bluff on the Odendaal Commission as the homelands it created were, to a great extent, enclaves of different native communities with different chiefs and histories but sharing a language (Kössler 2000).<sup>63</sup> A separate development plan, including water resource development and governance, was developed for the homelands and the minority white population, hence officially establishing apartheid rule in South West Africa (Dugard 1973; Kössler 2000). People were resettled into the homelands according to what was perceived, albeit falsely, as homogenous ethnic identity. The mandate of the Bantu Affairs office was relegated to homeland administrations (or second-tier administrations) which were established according to the recommendation of the Odendaal Plan –Bantu Administration Councils headed by ‘tribal chiefs or headmen’ (Kössler 2000; Rohde 1997; Rohde et al. 1999). The Council would form an Executive Committee representing the various government departments with direct relevance to homeland affairs. A key department within homelands administration was concerned with the development of Agriculture under which water resource development and governance fell as it was crucial for the livestock-based livelihoods within most Bantu homelands. (Kelbert 2016).

Meanwhile, the department of Water Affairs was incorporated in the administration of South West Africa, and its operations were governed by the South Africa *Water Act of 1956* (Heyns 2005:94). The move saw the deployment of water technicians and experts from South

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<sup>63</sup> Although only four native homelands were self-governing in South West Africa and included East Caprivi, Hereroland, Ovamboland and Kavangoland. Damaraland was non-self-governing.

Africa to support the development of water resources in South West Africa, though with less emphasis on communal areas. A dualistic water resource development and management approach became even more elaborate, reflecting the daunting realities of the apartheid regime. The colonial administration considered water a vital resource for economically viable agriculture – that is, white-owned livestock and crop farms. With the available personnel, deliberate steps were made to improve water supply to commercial farms and areas inhabited by the white community (*ibid.*).

Although after the 1970s water provision and management within the homelands formally became the responsibility of the homeland or second-tier administration (Heyns 2005), the boreholes in Kunene, most of which were sunk and developed by the South African administration in 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, were maintained at the cost of the central government (Bollig 2018, personal communication). Therefore, the development of water resources in the homelands (communal areas) was not totally neglected, but minimally attended to by the apartheid administration. The outcome was an overwhelming inequity in access to water in commercial farms vis-à-vis communal areas. It was estimated that at independence about 50% of the population in the rural areas had no reliable access to safe drinking water (Forrest 2001:394; Lange 1998). Furthermore, 27,000 boreholes existed in the rural commercial farms and commercial zones in the urban areas (almost singly benefiting white community – 5% of the total population) whilst only 5,000 boreholes existing in communal areas (benefiting black communities – 80% of the population) (Forrest 2001:394).

In some situations where an extra attempt was made by the apartheid regime to improve water supply in the homelands, the aim was largely to ease the burden of lack of water that would jeopardize the blacks' ability to provide labour in commercial farms, mines and other sectors where labour was a significant factor of production (Werner 2009). In addition, as Tapscott contended, the creation and minimal support to the homeland administration was aimed at neutralising resistance and forming a hedge against growing liberation movement amongst the natives towards South African rule (Tapscott 1993:155). Consequently, with the minimal financial allocation and initial technical support from the colonial government, the full financial and logistical responsibility for the provision of water in the communal areas remained with the respective homeland administration. The local headmen oversaw the day-to-day management of the water points including the ones that had been drilled and equipped by the colonial government (Kelbert 2016).

Notwithstanding this water resource management arrangement, in some rural villages and communal farms, access and rights to water resources were embedded in informal

institutions that governed resource allocation, especially where the authority of the homeland or second-tier government had not been well established. For example, in Damaraland where the homeland council was only formally instituted towards 1980, water rights were constantly negotiated through informal local institutions oscillating between communities, headman and government extension officers (Rohde et al. 1999). Newcomers to the land would not necessarily be denied access to water resources for their livestock, but in many instances, they had to obtain the public acceptance of those who were already occupying the land or the pioneer *native settlers* in the area (Heyns 2005; Rohde et al. 1999). Influential individuals who did not have any formal authority but had a good social pedigree through, for example, personal skills, also had control over the use and management of water (Thomas and Twyman 2005). Nevertheless, the influence of these informal institutions did not hinder the government's support in covering the costs of the water provision in the homeland. Hence, in general, water was a public good with no financial cost to communities in the homelands (Schneegg 2016b; Falk et al. 2009).

### *The advent of community-based water management*

#### Influence from post-independence politics

After attaining independence in 1990, the government of the Republic of Namibia began to undertake key policy and legal reforms in the country's water sector. First, the government of the new republic aimed to reverse the inequalities that had been inherited from the apartheid administration. As mentioned above, at independence, 50% of the people living in communal areas did not have access to a reliable source of safe drinking water (Forrest 2001; Lange 1998). Majority of the boreholes that existed only served the white community who were a minority 5% of the total population of the country. A plan was hatched within the prevailing political euphoria to drill new boreholes, rehabilitate old ones and construct new water points in communal areas that had previously been neglected (Forrest 2001). The demand-driven hydraulic mission was rejuvenated, albeit in a different direction –targeting previously disadvantaged and underserved communal areas. This coincided with a drought that had struck the country in 1992-1993, further emphasising the urgency to execute the plan (Forrest 2001). The post-independence hydraulic mission thus became part of the then Drought Relief Programme and poverty eradication plan that saw 300 new emergency boreholes drilled and 50 non-functioning ones rehabilitated throughout the country between 1991 and 1993 (Forrest 2001:395; University of Cape Town 1997).

Second, the law that established homelands was repealed and the second-tier administration formally ended. The development and governance of water resources returned to the central government (Heyns 2005). The government's Department of Agriculture and Rural Development (DARD) became responsible for providing water to communal areas, in similar manner as was in the previous regime (Heyns 2005). These reforms could have led to reduced presence of the state in the management of water points at the local. Nevertheless, it did not leave an institutional vacuum in the day-to-day management of water points as rights of access continued to be mediated by informal institutions that existed within the rural villages and communal farms, as Rohde et al. (1999) observed in former Damaraland. However, problems soon started unfolding as the government lacked adequate financial resources and technical capacity to cater for the cost of providing water for people living in communal areas (Heyns 2005). Calls for a policy adjustment became inevitable, in order to improve water service delivery as promised by the post-independence government in manner that would be cost effective. Thus, in 1991, an inter-ministerial committee was established by the new cabinet to formulate a policy to guide the development and governance of water resource in Namibia (Heyns 2005; Schwieger 2017). The outcome of committee deliberations was the development of the *Water Supply and Sanitation Sector Policy* (WASP) of 1993 (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1993). It is in this policy (WASP) that the role and participation of communities in managing water resources in Namibia was first formally recognised and emphasised (Schwieger 2017).

The development of the policy coincided with the emerging international debates on collective action and community participation in natural resource management, including International Conference on Water and the Environment (ICWE) in Dublin and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the inter-ministerial committee appointed to develop the policy was supported by a team of international consultants (Schwieger 2017). It is, therefore, not surprising that WASP had a number of policy guidelines generic of the outcomes of ICWE and UNCED –the Dublin Statement on Water and Environment and Agenda 21 (United Nations Organisation 1993) respectively. These guidelines included: ‘the principles of equitable access to water and sanitation, maximum community participation, the delegation of responsibilities to the lowest appropriate level and environmentally sustainable use of water’ (Heyns 2005:96). The concept of ‘water as an economic good with a private cost’ that shaped international policy debates on

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<sup>64</sup> International Conference on Water and Environment (ICWE) in Dublin took place between 26<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> January 1992, whereas the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio took place between 3<sup>rd</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1992.

community-based water management (CBWM) in specific and CBNRM in general was reflected in the policy through its call for full cost-recovery and minimal institutionalised subsidies (Heyns 2005; Schwieger 2017). These are significant indication of how international policy debates influenced the development of CWBM as discussed in the following section.

### Influence from international water governance discourse

In her review of the development of international discourse on water governance, Thekla Kelbert observes that prior to 1990, the international water policy model had largely been supply-oriented and demand-driven (Kelbert 2016). This was also reflected in the hydraulic mission or hydraulic revolution in colonial Namibia (Bollig 2013; Kelbert 2016). The demand-driven and supply-oriented policy strategy largely considered water as social right that government ought to uphold by ensuring sound administration of public water supply services to ensure equitable access to water (Heyns 2005; Kelbert 2016).

However, a rationalisation concept emerged at the *International Conference on Water and the Environment* in 1992 (the Dublin Conference) which considered water as an economic good with economic cost and began to take the central place previously held by the ‘social right’ concept. Through its signature outcome –*The Dublin Statement on Water and Sustainable Development* (colloquially known as the Dublin Principle) –the conference advanced three fundamental discursive aspects of the global water debate that largely shaped the formulation of policies for CBWM in Namibia.

One, the Dublin Principle implied that water is a scarce resource that must be used in a sustainable way to avoid its depletion and adverse effects on the survival of life. Seeing water through the lens of scarcity began to generate national debate in the country even during the formulation of WASP in 1991-1993. Scarcity of water was resonated and reproduced in public discourse through policy, school curriculum and public awareness campaigns (Kelbert 2016). Together, these efforts worked to encourage conservation of water, including through reducing wastage and protecting watershed and ground aquifers.

Two, the Dublin principle introduced the concept of water as an economic good with economic costs that users must pay for. The emphasis on water as a resource vital for socioeconomic development of communities in specific and the country in general resurfaced, although in a more inclusive manner –‘for all Namibians’ (Forrest 2001; Heyns 2005). As such, water became an economic good with economic value which must be accessed at an affordable cost by users to address the dire need for accelerated poverty alleviation, especially amongst

black population, that dominated Namibia's politics at the time (Heyns 2005). Therefore, there was a conceptual shift from seeing water as a free good, to a resource which has private costs on the user. Consequently, WASP emphasised the rationalisation of water use through the need to recover costs in line with the Dublin Principle and which echoed a central argument in CBNRM: if users of water resource pay the economic cost of water then they will be motivated to ensure its sustainability, thereby mitigating the potential adverse effects of its scarcity. A fundamental consequence of this conceptual transformation in Namibia was the shift on who bears the cost of communal water supply and maintenance. It implied that the burden of cost would be handed over to communities living in communal areas –the consumers of water – who had enjoyed total subsidies from the colonial government (through homeland administration) that had just recently formally ended.

Three, the Dublin Principles outlines the need to ensure equity in access to water. As Heyns (2005:96) has shown, the principle of equity shaped the 1993 WASP in two ways: (i). By establishing that water should be provided at a cost that communities could afford and; (ii). By encouraging that strategies should be found through which water costs can be subsidised for the poor who could not afford the costs agreed upon, without direct financial intervention from the government. In the long run, the policy envisaged that the rich would subsidise the water consumption of the poor who were unable to pay for their fair share of costs (Thomas and Twyman 2005). However, how this would be done remained unclear (Heyns 2005; Thomas and Twyman 2005).

In general, the international discourse, through what was considered as the international best practices in water management, stressed on cost-effectiveness of water infrastructure and services as well as efficiency in water use (Kelbert 2016). In policy and in practice, it meant that the government would gradually pull out from bearing the full costs of providing water to citizens, except for developing and making major repairs to damaged water infrastructure (Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Linke 2016). The cost of supplying water would, to this end, be shifted from the government to communities in the communal areas. There is need to emphasise that, within rural areas, such rationalisation of water costs was only a practice in the freehold white-owned commercial farms during the colonial period. The commercial farmers, although benefited from the government initiated borehole drilling financing policies through loans, the costs of pumping the water, distributing it within the farms and maintaining the infrastructure remained with the farmer himself. This was unlike the case in the homelands where the government shouldered the costs of operation and maintenance of water supply – as an arrangement that encouraged dependency on the



apartheid government. Provision of water for free to homelands was part of a larger colonial project. That is, to dispossess the 'natives' of their good land, give it to the European settlers and resettle the 'natives' in poorly rain-fed hinterlands where they could hardly successfully practise their livestock economy. Subsequently, they were turned into labour for commercial farms, mines and other white-dominated economic sectors. Hence, water provision in the homelands was largely used as a tool to keep the natives in the labour reserves or homelands. Furthermore, as Tapscott would argue, in the 1970s and 1980s, the aim of water provision through drilling of boreholes in the homelands, was largely to neutralise resistance or hedge the administration from potential escalation of liberation militancy from the north (Tapscott 1993).

The shift from government as a provider of water to communities as rational agents who should pay for their water consumption costs coincided well with the global neoliberal policy where the state provides only policy formulation and infrastructure development, but must leave the costs of ensuing services to be settled through market principles in order to fast-track economic growth and development. Participation gained popularity amongst the donor community and consequently a buzzword in development discourse, spanning hitherto from the last decade of the twentieth century. It became a prerequisite for donor funding and essential concept that ruled the theory and practice of donor-driven development and poverty reduction strategies (Cooke and Kothari 2001). Hence, participation emerged as a softer way of fostering neoliberal policies in water governance in rural Namibia, including through the requirements of donor funding (Schwieger 2017). On the one hand, rural water users (communities) were, in the eyes of donor agencies, seen as more suitable to make contextualised decisions that were effective for the management of water in the areas where they lived (United Nations Organisation 1992b). Anchoring this notion onto policy and legislation would mean empowering communal water users with rights so that they engage in participatory and community-based water management, a reflection of the international best practices of water management (Heyns 2005). This would help in building a sense of ownership of the decision making process and its consequences so as to motivate practices of sustainable management of water to guard on depletion of a scarce resource. On the other hand, rural resource users were also perceived by donors and governments as suitably liable for bearing the costs of managing water and its supply in a CBWM arrangement (United Nations Organisation 1992b). This would therefore relieve central government of shouldering these costs as was in the previous supply-oriented management, hence accommodating the language of neoliberal discourse that ruled bilateral and multinational relations. As Namibia had just attained independence in 1990, her dependence on development aid could not be

overemphasised. Consequently, community participation through CBWM, a product of the global politics of water, would influence policy formulation for CBWM in Namibia through donor funded programme in the water sector (Schneegg and Linke 2016).

### *The policy and legal framework for CBWM in Namibia*

As the dust of independence euphoria still hung in Namibia's political space, the desire for policy and regulatory reforms in water sector was unequivocal both within the country and amongst the development partners. The national policy formulation process to reform the water sector commenced in 1990 after a cabinet resolution to form an inter-ministerial committee on Water Supply and Sanitation Sector Policy.<sup>65</sup> As the name suggests, the committee drew its members from different government ministries and departments. It was tasked by cabinet to develop a water policy document with the aim of establishing a long term framework for providing water in a country where water scarcity is high, yet demand would increase with the promising economic and population growth (Heyns 2005; Schwieger 2017). The global framing of water as an economic good with a market value was resonated in the process and transcribed into policy formulation. In addition, the framework would also aim at addressing the inequalities and economic huddles that the segregationist colonial administration had planted. Thus, a hybrid of local and international discursive concepts configured water policy formulation.

The *Water Supply and Sanitation Sector Policy* was approved by cabinet in 1993 and the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development was charged as the implementing agency (Heyns 2005). This saw the creation of the Directorate of Rural Water Supply (DRWS) in the same year with a specific mandate of implementing the rural water supply programme including the CBWM (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2001).<sup>66</sup> DRWS in collaboration with partners, including experts, some whose position were paid for through donor funding, prepared the *Programme for Community Based Management and Cost Recovery for Rural Water Supply* which was approved by cabinet in 1997. A review of the water policy was done in 2000 that culminated into a national policy white paper with limited variation from the initial policy (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2000a). According to the *Guidelines for*

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<sup>65</sup> Reform in response to the political need to address water access inequalities and the deprivation of the colonial past and to accommodate the new discourse of CBWM that would foster cost recovery and participation of the water users.

<sup>66</sup> The name of DRWS changed to Directorate of Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Coordination (DRWSSC) and its mandate expanded in the review of this policy in 2008. The review saw the approval of a new water and sanitation policy.

*the implementation of Community Based Management and Cost Recovery for Rural Water Supply of 1999* prepared by DRWS (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1999), CBWM was developed and implemented along the principles of: (i). Community participation which aimed to create space for just and fair political representation and involvement in decision making; (ii). Devolving management rights and responsibilities to communities thereby aiming to recognise their worth as a people and; (iii). Cost-recovery plans infused with notions of fair distribution of costs amongst users.

### Features of Community-Based Water Management in Namibia

#### i. Participation

Participation of water users in the communal areas was in part understood, within the national political arena, partly as an antidote to the political injustice that black Namibians were subjected to during the colonial regime – that was responsible for fostering unequal distribution of resources leading deprivation and general poverty. Hence, participation, of communities whose livelihoods thrive on access and use of water in communal areas, would be antithetical to colonial discourse by promoting equity, justice and economic empowerment for formerly disadvantaged population.

Additionally, the Dublin Statement underscored that communities should participate in the management of water resources because they are best suited to make contextualized decisions that work well for their local conditions (United Nations Organisation 1992b). This would mean devolving certain responsibilities from the state to the users. In the case of ground water, which is the focus of this thesis, Water Point Association was identified as a legal entity and institutional framework around which water users in the communal areas would organize themselves to engage in participatory decision making. That is, households or groups of households which are communally using a water point or water points would be required to form Water Point Association (WPA) in order to gain legal rights to control the access to water and maintain the infrastructure for the particular water point(s).<sup>67</sup> The WPA also would

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<sup>67</sup> Water Point Association (WPA) is a legal entity defined by membership, which include all the households using water from a particular water point or points within a locality and who in theory agree to co-operate in order to manage their communally used water point (s). In theory, their operations in terms of membership, leadership, decision making processes and financial operations are governed by a constitution that all members agree and pledge their loyalty to. It is the passing of the constitution by members and signing it by appointed officials that make the Association a legal entity. However, only until the WPA meets a set of procedures and criteria, including but not limited to the development of a water point management plan, setting up a Water Point Committee (WPC) and register it with the DRWS (presently DRWSSC) that they gain the management rights and responsibilities over water point(s) in question.

appoint, through democratic processes, a Water Point Committee (WPC) to be the body in charge of day-to-day management of communal water points and which can sign a lease agreement with the government (DRWS) concerning control of water points.<sup>68</sup>

The success of CBWM would partly depend on the success of the medium of participation – WPAs and WPCs – in which water users must feel and experience that their socioeconomic circumstances that shape their livelihoods strategies and needs are not exposed to factors that work against them. The assumption here was that WPAs and WPCs should be expected to provide a space for local water users to influence decisions. CBWM was however silent on the possibilities of the water users finding ways to control water supply and maintenance of water infrastructure outside the framework of WPAs/WPCs or reshaping the framework to fit practices, as has been observed in north-western Kunene (Chapter 8; Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Linke 2016).

ii. Devolving rights and responsibilities

The policy recognised the worth of communities as capable management agents by devolving management rights and responsibilities to the WPAs as the lowest level of decision making unit. However, the enforcement of rights and responsibilities would be delegated to the WPC as the management body. Regularity in the use of a water point was a critical criteria that was used to define the boundaries of the resource over which a WPC has managerial jurisdiction (Ostrom 1990). Some of the rights that were, in theory, devolved to the WPAs included the right to elect a WPC of their choice and to formulate the rules of affiliation to control and ensure the sustainable supply of water, including rules of cost sharing.<sup>69</sup> They were to assume responsibilities such as collecting fees and levies in a manner that is agreed upon, enforcing the rules and graduated sanctions that governed the water points (*ibid.*), make light repairs and maintenance to the water infrastructure.

However, the right of ownership of the water resources remained with the state. It is only management rights and responsibilities of sharing costs and ensuring protection of water

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<sup>68</sup> A WPC is a smaller committee of officials appointed by members of a WPA in accordance with their constitution. In practice however, the appointment of members of the WPC follows some other routes that may not be provided for in their formal constitution but legitimate within their everyday practices. But in the Water Resources Management Act of 2013, WPAs are not recognized, only WPCs are recognized. This requires a closer examination because of potential misunderstanding of the present legal meaning of WPC as provided for within the current water Act.

<sup>69</sup> Although the DRWS developed a blue print to guide WPAs and WPCs in drafting their constitutions and water point management plans. In a number of cases of the water management plans are identical except for names of places and signatories. This allows room to problematize the concept of participation in designing CBWM institutions in Namibia.

infrastructure that was devolved to the WPAs. Evidently, the policy reflected the tenet of recognising water users as suitably placed to understand the context in which local water governance would take place, hence a deliberate attempt to ensure equity. Nevertheless, the degree to which this institutional transformation was adaptive to local institutions that mediated property relations to water in pre-CBWM phase remains evidently contested if not critiqued (Schnegg 2016b). These critiques put to doubt the place of equity in CBWM.

### iii. Economic costs recovery

As already mentioned, in rural Namibia, the main source of water for most communities is ground water which is accessed mostly through boreholes. Typical costs include drilling of the boreholes, installing the water infrastructure at the water points (water pumps, reservoir, tanks and piping), maintenance and repair of the infrastructure as well as buying diesel for diesel engine water pumps. Drilling the boreholes and equipping the water points with the infrastructure has been done by both colonial and independent governments. However, the policy envisaged that the costs for maintaining and repairing the infrastructure as well as providing diesel for the pumps would be gradually shifted to the users so as to reduce the burden on government to provide further subsidies. The aim was to introduce water users in communal areas to a programme that would ensure that they cover the economic cost of maintaining the supply of an 'economic good' which they enjoyed its benefit for their socioeconomic development. This would, in theory, offer an incentive to communities to ensure sustainable use and efficient management of water and the infrastructure.

In particular, the distribution of costs was envisaged in the policy guidelines for implementing CBWM to be just and fair by: (i). Ensuring that negotiation of costs leads to an affordable price or rate that is adaptive to the socioeconomic status and stratification within communities; (ii). Envisaging that the rich should subsidise the water consumption of the poor members of the communities who are unable to pay the negotiated prices or rates and; (iii). Exploring the prospects of controlled outsourcing of water that would generate more income for the local people which they can in turn use to subsidise their communal water supply.

As soon as the CBWM was designed and ready for implementation, a legal challenge was realised. The old law, the South African *Water Act of 1956* that existed and was still being used in Namibia, did not provide for the legal existence of WPA as a legal entity for devolution (Heyns 2005). Therefore, legal transfer of management of water points to the communities would not be possible. This called for the need for a legal reform in the water sector (*ibid.*).

## Legal reform in the water sector and further policy reviews

The formulation of the water policy and the CBWM programme gave way to a water law – *The Water Resources Management Act of 2004* (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2004) – which was enacted by parliament and promulgated in December 2004. The Act provided the legal framework for the implementation of the policy reforms that were recommended in 1993 and reviewed in 2000. In particular, section 16-22 of the Act (Management of Rural Water Supply) paid attention to CBWM by providing for existence of the WPAs and WPCs. Despite being enacted and promulgated, no regulations were gazetted by the Minister in charge to enforce the Act. Thekla Kelbert during her fieldwork in 2010/2011 also observed that the law existed, but had never been enforced (Kelbert 2016). Notwithstanding the non-enforcement of the Act, it is evident that CBWM has been and still is being implemented by the government (Chapter 8; Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg et al. 2016; Schnegg and Linke 2016; Kelbert 2016; Schwieger 2017).

In 2008, the cabinet approved a new policy – *Water Supply and Sanitation Policy of 2008* (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2008). The review of the former policy of 1993 was necessitated by a number of emerging factors, the most notable of which was the limited focus that went into the sanitation aspect in communal areas. In the current policy, the guiding principles for communal areas' water supply are hardly different from those in the previous policy. As guiding principles, the policy (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2008:8-9) reaffirmed and reemphasised that:

- i. The rural communities in communal areas should have ownership of the management of their water supply and infrastructure. To adhere to this principle, the communities should be left, to decide on internal priorities and division of responsibilities regarding managing water supply and maintenance of water infrastructure. By doing this the government only remains as a facilitator to support the community as means of fostering self-sufficiency.
- ii. Communities should pay for the operation, maintenance and replacement costs for water. The plan of how to ensure these costs are covered by the users is to be set and agreed upon prior to any government support. However, the policy acknowledges that in cases where the communities may genuinely not be able to cater for the costs, then rebate or subsidies may be reasonably granted. Granting of rebates or subsidies therefore, is dependent upon a community's capability to afford the cost-recovery and is at the discretion of the government and generally remained unclear.

- iii. Cost recovery is individualized in a user-pays principle kind of arrangement where non-paying users (referred to as customers in the policy) can be denied access to the water by the committee in charge of a water point. The ways of enforcing this sanction on non-paying 'customers' is left to the committee and WPAs to decide.

The 2008 policy maintains the four important elements of CBWM: participation of communities through their WPAs to decide on local water management, devolution of rights and responsibilities to communities through the WPAs and WPCs and cost-recovery that is assumed to ensure its efficient use and effective management of water resources. It once more emphasises the role of the government to facilitate the development of a self-sufficient rural water supply and use, on the assumption that rural communities are economically and socially suitable for cost-recovery, but silent on the sociocultural and ecological contexts that might impede the just or equitable cost-recovery, such as, those existing within a communal conservancies. It separates water management from other crucial domains of rural life and obscures equity implications of cost-recovery that might emerge out of the realities that characterise such socioecological contexts (see Chapter 10).

After about a decade, the unenforced 2004 water law was repealed by the *Water Resources Management Act of 2013* (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2013). The current law also recognises CBWM in section 30, except that it introduced Water Point Management Committee that embodies the meaning of WPC in the previous law.<sup>70</sup> A WPC is not defined in the new law and the determination of its meaning and set up remains a prerogative of the Minister responsible for water affairs through gazettment of regulations.

### *CBWM implementation process, scope and challenges*

The objective of CBWM programme was identified by the DRWS as to 'ensure that by the year 2007, 80% of the rural population of Namibia [would] receive water from improved systems and all water points that then exist [would] be managed by communities themselves [through the WPCs]' (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2001). Hence, over a span of ten years DRWS embarked on a process of forming the WPAs and WPCs so as to devolve the responsibility of managing water services to them. The overall role of the WPC would be to

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<sup>70</sup>In section 30 of the *Water Resources Management Act of 2013*, there is no provision for Water Point Associations as was before in the *Water Resources Management Act of 2004*. It is highly possible that Water Point Committees as used in the current law implies the meaning of the Water Point Association in the previous law. Likewise the current law provides for a management committee of the Water Point Committee. The management committee in the current law most likely implies the meaning of WPC in the previous law. With regards to CWBM institutions, the current law is rather vague compared to the previous law.

control water users' access to water points and manage the payments for the use of water and minor repairs of the water installations (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2000a). According to the *Guidelines for the implementation of Community Based Management and Cost Recovery for Rural Water Supply* (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1999) the implementation of CBWM would follow three phases:

- i. *Capacity building phase* which involved the training of the officials of the DRWS and the communities on the modalities of CBWM. Whereas the officials of the DRWS were trained on how to implement the programme, the communities were trained on their responsibilities and how to undertake them, including training of a caretaker of the pump and the treasurer (Thomas and Twyman 2005; Schwieger 2017). This phase was designed to take a period of one year from August 1997 to July 1998. More detailed work that took place in this phase included: developing the training manuals, organising training workshops for both the officials of the ministry and the communities and their committees; organising the procedure for rehabilitating the water points before they are handed over to the WPCs; and creating awareness amongst the communities about the CBWM strategies and address the concerns that might arise from the communities.
- ii. *Handing over and operation and maintenance phase* which was planned to be a five-year phase beginning August 1998 and would run until July 2003. For the handing over to take place, this phase had to oversee the establishment of WPAs and WPCs. In this phase the programme assumed that the previous phase was successful and that communities were aware of the CBWM strategy and that they wanted to have the responsibilities of water supply and maintenance to be devolved to them. The officials of the DRWS was to help the communities form WPAs by helping them to develop a constitution, elect a WPC and come up with a water point management plan and finally registering the WPA with the Ministry. Once this was done, the DRWS would then hand over the management rights and responsibility of managing water points by a signing a lease agreement between the DRWS and the WPA (represented by the WPC). The key legal responsibility of the WPAs would be to buy diesel, filling the fuel tank, starting and stopping the engine when pumping the water. They are also supposed to undertake minor repairs such as replacing filters, tightening bolts and nuts, and changing oil. This means that the WPC has to collect money from the WPA members in order to finance the fuel and repairs if any. The procedure for covering the cost is detailed in the management plan whose blueprint was produced by the DRWS but were rarely complied with by the WPCs in practice (Chapter 8; Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg et al. 2016). On the other hand the DRWS has the responsibility of providing repair services to major damages such as breakdowns of the engine, replacing worn out equipment



and borehole rehabilitation (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2001). The DRWS would also be responsible for providing advice to the WPCs on the implementation of the management plans. This would be done by undertaking regular follow-up of the WPC to assess the implementation process, identify challenges and help the WPCs to address the challenges.

- iii. Phase three is the total handing over for full ownership and cost-recovery stage where the WPAs are expected to take care of all the operations of the water point including major repairs and replacement of equipment. The role of DRWS (currently DWSSC) remains only advisory and facilitation of contracts for the communities. For example, with equipment repair companies or with other water users who may want to use the water from a particular water point at a fee. This is emphasised in the current policy on water supply and sanitation.

There has been snail-paced and intermittent implementation of the programme thereby affecting its output and impacts. As mentioned already, the initial deadline of the formation of the WPAs and the WPCs was 2003. Until 2003, only 16% of the water points targeted had been rehabilitated and ready for handing over for maintenance. Only 21% of the targeted handing over cases were met by the same year (Karuaihe et al. 2014; Table 5). The Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development, on realising that the targets for 2003 could not be met, successfully requested the cabinet to extend the target for the second phase of the project to August 2007. In her review of available data in literature, Thekla Kelbert found out that 80% of communal water points nationwide had water point committees by 2010 (Kelbert 2016:265).<sup>71</sup> This is a slight improvement of the situation seven years back, in 2003, when 72% of the total water points targeted nationwide had WPCs established (Karuaihe et al. 2014). Nevertheless, this was still 20% less than initial target. By 2014, no water point had been handed over to the WPAs for full ownership and cost-recovery even though the deadline for phase three of the programme was to elapse in 2010 (Karuaihe et al. 2014).

In general, the slow pace of the implementation of the CBWM programme has been impeded by capacity challenges at the DWSSC, especially financial and human resources compared to the large number of water points in the communal areas, including Kunene region.<sup>72</sup> Additionally, socioeconomic factors amongst communities in communal areas, for

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<sup>71</sup> See Kelbert (2016) for detailed data on the number of WPCs established by 2010 per region in the entire country. However, care should be taken when interpreting the data as it is only absolute and does not account for the WPAs and WPCs that may have been formed but soon collapsed or became dysfunctional as is common in Kunene and admitted by government officials (see Chapter 8 of this thesis).

<sup>72</sup> My interview with Mr. Witbooi of DRWS in Khorixas on 11.06.2015 and Selma also of DWSC in Erwee on 19.03.2015 at Erwee revealed to me that one of their main challenge in reaching out to WPCs is lack

example migration, conflicts and micro-politics about water lead to collapse of WPCs (Chapter 9; Heyns 2005; Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg et al. 2016; Thomas and Twyman 2005). However, despite the challenges facing CBWM, communities find ways of maintaining water supply that their rural economy heavily depends on. In the language of Schwieger (2017) ‘the pump keeps running’, but at whose cost and whose benefit? What has been the outcome on equity and justice? In communal conservancies, such as †Khoadi †Hôas, where socioecological contexts represent sharing water not only amongst human communities but also with wild animals, the analysis of these questions become more imperative than could be assumed merely as human-wildlife conflicts. The analysis goes beyond human-wildlife contacts to equity between apportioning the costs on community livelihoods and the structure that sustains conservation. In Chapter 9, Chapter 10 and Chapter 11, I return to a detailed analysis of these questions that form the central objective of this thesis.

*Table 5: National CBNRM programme achievements by the end of 2003.*<sup>73</sup>

<b>Output</b>	<b>Target by 2003</b>	<b>Total achieved by 2003</b>	<b>Percent achieved by 2003</b>
Water point committees established	4,892	3,535	72
Water point committees trained	4,814	2,399	50
Water point caretakers trained	5,560	2,399	42
Water point associations established	4,814	2,217	46
Water point associations registered	4,814	1,675	35
Water points rehabilitated	6,867	1,098	16
Water points handed over for operation and maintenance	6,867	1,462	21

of vehicles for transport and adequate staff (see Chapter 8). But see also Kelbert (2016:266) for her findings in Kunene north.

<sup>73</sup> Adapted from Karuaihe et al. (2014).

Table 6: Number of water points and water point committees per region by 2010.<sup>74</sup>

Region	No. of water Points in region	No. of water point committees needed	No. of water point committees established	Percentage of Communities with water point committees
Caprivi	865	895	438	48.9%
Erongo	316	315	306	97.1%
Hardap	405	40	40	100.0%
Karas	450	75	75	100.0%
Kavango	385	312	204	65.4%
Kunene	982	706	462	65.4%
Ohangwena	800	720	701	97.4%
Omaheke	491	368	346	94.0%
Omusati	1 525	1257	1102	87.7%
Oshana	627	628	434	69.1%
Oshikoto	850	704	650	92.3%
Otjozondjupa	431	329	316	96.0%
National	8 127	6349	5074	79.9%

### *Financial investment into the CBWM*

A significant part of the budget to implement CBWM has been from donor funding, most of which has come as direct Official Development Aid (ODA) to the government of Namibia. An analysis of ODA support to Namibia for Water and Sanitation sector done by Kelbert (2016:225-3) shows that a total of 206.7 million USD went to the sector between 1995 and 2011. The main bilateral financial agreement being with Germany, Luxemburg, Finland and the Netherlands in the order of the strength of their financial contribution. The main multilateral financial agreements for the sector have been with EU and UNICEF. It is out of the scope of this thesis to disaggregate these figures in order to know what investment has actually gone to CBWM. Nevertheless, making calculations from the analysis done by Kelbert (*ibid.*:269-70) on the investment that supported Namibian Water Supply and Sanitation sector between 2001 and 2007, I find that a total of 432.03 million Namibian dollars went into the programme.

<sup>74</sup> Adopted from Gildenhyus 2010 as cited in Kelbert (2016).



## Chapter 6

### Community-based wildlife management in Namibia

Communal conservancy programme has been implemented in Namibia to manage wildlife within the country's communal area for over two and half decades.<sup>75</sup> Communal conservancy is the most popular form of CBNRM in the country. The objective of the communal conservancy programme has been largely twofold – ecological sustainability and socioeconomic empowerment in communal areas. Whereas the first objective concerns improving wildlife species diversity and increasing their population, the second objective responds to the need of reducing socioeconomic inequalities and rural poverty (Jones et al. 2012), believed to be rooted in Namibia's colonial history. During its implementation, the communal conservancy programme has attracted significant international attention and support (Jones and Murphree 2013). It has increased in scope and content and has gained international conservation related recognition as well. For example, in 2004 and 2008, Namibia's conservancy programme won the UNDP Equator Prize Award which rewards 'outstanding community efforts to reduce poverty through conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity'.<sup>76</sup> In 2012, the communal conservancy programme in Namibia won the 'Markhor Award for Outstanding Conservation Performance, which is organised by the International Council for Game and Wildlife Conservation', to reward project or initiatives that link biodiversity conservation to human livelihoods whilst applying the principles of sustainable use of the ecosystem.<sup>77</sup> The evolution and development of the communal conservancy programme in Namibia hinge on a number of factors. I discuss four in this chapter.

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<sup>75</sup> In Namibia, communal land is under common property resource rights for the use of communities within communal areas. The land is regulated under the Communal Land Reform Act of 2002 (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2002a). The traditional authority responsible for the communities living in a communal area is the custodian of the land on behalf of the communities (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2000b).

<sup>76</sup> The Equator Prize, organised by the Equator Initiative within the United Nations Development Programme, is awarded biennially to recognize outstanding community efforts to reduce poverty through the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity. See for example, <http://www.equatorinitiative.org/equator-prize/> accessed on 04.12.2017. Torra and N#a-Jaqna conservancies won the Equator Prize in 2004 and 2008 respectively.

<sup>77</sup> The CIC Markhor Award recognizes and celebrates outstanding conservation performance by personalities, private and government institutions, enterprises, or conservation projects that link the conservation of biodiversity and human livelihoods through the application of the principles of sustainable use, in particular hunting, as part of wildlife and ecosystem management. See <http://www.cic-wildlife.org/who-we-are/awards-and-prizes/markhor-award/> accessed on 04.12.2017. Also see [http://www.nacso.org.na/dwnlds/press\\_release\\_20120625.pdf](http://www.nacso.org.na/dwnlds/press_release_20120625.pdf) accessed on 06.07.2016.

### *Factors that influenced the evolution of community conservation*

#### i. Economic incentives and conservation in private farms

In 1967, Namibia, then known as South West Africa (SWA), as a province of the Republic South African undertook a legal reform on game management when the government issued a proclamation that gave freehold commercial farm owners (white settlers) the right to dispose of game in the farms in a commercially viable manner (Botha 2005). In the following year, the South African administration created self-governing ethnic homelands at the recommendation of the Odendaal Commission of Enquiry which started its work in 1962 and completed in 1964 (D'Amato 1966; Dugard 1973; Lawrie 1964; Republic of South Africa 1964). The Development of Self-Government for Native Nations in South West Africa Act of 1968 was passed and enacted consequently leading to the enforcement of the official form of a segregationist and discriminative apartheid administrative system in SWA.

Apartheid administration was characterised with a dualistic land tenure that saw white minority own 44% of the surface land on freehold basis (private tenure) whereas the black majority owned 41% of the possible land mass on communal tenure (Jones 2010).<sup>78</sup> In 1975, the Nature Conservation Ordinance, then under the apartheid regime, gave freehold landholders in SWA rights over the use of wild animals within their land (Botha 2005; Republic of South Africa 1975). These rights formally allowed both consumptive and non-consumptive use provided certain conditions were met by the landholders (Nelson and Agrawal 2008; Republic of South Africa 1975; Sullivan 2002). For example, the landholder who intended to be a game farmer was required by law to erect a game proof fence and apply for hunting permits (Jones 2001; Sullivan 2002). The benefits drawn from the use of the game would be enjoyed by the landholder subject to levies and taxes. To maximize on economies of scale, some neighbouring white game farmers collaborated to form collective game ranches, which were later known as conservancies, and shared responsibilities and benefits (Barnes and De Jager 1996; Murphree 2005; Sullivan 2002). This was the beginning of decentralisation of wildlife management through an incentive-based initiative in SWA which developed into a multimillion South African Rand industry (Jones 2010; Jones and Weaver 2009; Nelson and Agrawal 2008). Apart from the significant economic benefit to the farmers, there were also recorded impressive recovery of wildlife population in specific and biodiversity regeneration in general, that had been on the decline in the preceding decades. For example, Barnes and De Jager reported that:

Wildlife numbers [on private farms] appear[ed] to have increased by some 70% over the 20-year period between 1972 and 1992, and similarly, the biomass of game appear[ed]

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<sup>78</sup> Some commentators estimate the land under communal tenure to be 43% see for example (Adams 2001).

to have increased by some 84% [...]. There appear[ed] to have also been an increase of some 44% in the diversity of species (Barnes and De Jager 1996:40).

Furthermore, albeit with some government support in terms of capital and current expenditure, the value of trophy on private farms could have increased by 30% between 1972 and 1992 (*Ibid*).<sup>79</sup> This significant increase in the value for trophy hunting, according to Barnes and De Jager (1996), influenced, to a larger extent, the economic value for wildlife use on freehold land to rise by 80% only within the first decade (1972-1982) of the enforcement of the Nature Conservation Ordinance. Hence they concluded that:

Given the estimated annual economic contribution from private land wildlife [in SWA] (N\$ 30 to 56 million), this expenditure [by the government and landholders] seems to have been a very sound investment. [...]. The results of this analysis suggest that this policy is currently economically sound and that it deserves general support within government (Barnes and De Jager 1996:46).

Since Barnes and De Jager worked for the Ministry of Environment and Tourism at the time of their study, it is therefore no surprise that their conclusion would soon later make significant influence in the justification for communal conservancy within the ministry.<sup>80</sup> This is, for example, evident in some of the pioneer policy and programme documents for communal conservancies in Namibia. For example, a conservancy was defined as:

[A] group of farms on which [neighbouring] landowners have pooled their resources for the purpose of conserving and utilizing wildlife on their combined properties. The conservancy concept does not have to be restricted to [freehold] commercial farming areas, but can be extended to communal land as well (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1996)

In addition, their conclusion would offer a basis to validate the work of a few NGOs and conservation practitioners, who from 1980s had been experimenting on an incentive-based conservation in communal areas especially in Kunene region, north-western Namibia (Jones 2001, 2010; Sullivan 2002). These activities of conservation NGOs and practitioners also had a great influence in the official adoption of the CBNRM in wildlife management policy and legislative framework in Namibia (Jones 2001, 2010).

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<sup>79</sup> Despite the fact that government spent about 8 million Namibian dollars per annum, during these two decades (1972-1992), there was hardly any government support to game management within the *Bantustans* – ethnic homelands (Barnes and De Jager 1996). This resonated the discriminative and segregationist policies of the time and would later be termed by (Sullivan 2002:162) as ‘ecological apartheid’.

<sup>80</sup>At the time of their study, Barnes worked as a natural resource economist for the Directorate of Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Windhoek, seconded from the USAID funded, WWF (US) LIFE Programme. De Jager was (in early 1990s) an employee of the Directorate of Resource Management, Ministry of environment and Tourism, Windhoek, Namibia.

ii. Early forms of incentives for conservation in communal areas

Whilst the population and diversity of wildlife on the white-owned freehold commercial farms increased in the last two decades preceding Namibia's political independence, thanks to deliberate favourable government policies, their population in communal areas under self-governing native administration deteriorated significantly. Greater losses were especially observed in the central north and north-western part of the country. A number of interlinked reasons have been documented for the degradation of game population within the northern communal areas in 1970s and 1980s. Three of these reasons are common in literature.

One, is the outbreak of the civil war in Angola that coincided with the armed struggle for the liberation of SWA.<sup>81</sup> The ensuing deplorable security situation of the region led to availability of firearms that would be used not only to fight the human enemy but also to hunt wild animals. Some commentators, including Sullivan (2002), have contended that the South African Defence Force (SADF) deliberately distributed firearms to local people to foster tensions between them and consequently crack their solidarity in an armed struggle against the colonial administration. The availability of firearms then enhanced the capacity of local people and SADF to engage in illegal hunting (Newsham 2007).<sup>82</sup>

Two, the proliferation of ivory and rhino horn market, which coincided with the availability of firearms during Namibia's liberation war and Angolan civil war. The market created an escalating desire to supply ivory and rhino horns hence stimulating increased poaching of high value species, including desert-adapted elephants and black rhinos in the hostile region (Sullivan 2002). Lastly, a severe drought in 1980/81, ravaged the vegetation of the semi-arid area leading to massive loss of not just wild animals but livestock as well (Newsham 2007; Sullivan 2002). The impacts of the drought in north-western part of the country including Kaokoland, the self-governing homeland for the Himba and Herero communities, was particularly severe (Leser and Schlettwein 2005).

Pastoralism-based subsistence economy of the Himba was highly vulnerable to depredation as wild predators frequently attacked, injured or killed their livestock (Jones 2001). In retaliation, the Himba would not hesitate to kill the predators or dislike the presence of wild animals that increased the vulnerability of their livelihood strategy (*Ibid*). Consequently, conservationists, notably Garth Owen-Smith and Chris Eyre, contended that it

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<sup>81</sup> For political history of civil war in Angola, see for example James III (2011). The South African Defence Force (SADF) and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) – the military arm of South West Africa People's Organization (a political liberation movement or party for Namibia's liberation), mostly fought their wars in the northern parts of the country.

<sup>82</sup> South African Defence Force is said to have aided illegal hunting and made it possible for some top government officials to engage in a hunting spree for their own private benefits. See for example, Sullivan (2002:163).



was difficult, if not, impossible for the Himba to protect or be involved in activities that protected wild animals which were destructive to their livelihood (Jones 2001, 2010; Newsham 2007).<sup>83</sup>

Owen-Smith then approached and convinced the Himba headmen in Kaokoland, to form a local network of paid community game guards (CGGs) that would monitor poaching activities at the local and report to their headmen (Jones 2001). The headmen would eventually report the poaching incidences to the government or the nature conservation officials who patrolled the area.<sup>84</sup> Due to the prevailing political situation at that time, the intention of community game guards initiative looked suspicious to the apartheid administrators in Pretoria and Windhoek (Newsham 2007). The administration soon labelled Owen-Smith and his contemporaries as potential *terrorists* and enemies of the state (Jones 2001; Newsham 2007). Sensing the emerging lack of trust and eventual rejection from the administration they worked for, Owen-Smith and Eyre left government service to form Namibian Wildlife Trust (NWT) through which they implemented their initiative of Community Game Guards from private source of funds. (Newsham 2007).

Since early 1990s, Kaokoland steadily became a major tourism destination especially because of the increasing commoditisation of the Himba culture and the landscape (including its geomorphology, wild flora and fauna). As tourists continued to throng Kaokoland, the Himba would, according to CBNRM consultant, Brian Jones (Personal communication), began to persistently beg from tourists. The begging was having significant ramification on the Himba's way of life to the extent that troubled an anthropologist –Margaret Jacobsohn– who was undertaking ethnographic fieldwork in Puros, Kaokoland in the 1980s (*Ibid*). Aware of the efforts of NWT in establishing a local network of community game guards, Jacobsohn collaborated with NWT to negotiate benefits sharing between local people and tour operators from the financial proceeds of tourism in the area (Jones 2001; Newsham 2007). The negotiations were successful in getting one of the tour operators, which frequented the area with tourists, agreeing to share its proceeds with the local inhabitants on small percentage. Hence, the genesis of incentive-based wildlife management in communal lands of Namibia could be traced back to the work of Garth Owen-Smith, Chris Eyre, Margaret Jacobsohn,

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<sup>83</sup> Owen-Smith and Eyre worked in Kaokoland for the South African Governments as agriculture extension worker and nature conservation warden in 1960s and 1970s respectively (Bollig, personal communication 28.05.2018).

<sup>84</sup> Whether or not this was considered by many locals as a betrayal of the local people to the oppressor is obscured in the narrative that local people did not want to see wildlife disappear. Additionally, attempts to its analysis from literature dissolves in the fact that Owen-Smith later resigned from government employment that he felt sabotaged his efforts to convince Pretoria and Windhoek to devolve wildlife management rights to inhabitants of homelands in similar ways as was in the freehold commercial farms (Jones 2001; Newsham 2007).

Himba and Herero headmen and communities in former Kaokoland (Jones 2001, 2010; Newsham 2007).

Nevertheless, two opposing conclusions emerge in literature from this proposition of the origin of CBNRM. On the one hand, Brian Jones reports that the Himba community began to link economic benefits to wildlife and hence they became less likely to kill those wild animals that tourists came to see (Jones 2001, 2010). According to him, the success of the community game guards (CGGs) and the benefits sharing arrangement between the local people and the tour operators led Owen-Smith and colleagues to move their idea to the north-eastern part of the country, popularly known as Caprivi (but currently administratively known as the Zambezi Region), which is a different agro-ecological region from Kaokoland in the northwest. They founded another NGO – Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC), which to date is one of the key CBNRM supporting NGOs in Namibia.

On the other hand, Sian Sullivan, a critic of popular success accorded to CBNRM in wildlife management in Namibia, warns that the success of the CGGs in north-western Namibia was malleable and gave a false hope of empowerment to local people (Sullivan 2002). In particular, she explains that CGGs became less effective in areas where the salaries for game guards could no longer be paid and the supervision from the government decreased. Furthermore, she argues that the decline in the rate of death of wildlife was largely as a result of the decline in armed combat and improved rainfall in the area (*Ibid*), which were some of the actual factors whose inverse conditions contributed to wildlife decline and were beyond the control of the local people (Newsham 2007). Deciding whose side is right or wrong is an uphill task and is not the interest of this chapter in specific or the thesis in general. Nonetheless, their accounts of early forms of incentive-based wildlife management in Namibia go way back before the official adoption of CBNRM into policy and law after the country's independence.

As Namibia gained independence, the work of NWT/IRDNC in establishing community game guards concept had gained some popularity amongst conservationists. Its pioneer experts were invited by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) of the independent Namibia to help in preparing a policy document on wildlife conservation (Newsham 2007). It is this policy that would prepare a way for a legislative framework for communal conservancy model of CBNRM in Namibia. In preparing the policy, sentiments from conservancy model in freehold commercial farms created the much needed ecological and economic justification for devolving rights to communities so that they could directly benefit from the consumptive and non-consumptive use and management over wild animals in the communal land (Jones 2010; Newsham 2007). Unsurprisingly, they would also draw from the experiences from their work in Kaokoland and Caprivi. Additionally, it is important to note that the piloting of CGGs in Kaokoland and Caprivi were coetaneous to an incentive-based conservation in Zimbabwe's

communal land (former homelands). Zimbabwe's version of incentive-based game-wildlife management in its former native reserves was dubbed the '*Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources*'. The programme was commonly known by its captivating and easy to read acronym – '*CAMPFIRE*'. CAMPFIRE was much publicised in 1980s and 1990s in southern Africa, and no doubt its five principles (see below) influenced policy choices for Namibia in preparing the conservancy programme and legislation.

### iii. Influence from Zimbabwe's community conservation

As already alluded to, the evolution of communal conservancy programme in Namibia was contemporaneous to that of Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE programme (Jones 2010). Although CAMPFIRE was an initiative of the government, its design started nearly the same time as Owen-Smith's Community Game Guards initiative in the Kaokoland (Murphree 2005). Similar to the conservancy programme in Namibia, CAMPFIRE's underlying need to conserve wild animals in the communal land was justified by intertwining political ecology and political economy issues in communal areas (Murphree 2005). As a political ecology issue, the popular underpinning validation at that time was that incentive-based wild animals' conservation in white-only private commercial farms had led to significant ecological and economic gains. As a political economy issue, it relied on the realization that the colonial policy had discriminated upon the black, who mostly inhabited the communal areas, from benefiting in similar manner as their white counterparts, an argument that fits neatly in the independence politics (Jones and Murphree 2013; Taylor 2009).

By fusing these two factors in developing the idea behind CAMPFIRE, its pioneers considered four main issues. One, wild animals outside protected areas and commercial farms faced serious decline in population and diversity (Murphree 2005). Consequently, they called for immediate policy and legislative reforms –a conservation aspect. Two, in order to make management effective and efficient, there was need to make it participatory and devolve the usufruct rights to people and their communities –empowerment aspect (Jones 2010; Jones and Weaver 2009; Murphree 2005). Three, in order to improve communities' participation in conservation of wildlife, they must be able to benefit from the use of wild animals. In addition, the benefits must offset the costs of living with the animals –economic poverty reduction aspect (Jones 2010; Jones and Murphree 2013; Murphree 2005). And four, that the devolution of these usufruct rights must be anchored on an 'appropriate authority' and structure – institutional enforcement aspect (Murphree 2005; Taylor 2009). Hence, to achieve all these conditions, the design of CAMPFIRE was based on five principles, as noted by its leading architect, Marshal Murphree (Murphree 2005:114-115):

1. Effective management of natural resources is best achieved by giving it a focused value for those who lived with it.

2. Differential inputs must result in different benefits.
3. There must be positive correlation between quality of management and magnitude of benefit.
4. The unit of proprietorship should be the unit of production, management and benefit [although this was not implemented as such as the Rural District Council remained as the proprietor, in what Murphree termed 'Gate-Keepers'].
5. The unit of proprietorship should be as small as practicable, within ecological and socio-political constraints.

A number of factors led to the significant drift from observance of the five principles of CAMPFIRE, but most notable was the institutional roadblocks in the form of bureaucratic systems of the Rural District Councils (RDCs) (Child 2003; Murphree 2005; Newsham 2007). Eventually in later years, exacerbated by political and economic instability in Zimbabwe, the fire in CAMPFIRE would soon die, attracting a good amount of critique on the performance of the programme in both academic and grey literature (Mapedza 2009; Mudzengi and Chiutsi 2014).

Despite its short-lived fame, many commentators observe that the design of Namibia's policy and legislative framework for communal conservancy drew from lessons learnt in CAMPFIRE, especially its five principles (Jones 2001; Jones and Weaver 2009; Jones and Murphree 2013; Murphree 2005; Newsham 2007). This would possibly happen because the pioneers of communal conservancy programme in Namibia would make professional encounters with those behind the CAMPFIRE design. Marshall Murphree observed that the definition of a conservancy in the Namibia's conservancy legislation intended to 'transplant the success of commercial wildlife industry in the white-only-freehold farms to communal lands and thus largely replicated the CAMPFIRE approach' (Murphree 2005:133). He thus concluded:

Furthermore, the conservancy legislation [in Namibia] confers communal use rights over wildlife and tourism resources only. It does not confer communal tenure over land itself, and in this respect Namibia's CBNRM status resembles that of Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE (Murphree 2005:135).

However, the design of the conservancy legislation, policy and programme in Namibia differed with CAMPFIRE in some aspects, including the choice of the devolution unit and stronger involvement of NGOs. To bolster how much the Namibia's conservancy policy, legal framework and programme, drew from CAMPFIRE lessons, Child (2003) elucidates that its architects recognised the institutional roadblocks that prevented the implementation of CAMPFIRE from properly applying its five principles, especially the problem of 'Gatekeepers' –the government's Rural Development Council. To avoid the local government influence in the benefits management regime in Namibia's CBNRM, a community organisation (conservancy) would be adopted as the lowest level of management in Namibia's CBNRM policy and legislation. Although this has not been devoid of gatekeeping phenomenon, as many conservancy management committees in Namibia have been blamed for failing to ensure adequate benefit distribution to the households living within the conservancy area (Sullivan 2002, 2003, 2005,

2006). These critiques have consequently argued that it is overambitious to claim that the benefits from communal conservancy programme in Namibia trickle down to address historical inequalities, marginalisation and associated rural poverty.

iv. The promise of liberation struggle and post-independence political will

Another key factor that stimulated the development of the communal conservancy programme is the promise of addressing historical injustices that conspicuously stood in the manifesto of the liberation movement and political organisation –South West Africa People’s Organisation (SWAPO). The early forms of conservancy programme in the 1980s had occurred during the height of armed struggle for political liberation of Namibia. The struggles culminated into the independence of the country in 1990. The political euphoria of the time and its promises of change created an opportunity for fast tracking the development of the communal conservancy programme (Jones 2010; Newsham 2007). It opened vital policy spaces that would work to the advantage of the proponents of the conservancy model.

The agenda for the politics of independence was premised on the urgent need to unmake the discriminatory and segregationist policies of the apartheid regime and their consequences. SWAPO’s priority, as it were, was to emancipate the previously marginalised population, who by majority count were black. To do this, SWAPO promised that the government of independent Namibia would embrace policy changes that would ensure that historical injustices are balanced and equity is achieved through equal rights and access to resources (Newsham 2007). This would eventually lead to economic empowerment of all Namibians. Like in the case of land, wildlife policies fitted the SWAPO political agenda especially considering two historical realities.

First, there existed a dualistic property relations in wildlife management in the apartheid era, which, on the one hand, allowed and empowered the white farmers in the freehold land to gain usufruct rights over game, only to develop later into a multi-million industry favouring the settler population (Barnes and De Jager 1996; Jones 2010). On the other hand, the black people, majority of whom lived in the communal areas, did not have the rights to benefit from game-wildlife even though they bore the brunt of the destruction caused by wildlife (Jones 2001, 2010). Looked at from this point of view, the dualistic policies on land and game management meant that, whereas the economy and wellbeing of the minority white was strengthened, the livelihoods of the black majority was deliberately and systematically suffocated. Second, attempts to balance these policies by some conservationists in the 1980s through formalising the Community Game Guards programme were met with suspicion (Jones 2001; Newsham 2007). A suggestion and idea that was aimed at emancipating the black people would be suffocated by the colonial administration, terming it a sabotage for public policy (Newsham 2007).

Therefore, the aim of CBNRM in wildlife management of involving the black population in wildlife management would neatly weave with SWAPO's ante- and post-independence policies (Boudreaux and Nelson 2011). Hence, Newsham would conclude that 'the ideas that would be brought together to formulate the policy and legislation behind the conservancy programme found favour with patrons higher up in the political hierarchy [...]' (Newsham 2007:131). This would speed up the process of formulating the policy and legislative framework, although with some resistance (Jones 2010).

v. Common Pool Resource theory as a basis for validation

At the time when communal conservancy programme was sprouting in Namibia, Common Pool Resource (CPR) management theories that leaned towards New-Institutional Economics (NIE) were rapidly taking shape at the centre stage of sustainability literature. Elinor Ostrom and her contemporaries had challenged the arguments and conclusion of Garret Hardin in his *'Tragedy of the Commons'* –that only private ownership or government regulation can prevent depletion of open-tenured natural resources out of self-interest action of individuals (Hardin 1968). Ostrom, suggested that the commons can be sustainably managed through robust institutions which are designed according to specific principles, part of which are: Well defined geographical boundaries and membership exclusion as well as graduated sanctions (Ostrom 1990). Her suggestions intensified the need for resource user participation in natural resource management and advanced to influence international debates, including the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also known as the Rio Earth Summit.

Since there existed the political will and other initiatives to justify a conservancy model, Ostrom's scholarly contribution added weight to validate the adoption and development of CBNRM in Namibia. Thus, Jones and Weaver (2009) note that, whilst drawing up the conservancy programme, the Namibian officials relied on the advances of the theory and practices of CPR and particularly in relations to Ostrom's work. This was especially evident in the manner in which the conservancy programme defined: (i). Membership and how to exclude others from the programme; (ii). Geographical boundaries of the resources to be managed; (iii). The ability to develop rules and norms that order the behaviour of members of the conservancy in relation to the conservancy and wildlife; (iv). Magnify benefits from consumptive and non-consumptive use of wildlife as an incentive to conserve them; (v). How to monitor the compliance to the rules and norms through graduated sanctions (Jones 2010; Jones and Weaver 2009). Hence new intuitional economics theories on CPR management offered a scientific validation for the development of policy and legal framework that support the conservancy programme.

### *From ideology to policy, legislation, programme and practice*

The factors discussed in the foregoing section led to the development of the communal conservancy ideology in line with the CBNRM concept. It is the ideology that would change Namibia's conservation policy landscape in a number of ways. One, it would usher in a new conservation dispensation that would shape the political economy of wildlife conservation industry. That is, the new policy framework, as was idealised, would enable the black people of Namibia living in the former homelands to benefit from consumptive and non-consumptive use of wild animals, something that only existed for their white counterparts prior to independence (Barnes and De Jager 1996; Barnes et al. 2002; Jones 2001, 2010; Jones and Weaver 2009).

Two, the policy dispensation, taken at a face value, would open the democratic space for managing wildlife in Namibia's communal land. It would mean a recognition of the worth of the Namibia's black population to conserve wildlife whilst defining their own path for development (Ashley and Barnes 1996; Boudreaux and Nelson 2011; Jones and Murphree 2013). This would be embodied in some key elements of the conservancy design namely: the democratic space to determine membership; the space to make their own rules on how to govern their own conservancy (even though this would be based on a national blueprint developed largely by NGOs); and the space to decide on what to do with the benefits from game-wildlife.

Three, the policy would help to alleviate the challenges that people faced with wild animals especially on their livelihoods and wellbeing (Ashley 2000; Barnes et al. 2002; Boudreaux and Nelson 2011; Jacobsohn and Owen-Smith 2003). It is based on these elements of the policy that the conservancy programme would fuse together two concepts – conservation and poverty reduction (Jones et al. 2012; Nuding 2002). That is, conservation of wild animals would be enhanced if the development needs of the people who live with wild animals are met by the proceeds from the use of wild animals. At the same time, poverty eradication became a central goal of the government. Hence, programmes that would be grafted onto the discourse of poverty eradication would be welcomed (Newsham 2007). Contribution to reduction of rural poverty is a central claim of the conservancy programme in the sense that direct and indirect benefits from wildlife use can be invested in support of local development needs.

In the following section I discuss some of the processes involved in the development and implementation of the communal conservancy programme.

### Undertaking socioecological survey to justify the intervention

From 1990 to 1992 the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) and some NGOs notably IRDNC conducted a series of socioecological surveys in Namibia's communal areas in order to identify and explain key problems concerning game-wildlife conservation within the communities living in different areas (Jones 2001, 2010; Jones and Weaver 2009). Brian Jones, who was a leading researcher in the socioecological surveys, explains that a key finding of the exercise was that many people in the communal areas wanted to live with wild animals if measures would be put in place to reduce adverse impacts on their livelihood strategies. Majority were also willing to live with wild animals if they would benefit from their use (Jones 1999, 2001, 2010). The findings of the survey were used as lessons to craft the first versions of government supported community conservation initiatives. However, it was soon realised that it was difficult to implement these initiatives under the prevailing legislative framework which, for example, did not allow communal farmers usufruct rights over game-animals (Jones 2010; Jones and Weaver 2009). This would then motivate calls for a new policy on wildlife management and critical legislative reforms.

### Policy and legislative framework for community-based conservation

In early 1990s the government began to develop a policy which would ensure that rights over the use of wildlife is granted to communal area dwellers in Namibia. The policy was approved by Namibia's Cabinet in 1995. At the same time, this period saw the beginning of inflow of donor funding for the conservancy programme in Namibia (Jones 2010; Jones and Weaver 2009). Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE) programme funded by the USAID and WWF-US facilitated the development of the policy and legislative framework. It is important to note that LIFE programme emphasized on institutional development for the conservancy programme which involved a collaboration between the government, NGOs and the community (Jones and Weaver 2009).

Natural resource management experts were seconded by USAID and WWF-US to work at the Ministry of Environment (Directorate of Environmental Affairs - DEAs) to advise the process, whilst the NGOs worked on linking communities and the programme development team (Jones 2010; Newsham 2007). The resultant policy – *Wildlife Management, Utilisation and Tourism in Communal Areas of 1995* – emphasised the connection between ecological sustainability, political empowerment and economic growth as a policy objective of CBNRM (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1995). The policy aimed at: (i). Permitting an economically-based system for the management of utilisation of wildlife and other renewable



resources on communal land so that rural communities can benefit from those resources, benefit from wildlife/tourism-based development, improve sustainability of the wildlife resource; (ii). Redress the past discriminatory policies and practices which gave substantial rights over wildlife to commercial farmers, in contrast to communal farmers; (iii). Amend the existing law – Nature Conservation Ordinances of 1975 (Republic of South Africa 1975), so that the same principles that govern rights to wildlife utilisation on commercial land are extended to communal land; (iv). Allow rural communities to develop tourism enterprises and join into partnerships with tourism operators to develop tourism on communal areas, (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1995), thus opening common property for private capital investment.

The policy paved the way for the amendment of the legislative framework which culminated in to the *Nature Conservation Amendment Act* which was enacted by parliament in 1996 (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1996). The legislation gave usufruct and management rights to communities through a group entity which was identified as the ‘conservancy’. Section 24 A (1) of the Act provides the detailed prerequisites for application by community members to the Minister for Environment and Tourism to gazette part of their communal land as a conservancy. It states:

[a] group of persons residing on communal land and which desires to have the area which they inhabit, or any part thereof, to be declared a conservancy, shall apply thereof to the Minister in the prescribed manner, and such application shall be accompanied by - (a) a list of the names of the persons who are members of a committee established for the purpose of being recognised by the Minister [...] as the conservancy committee for the conservancy applied for; (b) the constitution of such committee; (c) a statement setting out the boundaries of the geographic area in respect of which the application is made; and (d) such other documents or information as the Minister may require (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1996)

Meeting these requirements in line with the Act and regulations needed significant technical work which most members of rural communities did not have. This capacity inadequacy justified the active involvement of NGOs and consultants at the formative stages of the communal conservancies. The result would be required to convince the Minister by meeting the following requirements in accordance with Section 24A (2) of the Act. That is:

- (a) A conservancy management committee that is representative of the community residing in the area where the conservancy should be gazetted.
- (b) The conservancy should have a constitution with clearly set rules and procedures that provide for the sustainable management and utilization of game in such area.
- (c) The conservancy committee should have the ability to manage funds and has an appropriate method for the equitable distribution, to members of the community, of benefits derived from the consumptive and non-consumptive use of game in such area
- (d) The geographic area to which the application relates has been sufficiently identified and agreed upon by competent authorities.
- (e) The area where the communal conservancy is to be established has no property rights conflicts. (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1996).

With the law coming into force through a Gazette Notice of its regulations by the Minister for Environment and Tourism (MET), the legal framework to devolve management and usufruct rights of game-wildlife in communal areas to communities who live in those areas was established. The conservancy programme would then roll out into implementation hoping to achieve the devolution expectations. It is however important, for the analysis in this study, to note that not all the management rights over wild animals were devolved to the communities. For example, the legal ownership of the wild animals and communal land remains with the state. With respect to land, the Minister in charge could only grant, upon successful application, a Leasehold Agreement to an investor who wishes to use a section of communal land for commercial purpose (for example to construct a tourist lodge or campsite). (*Government of the Republic of Namibia 2002a*). It is the Minister for Land Reform who may grant *de jure* rights over land. As such communal conservancies only claim *de facto* land rights in.

#### Implementation and present status of conservancy programme

Once the law was in place and regulations were gazetted, the implementation of the conservancy programme started with the major donor funding from USAID through the LIFE programme and other donations from NGOs. The policy and legal framework were available. There was also adequate political will evident through various policy and legislative reforms including the communal land reform. Funding challenges were decimated when significant amounts of donor funding flowed to the initiative from USAID. There was already the presence of experts drawn from different relevant disciplines from both local and external sources, some of whom were financed by donor funding (Jones and Weaver 2009; Newsham 2007).

The challenge that prevailed was how to convince the communities to form a conservancy and regularise it through registration. The intensified sensitisation, mobilisation and organisation of communities by conservation NGOs demonstrated that communal conservancy was not a mere post-independence rhetoric. Different spaces and avenues were used by the NGOs to gain entry into communities, especially in areas that where had not worked before. These spaces included local traditional authority councils which commanded respect and legitimacy from the corresponding rural communities and who were seen as the custodians of communal land, especially after the enactment of the Traditional Authorities Act (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2000b) and Communal Land Reforms Act (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2002a). Since the communal conservancy was a government programme and policy agenda, NGOs also worked with local government officers, especially agriculture extension workers in order to create awareness amongst the communities. A former agricultural extension worker in Kunene region remembered:

It also became the responsibility of local government extension workers to convince the communities about the conservancy programme. I was working for the Ministry of

Agriculture in the 1990s when the process for establishing #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy started. It became part of my responsibility to ensure that people in the local community understood the meaning and benefits of a conservancy. That is how I got involved in conservancy programme until later I became one of the founding leaders of #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy.<sup>85</sup>

Furthermore, existing formal institutions at the local level became spaces for negotiating the establishment of the conservancy programme. For example, in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy, Grootberg Farmers Union was already an organised group by the time the conservancy was introduced (see Chapter 9). Most pioneering members of the #Khoadi ||Hôas Conservancy management committee were members of the Grootberg Farmers Union.

The spirited work to popularise the conservancy programme in the communal areas resulted into landmark registration of a few communal conservancies. In February 1998, Nyae Nyae conservancy was gazetted in the eastern part of Namibia, former Bushmanland, where majority of inhabitants are Ju/'hoansi San. This was followed by three more conservancies which were gazetted in the last quarter of the same year, including: Salambala (in north-eastern Namibia), Torra and #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancies (in north-western Namibia). By the end of 1998, it was estimated that a total 1.7 million hectares of communal land representing 0.02% of the total surface land of the country was under communal conservancy (Jones and Weaver 2009). The joint launch of these conservancies was a high profile national event presided over by the then President of Namibia H.E. Sam Nujoma (Newsham 2007). Consequently, the conservancy programme emerged as a popular policy reform and flagship project both within and outside the political class. In theory, it laid the foundation for addressing inequalities that were inherited from the colonial administration, regarding the involvement of natives in managing and directly benefiting from wildlife conservation. Yet it also established a higher expectation and standard against which the performance of the conservancy model would be evaluated especially in achieving equity, justice and poverty reduction vis-à-vis conservation outcomes.

With more funding coming from donors, especially USAID, after gazetting the first conservancies, emphasis went into the registration and establishment of more conservancies. The suggestion that conservancy programme was a poverty alleviation tool became an enticing promise to the rural poor. This partly explains the reason behind rapid mushrooming of conservancies in Namibia between 2000 and 2007 (Newsham 2007; Sullivan 2005). By 2004, 31 communal conservancies had been registered and 50 were in the process of registration (Jones and Weaver 2009). Some conservancies began to develop tourism enterprises and more income generations were realised and increasingly expected (Jones 2010; Jones and Weaver 2009). Additionally, the growth of communal conservancy is also linked to a deliberate attempt

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with an informant on 22.02.2015 on the evolution of #Khoadi ||Hôas at Erwee settlement.

by traditional authorities, especially those that are not officially recognised and gazetted by the government to protect communal land, especially in northern Kunene (Bollig and Lesorogol 2016). All in all, the result has been a growth in the number of communal conservancies registered in Namibia in varying sizes, some of which are too small for any viable tourism and trophy hunting venture (Jones and Murphree 2013).

By the time the fieldwork for this work ended in January 2016, a total of 82 conservancies had been gazetted by the Minister for Environment and Tourism, covering an estimated total of 161,900km<sup>2</sup>, which is about 19.66% of the total surface land cover for Namibia (Figure 5). In addition, NACSO estimated that at least 177,435 people were living in the areas covered by the communal conservancies and hence, in one way or the other, affected by the conservation activities.<sup>86</sup> This figure does not include those who live out of the conservancy areas but have their socioeconomic activities affected by the conservancy activities. For example, there are part-time farmers, who live and work in cities, but have significant number of livestock in the communal lands covered by conservancies (Schneegg et al. 2013). In most cases they wield power that influence decision making in local level management of natural resources sometimes even in their absence. (Schneegg and Linke 2015).

Kunene region, a major tourism circuit in Namibia, has the largest share of registered conservancies (Table 7 and Figure 6. See also Bollig (2013) and Bollig and Lesorogol (2016)). At the same time, Namibia's National Planning Commission (NPC) observed that Kunene was one of the regions with high poverty profiles in the year 2001, of about 53.7% of the upper bound poverty line (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2011). The conservancy programme is closely linked to tourism industry, a major income earner for the country and seen as significant contributor to poverty alleviation in the country's long-term development plan– vision 2030. At the same time, Kunene region, especially northern part, has a number of unrecognised traditional authorities presenting protracted struggles over control of grazing land (Bollig 2013; Bollig and Lesorogol 2016). These two factors combined could partly explain why conservancies have mushroomed in Kunene region – expectation to get out of poverty from living with wild animals through tourism built around conservancy and the attempt to protect communal land by traditional authorities and legitimise their presence.

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<sup>86</sup> See [http://www.nacso.org.na/SOC\\_profiles/conservancysummary.php](http://www.nacso.org.na/SOC_profiles/conservancysummary.php) accessed on 26.05.2016.

Table 7: Status of conservancies in Namibia by 2015.<sup>87</sup>

<b>Region</b>	<b>No. of conservancies</b>	<b>Area (Km<sup>2</sup>)</b>	<b>No. of people living in the area<sup>88</sup></b>
Caprivi	13	3,782	29,067
Erongo	4	17,303	6,433
Hardap	2	1,423	804
Karas	4	6,55	4,527
Kavango	4	1,197	4,482
Kunene	36	58,976	44,105
Ohangwena	1	1,34	2,588
Omaheke	3	15,733	6,597
Omusati	3	9,496	36,474
Oshana	1	1,548	2,233
Oshikoto	1	508	4,628
Otjozondjupa	8	43,723	35,497
Zambezi	2	321	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>161,900</b>	<b>177,435</b>

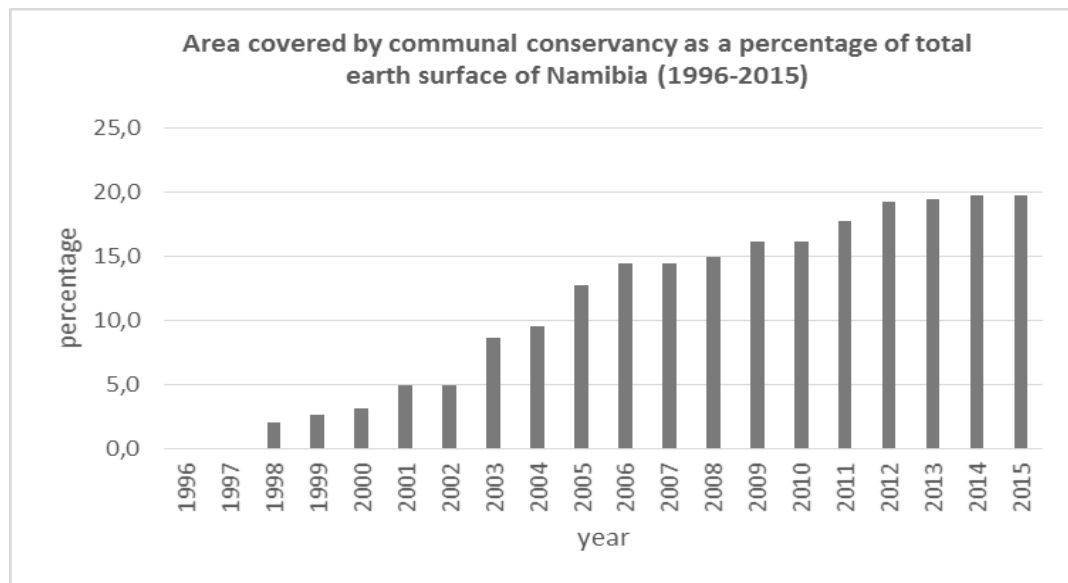


Figure 5: Area covered by the communal conservancies as a percentage of the total surface land of Namibia.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup> See source at [http://www.nacso.org.na/SOC\\_profiles/conservancysummary.php](http://www.nacso.org.na/SOC_profiles/conservancysummary.php) Accessed on 26.05.2016.

<sup>88</sup> Number of people has been filled in for 79 conservancies. The number of people per conservancy was adjusted and updated in 2013 using Namibia Population and Housing Census data for 2011 (NACSO at [http://www.nacso.org.na/SOC\\_profiles/conservancysummary.php](http://www.nacso.org.na/SOC_profiles/conservancysummary.php) Accessed on 26.05.2016).

<sup>89</sup> See source at (Source: data provided by NACSO in August 2015 and chart reorganised by author. Data also available at <http://www.nacso.org.na/publications.php> accessed on 25.05.2016).

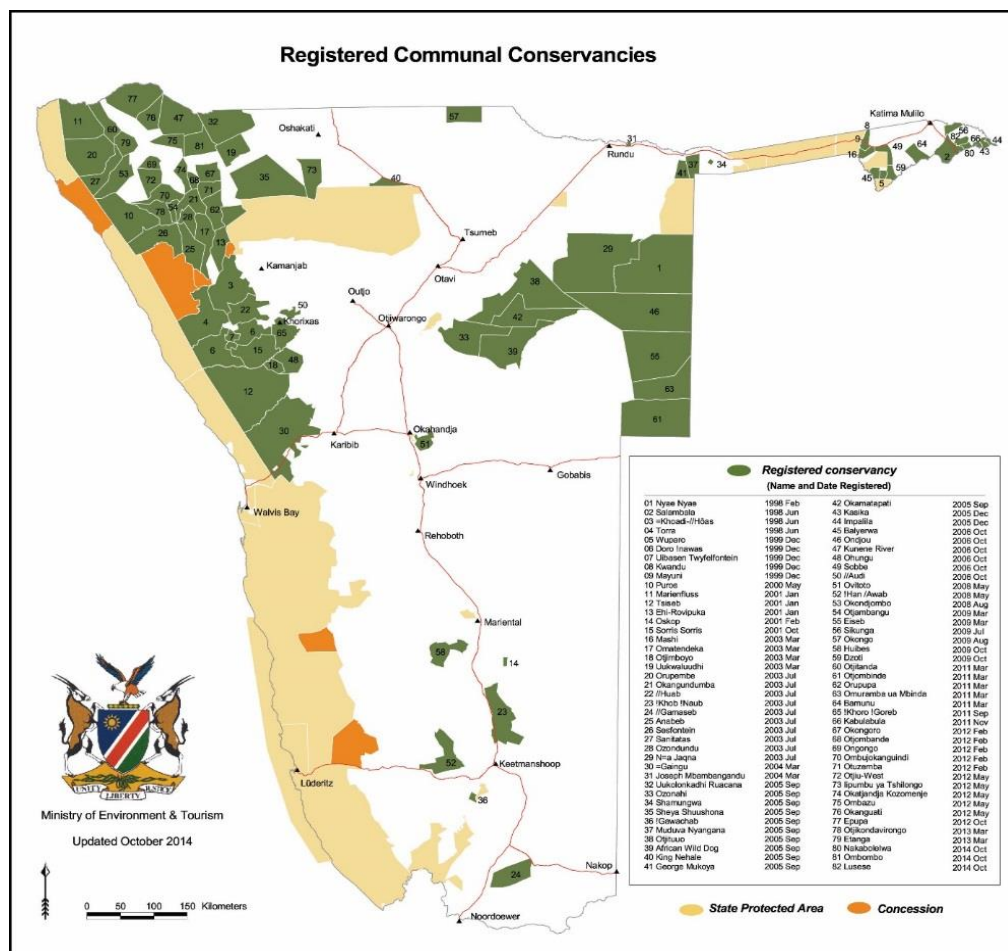


Figure 6: Map of showing registered conservancies in Namibia.<sup>90</sup>

### Funding support for conservancy programme in Namibia

A key factor that has facilitated the growth and survival of the conservancy programme has been the consistency and amount of direct donor funding for the programme, which began in 1993 under the LIFE programme funded by USAID.<sup>91</sup> The first phase of the LIFE programme was directed to the formulation of an enabling policy and legislative framework (Jones 2010; Jones and Murphree 2013). The result of this phase was the *Wildlife Management, Utilisation and Tourism in Communal Areas of 1995 (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1995)* and the *Nature Conservation Amendment Act 1996 (Government of the Republic of Namibia 1996)*. LIFE programme continued under the funding of USAID until April 2008, with a funding interval period of 5 years (Jones 2010; Jones and Murphree 2013). Each funding period focused on different intervention areas. Other donors that have financially supported

<sup>90</sup> See source at [http://www.nacso.org.na/SOC\\_profiles/conservancies\\_A4.jpg](http://www.nacso.org.na/SOC_profiles/conservancies_A4.jpg) Accessed on 26.05.2016.

<sup>91</sup> Interview with Chris Weaver, the Managing Director for WWF-Namibia on date 28.07.2015 in Windhoek.

the expansion of conservancy programme include United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID), Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Global Environment Facility (GEF)-World Bank, WWF-UK amongst others. Although the Government of Namibia has also provided support for the programme, in general, the conservancy is a programme that has thrived under the auspices of external mainstream donors. Between 1990 and 2012, the conservancy programme had seen an investment of N\$ 1.4 billion or about 140 million USD (NACSO 2016).<sup>92</sup> Table 8 below shows a list of donors that have supported the conservancy programme from 1990 until 2012.

Since 2009, there has been a significant decline in donor funding towards the conservancy programme. Many factors can explain this scenario. One of the factors is the classification of Namibia as an upper middle income country by the World Bank (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2011), hence requiring limited donor support compared to low income countries.<sup>93</sup> A major decline in donor support for the conservancy programme happened in 2014 when a significant support from Millennium Challenge Account (N\$ 126 million or approximately US\$ 18 million) funding came to a close. Since then, medium scale funding has been secured from limited sources including WWF Network through WWF-Namibia and Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (EED) through IRDNC. A National Taskforce has been set up to draw a sustainability plan for the CBNRM programme in Namibia. The taskforce draws its members from two government institutions, namely MET and Directorate of Forestry in MWAF, and NGOs, including NACSO, IRDNC, LAC and WWF. The task force is responsible for developing a national sustainability strategy for the CBNRM.<sup>94</sup> Despite the fact that wildlife management in communal areas intersects significantly with rural water supply and management, there is no representation in the taskforce from the Directorate of Water Supply and Sanitation Coordination (DWSSC).

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<sup>92</sup> See footnote 91 and Interview with Maxi Louis on 28.07.2015. Although in my interview with Chris Weaver and Maxi Louis, the two informed that NACSO can only track the investment that went in through NGOs and not through government. The figures should therefore be read with caution.

<sup>93</sup> Many commentators in Namibia have criticized this reclassification of Namibia as an upper middle economy, including Namibia's former Deputy Finance Minister Calle Schlettwein (now Minister for Finance) who was quoted in 2011 to say 'It [the classification as an upper middle class economy] deprives us of access to funding. [This means] our development funding becomes very expensive'. Chris Weaver of WWF-Namibia also expressed similar concerns. See footnote 91.

<sup>94</sup> See footnote 91.

Table 8: Donor funding for Namibia's CBNRM programme from 1990 - 2012.<sup>95</sup>

Time frame	Project Name	Funding Source	Funding Amount
<b>Funding for the direct support of the National CBNRM Programme including policy and legislative reforms</b>			
1993-2008	Living In a Finite Environment (LIFE) Project: Phases 1-3	USAID	US\$34,398,943 US\$11,344,685
2001-2003	Wildlife Integrated for Livelihoods Diversification (WILD) Project	UK- DFID	£1,040,000
2002-2007	Namibian Nature Foundation (NNF)/LIFE Cooperative Agreement	USAID	N\$19,619,741 for CBNRM, plus N\$2,718,312 for HIV/AIDS
2005-2011	Integrated Community-Based Ecosystem Management (ICEMA) Project	Global Environment Facility (GEF)/World Bank/French Facility for Global Environment (FFEM)	US\$7.1 million (GEF); €1.4 million FFEM
2008-2011	Variety of grants to select NACSO members and Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) to support conservancies and species conservation.	WWF-US	US\$ 8.8 million
<b>Funding for direct support to the CBNRM field-based implementation</b>			
1990-1997	Support to Community Game Guard Programme in Kunene and Caprivi	WWF-International	Amount not reported by NACSO
1998-2000	Support To CBNRM and Conservancy formation in Kunene Region	WWF-International	N\$2,603,514
1998-2010	Support to Kunene and Caprivi Conservancies and the Kyaramashan Association in West Caprivi	WWF-UK	N\$101,743,128
2011	Conservancy Development Support Services	Millennium Challenge Account of the USA	US\$2,547,787
2011	MCA-N Conservancy Grant Fund	Millennium Challenge Account of the USA	N\$2,404,180
2000-2004	North Central Community-Based Natural Resources Enterprise Development (NCCED) Project	UK -DFID	N\$4,192,508
2000-2007	Every Rivers Project	Sweden - SIDA	N\$11,568,000
2004-2007	CBNRM Support to emerging, targeted conservancies	Sweden - SIDA	N\$7,471,012

<sup>95</sup> The figures are given in a national sustainability strategy for Namibia's CBNRM programme prepared by NACSO (NACSO 2016).



## Chapter 7

### Household livelihoods in #Khoadi ||Hôas

#### *The daily symphony of livestock keeping*

Here in the farms, everything is about livestock. Every house has a kraal, may be for cattle or goats. Even those who are working in the cities and earn salaries, those with money have cattle and goats here. Cattle and goats are our bank accounts. When I want to buy something for my children to go school, I sell a goat or may be two. It is the cattle and the goats that bring the *zink* [iron sheets] you see on our roofs. Two months ago Johaness' wife was sick, she needed to be operated. I don't know from what disease she was suffering. They sold three cows and paid the bill. Walk around the farms and see what people eat. It is *pap* [maize meal] and sour milk. The milk comes from our cows. When we have funerals and weddings and other celebrations we slaughter them for meat. If you do not have livestock in this area and staying in the farms you are nothing.<sup>96</sup>

Livelihood strategies encompass productive socioeconomic activities that households engage in and deploy resources towards in order to survive (Chambers and Conway 1992; Ellis 1998, 2000b, 2000a; Farrington 1999; Farrington et al. 1999; Scoones 2009). The vignette above is part of the remarks made out of an informal chitchat with Benadus in Springbokplaas when I asked him about what economic activities people living in his village survived on. It represents a widespread conviction amongst locals that livestock keeping is a highly ranked livelihood strategy within #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy. Livestock, from the vignette, is a wealth reserve for households that is made use of in emergency need for money, contributes to dietary needs of the household and has a symbolic function of economic worthiness in the community. Livestock keeping in the conservancy largely remains semi-sedentary and involves the keeping of cattle, goats and sheep as priority animals. Horses and Donkeys or mules form part of the herd because of their supportive roles to livelihoods, especially transportation. The significance of livestock keeping in the area is evident in how people's daily life is immersed in livestock husbandry. For several months, I followed the daily life of Banadus, which largely represents those of the farmers in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy, until I mastered how livestock shapes the rhythm of households' routine. From early morning tracking of predator wild animals that maraud the compound in the night to repairing kraals to reduce livestock's vulnerability to attack; from milking goats in the morning and cows in the early afternoon, to opening taps at the communal water points so that livestock can quench their thirst.

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<sup>96</sup> Comments made by an adult male respondent during an informal talk in Springbokplaas village on 23.10.2014.



*Picture 6: A man controlling livestock at a water point in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy*

Grazing takes place in the commonage around villages but also in places where there are no settlements at all. The commonage is under formal control of the |Gaiodaman traditional authority, which grants grazing rights. Grazing rights are intertwined with customary rights over land allocated by the traditional authority as provided for in the Communal Land Reform Act (Bollig and Lesorogol 2016; Government of the Republic of Namibia 2002a; Hinz and Gairiseb 2014). Cattle freely graze from late afternoon through the night and early morning in the communal grazing area that is characterised with Mopane trees and occasional open fields. Between eleven and twelve o'clock in the late morning, cattle habitually return to the communal water point to drink. Lactating cows head to the kraal where the calves are protected. Banadus or his brother-in-law and teenage boys milk the cows in five litre buckets. The calves are then left to suckle the remaining milk for their nutritional intake before being separated from their mothers again. The milk is poured into a large container and left for between 3-4 days to ferment into sour milk for household consumption. When milk is in plenty, it is shared with relatives who may not have lactating cows or have no cattle altogether. In addition, whenever Benadus or his wife is visiting relatives staying in other areas, including towns, they bring along some litres of milk in containers. It acts as a gift to the people being visited. This way, other than a source of household nutritional intake, cow milk plays an important role in maintaining the social relationships between Benadus and his relatives as well as neighbours within and outside the villages (See also Schnegg 2016a, 2016b). Milk production reduces as drought intensifies such that throughout the dry period of between September and January, milk from own livestock is hardly consumed in most households.

The cattle continue to lie in the kraal and at the water point waiting for the taps to be opened. Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, Benadus who is also the caretaker of the communal water point opens the taps connected to the communal concrete reservoir and fills the watering troughs from where the cattle drink. Meanwhile, Benadus inspects the herd to see if all the cattle came back to drink water. In case one is missing, a plan is organised to get the donkey cart ready and we are off to the fields and villages in search of the missing part of the herd, just in case it was not eaten by predator wild animals. The cattle leave for the fields and graze in the commonage around the village only to habitually return to the water point the following morning at around ten o'clock, or earlier in summer days. Though night grazing makes the cattle to be more vulnerable to depredation than at daytime, it persists as a norm throughout #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy. Various reasons are given by the communities for night grazing but three are common. First, people explain that it has been a tradition for the Damara people to leave their cattle to roam about including grazing in the night. This somewhat compares with observations in some ethnographies of the Damara. For example, in his comparative ethnography of the Khoisan peoples, Barnard observes that in early history, the Damara herders were 'said to have left their animals to wonder in the veld'. He added that 'little care was taken to protect the flocks [...]' (Barnard 1992:204). Indeed, throughout the southern Kunene where the Damara communities dominate the population, night grazing for cattle is a common phenomenon. Second, communities believe that low surface temperatures at night is conducive for the efficient feeding for cattle compared to daytime when it is hot. <sup>97</sup> A male informant from Springbokplaas village explained during an informal conversation that:

At daytime the sunshine is so hot that the cattle would just lie under the tree shades all day without feeding. This will make them unhealthy and thin. But in the night, because it is cool, the cattle can feed a lot, become big and fleshy.<sup>98</sup>

This connection between cattle feeding and consequent nutrient intake is nuanced on the communities' local knowledge about their environment and livestock husbandry. The third reason is drawn from people's experiences with the practices of colonial white-settler farmers for whom most of the older generation of the Damara people from the area worked. A man in his late sixties at Kleinberg village explained:

We grew up with our parents who were working for the Afrikaner in his farm. You know the Afrikaner farm was fenced and his cattle would graze in those farms without going out. They would graze day and night because they wanted them to have more meat, which is good for selling. So, we saw that the Afrikaner's cattle were just grazing in the night. When people were brought to these farms, the farms still had fences. So the cattle

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<sup>97</sup> The air temperatures in the daytime during summer months can rise to 35°C and in winter to 23°C. In summer nights the temperature can fall to about 20°C whereas in winter it falls to below 10°C or sometimes even to freezing points.

<sup>98</sup> Comments from a male informant in Springbokplaas village on 13.03.2015.

could be left to graze in the night and they would just be within the fences. That is how we got used to leaving the cattle to graze in the night.<sup>99</sup>

By grazing in the night, cattle also become more vulnerable to theft and attacks from large wild predators –which comes into sharp conflict with conservation. Furthermore, according to the government policy on compensating loss of livestock due depredation, the farmers cannot be compensated for such losses if the livestock was not herded or secured in a suitable kraal (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2009). I return to the details of this discussion in Chapter 11.

Household daily life around the husbandry of small stock (goats and sheep) begins in the morning when the sunshine is still weak. The goats are milked in their kraals in small jugs or large mugs to get the milk needed for coffee. After coffee and breakfast, if any, and a few household chores, male adults or employed herders release the goats from their kraals into the veld or field. The herder decides the route the goats will take into the field. They are often accompanied by dogs that help to protect the small goats against predators especially jackals. Young goats and sheep or injured ones are left at home together with the calves because they are not only much more vulnerable to depredation but also cannot withstand the stress of moving long distances under the scorching heat from the sun. Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, herders drive the small stock to the communal water point where they drink water together with the cattle before they are driven back to nearby bushes to graze. In the evening, just before the sun goes down, the small stock is closed in the kraal ending the daily household chore on small stock.

### *The value of livestock keeping in #Khoadi //Hôas*

Livestock, especially small stock may occasionally be slaughtered, particularly amongst the middle income and wealthier households, for household food and to feed people during ceremonies like funerals, birthday parties, weddings and church confirmation, as illustrated in the opening vignette of this chapter. Howbeit, such occasions are infrequent making slaughtering livestock for meat a rare occurrence. Quantitative data collected through a monthly survey from 81 households conducted between February 2015 and January 2016 show that only 2.2% and 17.3% of sample households slaughtered cattle and goats respectively. Furthermore, whenever livestock is slaughtered, it is more likely to be a goat or sheep than cattle. The reasoning lies in the comparison of the value put on cattle against the worth of the occasion or purpose for which the slaughter is done. The following ethnographic vignette helps to illustrate this point.

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<sup>99</sup> Interview with Ganuseb (63 years of age) in Kleinberg village on 15.07.2015.

I touch [slaughter] my cattle when I am seriously stuck. A cow is big and worth a lot of money. If I slaughter it for the funeral, then that must be a funeral so close to me. Before my mother died in 2011, I promised her that I would give a cow to my brother. Now he has died before I could give the cow. So I have to slaughter it in his funeral for those who have come to mourn him to eat. Then the spirit of my brother and mother will feel better and I will also feel relieved because they will be happy in their death. That is why I am going to slaughter the bull.<sup>100</sup>

The vignette illustrates how careful thought goes into the decision for choosing livestock for consumptive use by households against the weight of the reasons for slaughter. Highly valued sociocultural practices and obligations, like settling debts with the dead inevitably leads to the slaughter of livestock of good value. The purpose for which livestock is usually slaughtered by households revolves around wedding celebrations, funerals, supporting relatives and household consumption. These are part of the cultural practices that enhance social relations that shape behaviour and consequently the communities' social structure (Bourdieu 1990). Supporting relatives encompasses sending meat to relatives living in towns or to children living in places near schools. Of those who reported to have slaughtered livestock during the survey period ( $n=81$ ), 16% slaughtered cattle for weddings and funerals, whereas only 4.3% and 2.2% slaughtered small stock for the ceremonies. The difference is accounted for not only by the number of people to be fed, but also the cultural value that is imbued in the ceremony. Examples include; settling debts with the dead as illustrated in the vignette above, prestige that comes with slaughtering cattle for weddings and funerals respectively compared to small stock. On the other hand, the chance that cattle is slaughtered for household meat consumption is lower than the chance that small stock is slaughtered. Here, the mouths to feed are less and no social reputation is sought for. It is highly unlikely that people would slaughter livestock to support their relatives in the villages.

The point here is two-fold. First, the contribution of livestock keeping to household daily food needs remain largely the production of milk for household consumption (which is also absent in dry months) rather than meat supply. Second, the contribution of livestock to symbolic livelihoods outcomes are significant but infrequent. Thus, although livestock keeping shapes the daily routine of people and households in the conservancy, it hardly affects their food security beyond provision of milk for household consumption. Instead livestock keeping remains as a significant wealth reserve for households or insurance against difficult times. I return to this point in the following section.

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<sup>100</sup> A remark made during a conversation with one male informant in a farm as we conversed about his donation of a bull to be slaughtered in his brother's funeral.

### *Livestock keeping and household wealth reserve*

As illustrated in the vignette at the beginning of this chapter, cattle, goats and sheep store household wealth that can be made use of during hard times. The stored wealth guards against uncertainties of the future, comparable to savings in a bank account, as explains Benadus. This means that livestock is hardly sold except when money is needed for pressing family needs that may require large sums of money like: building a house, paying school fees, paying medical bills, feeding people during ceremonies like funerals and weddings and buying other household assets. Livestock can also be traded as a means of wealth accumulation or in order to acquire capital to invest into other means of earning an income. For example, households with more than necessary number of bulls or male goats and sheep, often choose to sell one or two in order to buy female ones that can breed to increase the herd. Other examples also include a farmer selling a bull in order to purchase materials for making a donkey cart for sale or for domestic use. The rare decision to sell cattle, goats or sheep is therefore usually positively constrained by a conscious desire to grow the herd and increase a wealth reserve base that consequently leads to upward mobility. In addition, livestock is sometimes bequeathed to children as a way of passing onto them wealth. Therefore, since the livestock is already invested through bestowal, selling it for financial income becomes difficult.

When the need arises, livestock can be sold locally, in the public auction or through a special permit granted to a single buyer by the government. Locally, livestock is sold to individual buyers who drive around the villages seeking for sellers, or sellers who spread their needs to purchase livestock through informal networks. When the farmer and the buyer meet, they negotiate the price based on a floor price that is usually taken from a previous livestock auction. Sometimes, farmers who want to sell the livestock, approach wealthier people in the village, plead their need for money and offer to sell their livestock in order to raise the cash. When an exchange agreement is made (usually verbally), buyers can pay the money in instalment, especially for cattle, in case they are not able to pay the whole amount at once, provided that the seller gets enough money needed to meet the urgent household need.

Public livestock auction is characterised with the presence of many buyers who bid for the livestock hence a favourable price may be realised. There are two livestock auction points that serve the area, namely, Kalkrand and Loskop near Kamanjab town. The auction points are between 60km. – 70km. away from the conservancy implying that farmers need to transport their livestock there in a truck. Auction in these two points is organised and conducted by AGRA, which is an agricultural cooperative in Namibia mostly working with commercial farmers. Most buyers in the auction are commercial farmers who buy the livestock from the communal farmers, take them to their farms and improve their quality before selling them to

MEATCO –a quasi-state company that processes meat in Namibia both for local consumption and export.

A detailed preparation is done by households who intend to sell their livestock at the auction market. Once the decision to sell livestock is made, the head of the household or bread winner or owner of the livestock identifies the livestock to be sold depending on their need for money. It is the cost of the pressing household need that determines what kind and the number of livestock units a household could sell. The money that remains after spending on the priority need is spent on other household needs. Until the auction day, they pay close attention on the selected livestock in order to prevent them from getting lost or attacked by wild predators. The auction date and floor price for the different kinds of livestock is announced by AGRA in a local radio in Khoekhoe language at least a month to the auction. In further preparation, the farmer obtains a livestock movement permit, as required by law, from the office of government's department for veterinary services in Erwee. The farmer then organises for transport with the owners of the truck outsourced by AGRA. In the past, they would go through the Farmers Union, but since the Union is not active in the area anymore, most farmers choose to call the transporter directly to ask for the itinerary of the truck. This is done just a few days before the auction. One day to the auction, households move their livestock earmarked for sale to a cattle loading kraal that is built somewhere in the village or in a nearby village. When the truck arrives, people from different households help each other to load the livestock onto the truck. The animals are then transported to the auction market, to wait for the next day's bidding. The cost of the transport (N\$400 for cattle and N\$200 for small stock) is deducted by AGRA from purchase price of the livestock and paid to the transporters. Other costs such as security are also deducted. The remaining amount is paid to the farmer, as net proceeds, a few days after the auction, as long as they show the registration cards for participating in the auction, which has the details of their livestock sold.

Livestock markets are also organised with a special permit granted by government's veterinary department to a single buyer who wishes to purchase livestock in an area from a local purchase point.<sup>101</sup> The difference here is that there is only a single buyer and hence the process is not competitive and prices are usually set by the buyer based on the floor price from the last auction. Even in such markets, the sale of livestock still is influenced by a need for money for large household expenditure. The process is the same for registering and acquiring a movement permit. Here, cash is paid immediately after the sales. Because the places where such sales are organised are usually within #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy area, not much money is spent on transport. The two places where markets on special permit are organised include Condor pos and Driehoek (see map in Figure 3). The development of these areas into livestock

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<sup>101</sup> Interview with a government's agricultural extension officer in Anker on 26.09.2015.

sale points is rooted in the political economy of livestock farming in Damaraland in the pre-independence period. The desire to address racial inequalities raised the need to integrate the Damara livestock farmers to the livestock market economy in order to reduce their dependency on selling labour to commercial farmers. A senior member of the |Gaiodaman Traditional Authority recalled:

Before independence, commercial farmers sold their cattle in Outjo and made money and became rich. But for us, we kept livestock and had no auction organised here where we could sell them and make money like the commercial farmers. Our people could leave their livestock in the farms to be employed by Afrikaner farmer, just to care for their livestock. The Damara administration wanted to improve the lives of our people. So the administration developed Driehoek and Condor *pos* as auction points for Damara people here. We wanted commercial farmers to come and buy livestock from our people the way they did in Outjo. Our people would then become better farmers and not just farm workers in the commercial farms.<sup>102</sup>

During the colonial time, the nearest livestock auction was only in Outjo, about 150km. from #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy, and was dominated by white commercial farmers. Structural inequalities rooted in the apartheid administration, were seen by the Damara administration as a constraint to equal participation of the Damara communal farmers in the livestock market in Outjo. The result was the development of livestock auction points in Driehoek and Condor *pos*. Commercial farmers were invited to come and buy livestock from the Damara. The farmers association would organise the auction and get the fees paid to them in a manner that emulated the operation of AGRA –the cooperative for commercial farmers. However, the expected auction market failed to pick up for reasons that can be deduced from the following excerpt of an interview with Paulus, a key informant in Erwee.

**Richard:** So how did livestock auction stop in Driehoek and Condor?

**Paulus:** We tried but things did not go well. There were many problems. First, the commercial farmers went to our farmers directly instead of buying from the auction. They bought cattle and sheep and goats directly from farmers because they did not want to compete and pay higher prices. Also, our people do not want to sell their livestock. The auction can only be organised if there are livestock brought to the auction. It is like a meeting without quorum.

**Richard:** Why did they not want to sell their livestock?

**Paulus:** Here, people only sell livestock when they have problems. They are not like the Afrikaner who keeps cattle as his business. We save our money in the livestock.

**Richard:** So what happened to the auction?

**Paulus:** The farmers association could not organise the auction anymore. It started going down and down until it collapsed.<sup>103</sup>

Paulus, in the excerpt above, blames the failure of the livestock capital market in the area, on the one hand, on political economic factors that shaped inequalities in the apartheid period. To him, the commercial farmers who had the capital to buy the livestock interfered with the functioning of the auction. By buying directly from the farmers, they could negotiate favourable prices compared to a competitive bidding. Consequently, there were less people bringing their

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<sup>102</sup> Interview with a senior member of the traditional authority in Anker on 26.09.2015.

<sup>103</sup> Interview with Paulus in Erwee on 26.09.2015.



livestock to the auction market. Left at this point, communal farmers are depicted as less rational in maximising prices. However, on the other hand, Paulus' second explanation confirms the livelihood outcome that shapes livestock keeping in †Khoadi †Hôas –a store of wealth rather than a commercial venture. Hence, by the time a household is faced with pressing need for money, the auction might not be organised but freelance buyers would be available or reached through existing networks. The two factors affected the supply threshold of livestock (which Paulus analogises as the quorum) for the auction which continued even after independence. Driehoek and Condor *pos* have since remained market points with cattle loading infrastructure used for purchase of livestock on special permit granted to single buyers.

The qualitative data helps to illustrate and emphasise that livestock keeping largely remains an important store of wealth or insurance for hard times. Consequently, consumptive uses (sale and slaughter) of livestock must be well thought and consciously calculated by households, even if not entirely rational. To this end, livestock keeping is thus largely aimed at realising long-term economic stability and sustainability of household livelihoods rather than short-term household livelihoods outcomes, such as daily food consumption (except for milk in some months) and cash needed for daily water supply. This explains why livestock keeping is ranked by communities of †Khoadi †Hôas as the most important and dominant livelihood strategy without which one is described as 'nothing' in the language of Paulus, leading to an analysis of the socioeconomic stratification within communities in the conservancy.

### *Socioeconomic stratification*

Selma, a 39-year old mother of three children, lives in a mud-walled hut in Springbokplaas village. Selma has three goats but no cattle or sheep. She received the goats around 2012 from a project supported by Namibia-German Special Initiative Programme (NAGSIP), with funding from the German government. In total she received 9 goats. The project expected her to care for the goats and give offspring to other poor households. Selma has lost all but three goats to predator wild animals and thieves. One of her goats is lactating with twin young ones. It is morning and the three goats are still in the small kraal that is made of Mopane wood poles without any wire reinforcement. Selma has milked the goat in a large mug getting almost a quarter litre of milk for her morning coffee that she borrowed from her brother who lives some 200 metres away. The young goats are jumping in circles and occasionally returning to the mother especially when she bleats for them. They hit her udder several times with their heads in order to suckle some milk left for their own nourishment. Selma's two children are scraping a pot of the remains of the previous day's *pap* (maize meal), eating the loose chips probably as part of their breakfast snack. She buys about 5kg of maize meal every month, sugar and other

household food items with the money sent to her from her sister who is a domestic worker in Swakopmund town. Soon, her eldest daughter (10 years old) returns from Selma's mother's house with a jug of fermented milk. She had been sent there by her mother to borrow some milk for their breakfast. Selma serves the milk in mugs for the three children in almost equal portions and keeps just a little for herself. As the coffee is ready, she serves me and herself in mugs. She passes over to me her last portion of sugar and regrets that it is not enough for the coffee. She consequently asks me to buy her a kilogramme of sugar the next time I go to Khorixas town.

Across the ephemeral river to the northeast of Springbokplaas village, lives Selma's brother, Benadus, who is 43 years old. He lives with his wife and six children, including two that he adopted from his late sister. In addition, he lives with a brother to his wife who is about 50 years old and two sons of his late sister who are in their early twenties. Benadus' house has four rooms in a compound larger than Selma's. Though both compounds are fenced, Benadus' fence is stronger and fastened with more lines of wires running all through the mopane poles. Unlike Selma, Benadus has 15 heads of cattle, of which three are lactating. Except in dry seasons, he gets about three litres of milk from the cows almost every day. They ferment the milk for domestic consumption or household food supply. In addition to cattle, Benadus has 35 goats and 16 sheep. Six goats are lactating providing milk for the household's coffee and tea consumption. He has 4 horses, 2 donkeys and 2 mules –which he uses for transport. Both his kraals, for large stock and small stock, are larger and stronger compared to Selma's. Behind the goats' kraal is a heap of old metallic sheets and rods as well as old car tyres. This is the space that Benadus uses as a workshop to make donkey carts for sale. At least once in two years, he gets an order to make a donkey cart for which he charges N\$3,500. He has two donkey carts for his household that he also lends out to people in the village to use in times of need, without pay. Whenever he is pressed with a need for money, Benadus sells a goat or a cow, depending on the amount of money needed. Four months before I moved into their village, he sold a cow for N\$2,800 in order to raise money to install electricity in his house in Anker where his children stay with his wife in order to go to school. However, during my fieldwork, Benadus only sold cattle once, in order to complete another house he started building in Anker.

About 250 metres from Benadus' house lives Titus, a part-time farmer who also lives and works for the government in a nearby town with an approximate monthly salary of N\$9,000. His house is brick-walled with a roof made of iron sheets that are not as rusty as Selma's and Benadus'. Behind his house is a large plastic water tank with a capacity of 5,000 litres that is raised above the ground with strong Mopane poles and connected with a pipe that runs above the ground from the communal water reservoir. Titus' 3 children and wife do not live in the village but in the town of Otjiwarongo, over 250km away from the village. However, he visits the village almost every month to check on his livestock. He has two kraals for cattle

and two kraals for small stock, foretelling his large livestock holding. He has about 95 heads of cattle, over 100 goats and about 30 sheep. Unlike Selma and Benadus, Titus has employed two workers to take care of his livestock. Each worker receives a monthly wage of N\$600, which Titus pays from the monthly salary he receives from his employment. They live in two huts located in his compound. In addition, whenever Titus comes to the village, he brings them food supplies in his 4x4 pickup. In addition to the food supplies, Titus brings to the village, his workers get milk supplies from the many lactating cows they take care of. They share some of the milk with neighbours who are friendly to them. In his pickup, Titus also brings food supplements and medication for the livestock that he buys from AGRA shop – a shop belonging to the commercial farmers' cooperative and which sells farm inputs and implements. A month before my first entry into Springbokplaas village, Titus sold 3 heifers and 4 goats bagging a total of N\$10,500. He used part of the money to buy the water tank behind his house, and pay school fees for his children who study in a boarding school. Howbeit, he normally doesn't sell livestock except under extreme need for cash that his salary may not be sufficient to meet. In a year, Titus can sell livestock two times. During the long weekends (public holidays joining with weekends) Titus brings his family to the village and identifies an unwanted goat or sheep to be slaughtered, which part of the meat he brings back with him to the town for domestic consumption. He also brings at least 10 litres of milk with him to the town.

The livelihoods described above, which were a follow up of a wealth ranking exercise in a focus group discussion, help to introduce a major theme of this chapter –the socioeconomic stratification of communities in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy. De Haan and Zoomers (2005) assert that the degree to which people or households possess or mobilise livelihood assets and deploy them to achieve outcomes defines socioeconomic categories or stratification. Households with more access to livelihoods assets have higher chances of developing and deploying them to realise stable livelihoods outcomes. Consequently, the more stable the livelihood outcomes the higher a household is ranked in a socioeconomic category (*Ibid.*).

The three cases, though specific to Springbokplaas village, replicate throughout #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy to represent various livelihood trajectories that characterise economies of households belonging to different socioeconomic categories. From the wealth ranking exercise throughout 10 villages in the conservancy, three major socioeconomic categories emerged – poor, middle wealth category and wealthy. The boundaries between the three socioeconomic categories overlap (See also Ellis and Bahiigwa 2003). The overlaps lead to inequalities within the different major categories with porous or fluid boundaries. Furthermore, there is a great degree of overlap across the wealth categories. Nevertheless, the overlaps, do not significantly erode local people's perception of who falls in which of the three wealth categories.

In Springbokplaas village, participants of focus group discussion identified that Selma was a typical example of poor household, Banadus for middle wealth category whereas Titus represented the wealthy households. To distinguish the socioeconomic categories, participants rely on four important imperatives namely: (i). Size of household livestock holding and the kind of livestock husbandry they practise; (ii). Physical assets holding including those that are indirectly related to livestock production; (iii). The purchasing power of households which is a factor of both the amount and regularity of household income and the expenditure (iv). Food security or situation of household, characterised with food consumption patterns. These imperatives are considered critical in perceiving livelihood outcomes such as: (i). Household wealth security, characterised with the state of a household having wealth reserve that can be used in times of need; (ii). Resilience to shock and vulnerabilities, characterised with the state of a household being able to sustain or not sustain livelihood aftershocks; (iii). Food security, characterised with the state of the household being able to feed its members and avoid hunger.<sup>104</sup>

#### Socioeconomic categorisation through household livestock holding

The size of livestock holding remains the greatest measure of household wealth in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy. As discussed in the foregoing section and in Chapter 3, the most valuable kinds of livestock amongst the communities living within the conservancy are cattle, goats and sheep in that order of priority. The reason can be diverse but generally they are seen as direct stores of wealth, source of household food and possessing cultural values. Hence, the more of these livestock a household owns in that order of priority, the wealthier that household is considered to be.

Livestock holding across the three cases above increases from: Selma with 3 goats and no cattle; to Benadus with 15 heads of cattle, 35 goats and 16 sheep; and to Titus with more than 95 cattle, more than 100 goats and 35 sheep. The disparities are vivid and manifest in terms of the monetary value of wealth stored in the livestock and the amount of milk supplies that the households can possibly get from the livestock holding. Assuming that a cow would be worth N\$2,000, which was the average price most people living in the conservancy attested to, although the floor prices can significantly fall during drought, and a goat or a sheep is worth N\$500: Selma's livestock holding is worth at around N\$1,500, Benadus is worth some tens of

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<sup>104</sup> The list of outcomes and their definition was developed by participants in focus group discussions as well as from continuous interaction with communities through the entire ethnographic fieldwork. People often explained why they kept livestock, or engage in different livelihood activities as leading to the three outcomes. In Sustainable livelihood literature a panoply of livelihood outcomes exist for example Chambers (1995) and Scoones (2009).

thousands whilst Titus wealth stored in livestock runs into hundreds of thousands of Namibia dollars. The disparity in household milk supply, which is a common source of food for most households in the conservancy, is also significantly visible in the three cases. The only milk that Selma can access out of her own decision is the goat milk that is used for making coffee. Benadus and Titus have cattle, some of which are lactating. Unlike Selma, they can have own supply of milk for household consumption from lactating cattle, although in varied quantities. The larger the herd of cattle, the higher the chances of meeting household milk demand. However, in times of drought, which is quite prevalent in the area, milk production from cattle is hardly possible for all households.

Generally, the distinction between the socioeconomic categories is emphasised on the distribution of household livestock holding, especially cattle, goats and sheep because they have a direct input in immediate household livelihood outcomes – wealth stability or security, resilience to vulnerability and food security. Sheep is considered by the communities to be more vulnerable to intestinal diseases than goats. In addition, goats can provide both meat and milk for coffee whilst sheep milk is hardly used by households, except in rare occasions amongst very poor households who might be desperately in need of milk for tea or coffee. The two reasons, thus, make goats more valued livestock type compared to sheep and thus come second after cattle in the livelihood asset priority ladder. To determine a general representative distribution of livestock holding, livestock data was collected in a survey conducted with 81 households in 20 villages in the conservancy in 2015. The proportion of sample households owning cattle was found to be 78 % whereas that for goats was 79% and sheep was 35%. As shown in Table 9 below, the average number of livestock holding per household ( $n=79$ ) is; cattle (20), goats (26) and sheep (9).

Table 9: Livestock holding in #Khoadi //Hôas

<b>Kind of livestock</b>	<b>No. of households<sup>105</sup></b>	<b>Total number of livestock</b>	<b>No. of livestock per household</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
Cattle	79	1554	20	37
Goats	79	2040	26	47
Sheep	79	692	9	25

However, it is important to emphasise that livestock ownership is highly unequal in #Khoadi //Hôas. The inequality in livestock holding becomes more lucid when comparing per capita livestock ownership across the socioeconomic categories, which further resonates with the ethnographic realities in the three cases of Selma, Benadus and Titus as illustrated above. From the wealth ranking exercise (Table 10), wealthy households have more than 50 heads of cattle

<sup>105</sup> 2 households did not respond on their livestock holding and therefore only valid counts have been considered for analysis here.

and more than 40 goats and sheep holding. Livestock holding for households in the middle wealth category ranges from: 10 - 50 for cattle and 15 - 40 for small stock. Poor households' livestock holding ranged from 0-5 for cattle holding and 0-10 for small stock. Generally, the middle socioeconomic category was divided into two. There are those households that were considered more well off with 20-50 cattle holding; 20-40 holdings for goats and sheep. At the same time there were those perceived to be less well off with 5-20 heads of cattle and 10-20 holdings of goats and sheep. However, this overlap, made the sub-categories very unstable to distinguish and therefore does not form part of my subsequent analysis and discussions.

*Table 10: Socioeconomic categories according to household livestock holding*

<b>Socioeconomic category</b>	<b>Cattle holding</b>	<b>Goats holding</b>	<b>Sheep holding</b>
Wealthy (higher)	>50	>40	>40
Upper middle	20-50	20-40	20-40
Lower middle	5-20	10-20	10-20
Poor (lower)	0-5	0-10	0-10

Quantitative data from the monthly household survey corroborate the information from wealth ranking exercise. The data in Table 11 below show that 15% of the sample was considered rich, 44% in the middle wealth category and 41% were poor. Regarding the distribution of livestock across these categories, the data show that, on average, wealthy households own 74 heads of cattle, 80 goats and 35 sheep. Each household falling in the middle wealth category own 12 heads of cattle, 21 goats and 5 sheep. Per capita livestock asset for poor households are extremely low at an average of 6 heads of cattle, 8 goats and 1 sheep. The per capita number of cattle, goats and sheep declines as one moves down the wealth ladder, echoing qualitative data illustrated in the three cases above. Overall, the wealthiest 15% of the population own 63% of the cattle. In contrast, the poorest 41% of the population own only 11% of the cattle (Table 11). The data on small stock ownership reveal similar pattern of significant gaps between the socioeconomic categories. Whilst wealthy households own an average of 80 goats and 35 sheep, the poor only have 8 and at least a sheep per household. Households falling in the middle wealth category, which are 44% of the population, own 26% of cattle, 34% of goats and 27% of the sheep (Table 11). The gap between livestock holding of the middle wealth category and that of the poor is similarly significant. Results from the survey thus validates the categories from the wealth ranking exercise where livestock holding was used as a key determinant of the socioeconomic categories. Since livestock ownership is, by far, the primary determinant of the amount of water consumed by households from the communal water points, it is easy to see from the data that the 41% poorest population use far less water compared to 15% wealthiest population of #Khoadi Hôas. This should have significant

consequences on the way in which households share the cost of water, an analysis that I will make in Chapter 8.

Table 11: Distribution of livestock across socioeconomic categories in in #Khoadi //Hôas

Wealth category	Percent of sample (n =79) <sup>106</sup>	Cattle		Goats		Sheep	
		Mean. <sup>107</sup>	% of n	Mean. <sup>108</sup>	% of n	Mean. <sup>109</sup>	% of n
Wealthy	15	74 (63)	63	80 (93)	53	35 (52)	68
Middle	44	12 (11)	26	21 (20)	34	5 (11)	27
Poor	41	6 (5)	11	8 (11)	13	1 (3)	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	-	-	-	<b>100</b>	-	<b>100</b>

### Socioeconomic categorisation through livestock husbandry

Another distinguishing factor of determining household wealth is the kind of livestock husbandry practices within households. As depicted in the case of Titus, the wealthy households invest in livestock husbandry practices with the aim of improving productivity and reduce vulnerability to shocks in the unstable environment. They buy livestock feed or supplements and other medication that reduce the chances of their livestock dying as a result of prolonged drought and intestinal ailments. In addition, if drought is so severe, wealthy households may transfer part of their livestock to another farm with better grazing, usually because they have the financial capacity to hire transport or hire labour. To further reduce chances of loss as a result of depredation in the night, which is a common challenge in the area (see Chapter 11), wealthy households mobilise their financial resources to buy materials and hire labour to build stronger and higher kraals with more reinforcement. In addition to the foregoing, they may have a bull of better breed like the Brahman cattle that will breed with the cows to sire calves of improved productivity. This is widely part of the local expectation or aspiration for upward mobility for many young and middle aged communal farmers in the conservancy as remarked by a 35-year old Justus who works in Walvis Bay and owns livestock in Springbokplaas village:

When I get money from my employment, I want to save and buy a Brahman bull. Then I will crossbreed and gradually turn my herd into breeds of higher [economic] value, just like the Afrikaners do in their farms. Our Damara cattle and goats are not very valued in the [auction] markets.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>106</sup> See footnote 105.

<sup>107</sup> Figures in parenthesis or brackets represent standard deviation.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> Interview with Justus in Springbokplaas on 13.07 2015.

Generally, hiring a herder and its benefits largely remains a privilege of the wealthy households. Depending on the size of the livestock holding, the households may hire one or two herders who are paid a monthly wage of N\$600 each, as illustrated in the case of Titus.

The middle income households in most cases do not hire labour but depend on family relations to mobilise extra labour needed for livestock husbandry. This is because, although they may not afford to pay a worker from their meagre cash incomes, they can afford food supplies that can be shared with relatives who visit and stay with them shortly whilst helping with necessary labour as in the case of Benadus. Furthermore, households in middle socioeconomic category rarely buy livestock feeds or nutritional supplements for the livestock. Their kraals are strong, but not as elaborate as those of the wealthy households. None of them has livestock kraals reinforced on metallic rods as might be found amongst a few wealthy households. Like the wealthy households, they are conscious about improving productivity but usually lack the financial capital to do so. For example, they hardly afford to buy the improved and coveted Brahman cattle breed but try to select a good bull for breeding from their herd for the purpose of building stronger and better looking herd.

The poor households have far less financial capabilities to invest in elaborate livestock husbandry. Thus, they are much more vulnerable to drought and depredation. Whilst their small herds usually require much less labour to care for, they also do not have financial capability to hire labour or sustain relatives longer from whom they can benefit labour supply. In contrast, poor households are characterised with selling their labour to wealthier households from where they earn little cash to provide basic household needs especially food. In addition, they also migrate frequently visiting relatives as a way of surviving food scarcity, a period in which their few livestock units are left under the care of neighbours and relatives with high possibilities of getting lost or being attacked by predator animals. These factors contribute to retarded increase in livestock holding of the poor households as in the case of Selma who lost most of her goats donated to her by NAGSIP. She explained:

Some years ago I was given nine goats by the conservancy [this is because goats were donated at the conservancy's office, but the funding came from NAGSIP]. I tried to care for the goats because I was supposed to give the offsprings to others. That is what we were told and I was happy. But when I go to visit places where my relatives are, or when I go to a funeral or just to *Zula* around [look for petty jobs in the villages with extremely low pay or sometimes compensated with food], my goats stay with my mother. She has no herder. Some people steal them but some I was told were eaten by jackals. You see only three are left.<sup>111</sup>

Selma's recollection on negative progress of her livestock holding reveals the vulnerabilities that face livestock keeping amongst most low wealth category or poor households because they have constrained access to cash income and other resources that can increase their resilience.

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<sup>111</sup> Interview with Selma on 06.04.2015 in Springbokplaas village.



Poverty related migration and inability to hire a herder expose the livestock of the poor households to risks such as theft and depredation. Thus, instead of a positive progress in livestock holding, they are, in most cases, faced with a stagnation or decline in livestock numbers. In addition, they bear relatively greater loss of livestock during drought when a larger proportion or all of their livestock holding die, thereby impeding upward mobility. This reality in Selma's case contradicts the negative image that wealthier people in the area use to describe the poor as Matheus, a male wealthy participant in a focus group discussion in Rooiplaas village, remarked in the following vignette:

**Richard:** Do the poor also have livestock?

**Matheus:** They do but they don't take care of them well. They don't buy medicine for the livestock so they die. They eat their goats till they have none left. In that case you cannot have many cattle and goats. They also just leave their goats to go the veld on their own. Jackals will eat them. Sometime our people are poor just because they are lazy. They must learn to take care of their things well.<sup>112</sup>

The narrative emerging from the above vignette, by blaming poverty on the poor, obscures the realities of household economic challenges faced by the poor. For Matheus, poor households are nothing but 'lazy', 'unskilled herders' and 'wasteful resource users'. Poverty is thus, according to him, a result of the poor's own making. His perception however, obscures the influence of wider inequalities in control of resources embedded in household histories (wealth inheritance, past education, and relationship to political power) or external vulnerabilities and risks that affect livestock husbandry.

Livestock holding and husbandry is related to the degree to which households generate viable livelihoods in #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy. As already illustrated in the three cases, ownership of cattle, goats and sheep are directly linked to the three priority livelihood outcomes for the households. Cattle produce milk which is fermented to provide daily food for most households. The more cattle people own, the more likely they can have milk which in turn increases their success in generating food for the household. This is evident in comparing the availability of cattle milk in Selma's household (borrowed from the mother), Benadus (3 litres of milk daily from own cattle) and Titus' (excess supply from own cattle). In addition, households in #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy rarely slaughter livestock for domestic meat supply. However, the possibilities of slaughtering livestock is more pronounced amongst households of higher socioeconomic categories. Even in such circumstances, as exemplified in the case of Titus above, only unwanted livestock are prioritised to be turned into household meat consumption. Such may be livestock with injuries, infertility, or mature male goats whose phenotypic attributes are not desired by the household for breeding. Thus, decision to slaughter a livestock is often preceded and controlled by a conscious need to increase herd size

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<sup>112</sup> This remark was made by a wealthy male participant of a focus group discussion in Rooiplaas on 16.10.2014. He was walking closer to me after the meeting and we had the dialogue.

as a store of wealth. This applies to the poor as well, who hardly slaughter their livestock because they too want to grow their herd and attain an upward mobility contrary to the stereotype that they are lazy and unskilled farmers. The poor, however, have little room to choose from since their livestock holding is already too small.

### *Household incomes and expenditure*

So far, the data has shown that despite being an important wealth reserve for households, a significant determinant of socioeconomic categorisation as well as determinant of the amount of water used, livestock rarely brings the financial resources used for covering the costs of daily household needs, including diesel to pump water. As mentioned earlier, households combine different livelihoods strategies in order to meet these daily needs. This section analyses how households generate financial resources from various sources and how they spend it to meet their daily needs. An emphasis is thereafter made on household expenditure on water which, as I have shown, is salient resource for pastoral livelihood.

#### Socioeconomic categorisation through household incomes

Chambers observed that rural households living in risk prone, resource scarce and uncertain conditions normally have to diversify their livelihood sources in order to survive in those conditions (Chambers 1995). They do so by building a wide range of incomes and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival and in order to improve their standards of living (Ellis 1998; Niehof 2004; Schnegg 2009). Although most households in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy consider themselves as communal livestock farmers, diversification of livelihoods is evident in the area, including with regards to cash and noncash incomes.

#### Household cash incomes stratification

Data on household cash incomes was collected and analysed along five major income portfolios namely: (i). Sale of livestock (ii). Employment, remittances, allowances from organisations and pension /welfare grants; (iii). Sale of goods from home industries; (iv). Sale of services from home industry; (v). Other sources of cash incomes. The income portfolios were identified in focus group discussion and further influenced by experiences during participant observation as well as household census questionnaires. The data was then analysed for the distribution of

cash incomes across the three socioeconomic categories (poor, middle wealth category and wealthy households).

i. Sale of livestock

As discussed already, livestock sales are hardly made except when there is an emergency in the household that requires large amounts of money. The data shows that on average, each household within the sample ( $n=81$ ) earned a cash income of N\$254 and N\$57, per month, from sale of cattle and small stock respectively (Table 12). In total, each household earned an average cash income of N\$179 from sale of livestock per month. Generally, the high standard deviations above the averages indicate highly unequal distribution of these incomes. The data furthermore shows that cash incomes from livestock sales were far below average between April and October (N\$194 per household). This is most likely due to complete restriction of livestock movement out of the area to control an outbreak of foot and mouth disease. However, there were higher cash incomes from livestock sales in September (N\$167 per household) than other months between April and October because a special sale/purchase permit was granted to a livestock dealer to buy livestock from †Khoadi †Hôas. The distribution of cash incomes from livestock sales across the three socioeconomic categories confirms the existing income inequalities influenced by livestock asset holding. Thus, on average, almost half (49%) of the total monthly cash incomes from livestock sales go to the wealthy households who are 15% of the sample. Middle wealth category households who are 44% of the sample take 44% of the livestock sales whereas only 7% goes to the poor (41% of the sample) which are nearly as many as the households in the middle wealth category.

Table 12: Monthly household cash incomes from sale of livestock in 2015

Months in 2015	Average cash income from sale of livestock per household (Namibian dollars - N\$) <sup>113</sup>		
	Cattle	Small stock	Mean
February	1,996 (3761)	166 (471)	853 (2,324)
April	107 (528)	64 (248)	37 (173)
May	366 (1,306)	83 (288)	433 (1,374)
June	-	10 (79)	10 (79)
July	-	-	-
August	128 (801)	38 (177)	167 (891)
September	365 (1,239)	-	365 (1,239)
October	113 (824)	111 (817)	155 (832)
November	171 (1,014)	34 (203)	35 (206)
December	98 (768)	97 (762)	100 (775)
<b>Monthly average</b>	<b>254 (1,278)</b>	<b>57 (427)</b>	<b>179 (945)</b>

ii. Employment, allowances from organisations, remittances and pension/welfare grants

Wages from temporary and permanent employment provide income to households either as direct earnings or through cash remittances. Temporary employment is lowly paid (less than N\$1,000 per month) and non-pensionable, mostly available in nearby commercial farms and urban centres. Permanent employment is pensionable with an additional benefits of the security of regular income. This is common for those who work in the lodges, teachers in local government schools as well as other forms of permanent employment in urban centres. The average monthly cash income per household is N\$492 in form of direct wages and salaries and N\$265 as remittances (Table 13). Allowances from organisations such as the conservancy and traditional authority only contribute to a meagre N\$31 per household per month. Pension and welfare grants are the largest sources of household monthly cash income. They form a significant safety net for these households living in the difficult environmental conditions and constrained opportunities for earning cash income. They are in the form of non-contributory state pension paid on a monthly basis to all citizens who have attained the age of 60; child benefit allowance paid on a monthly basis to the household in support of orphaned children under the age of 21; an allowance paid on a monthly basis to persons who are disabled in one way or the other and unable to engage in gainful employment.<sup>114</sup> Moreover, people who were

<sup>113</sup> Figures in parentheses or brackets represent standard deviation.

<sup>114</sup> By the time of fieldwork, non-contributory state pension and disability allowance were N\$600 but increased N\$1,000 in 2015 and later to N\$1,100; orphaned child benefit was N\$250. Locally, all these cash incomes are referred to as pension. The government has contracted a private company that pays

formerly employed till the retirement age earn a contributory pension managed by different companies or agencies. Together, incomes from these sources play a significant role in sustaining the livelihoods of different households by meeting their daily needs for money, especially to buy diesel for pumping water and cover the costs of small repairs on water pump and pipes; purchase food and non-food household items. Altogether, monthly cash incomes per household from these portfolios is N\$1,430 and contributes 76% (Table 13) of all household cash incomes from the sample ( $n=81$ ).

*Table 13: Monthly household cash incomes from employment, organisations and pension/welfare grants*

<b>Income portfolio</b>	<b>Average income per household (in Namibian dollars - N\$)<sup>115</sup></b>
Direct cash income from employment	492 (1,108)
Remittances	265 (940)
Allowances from organisations	31 (268)
Pension and welfare grants	642 (740)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,430 (1,323)</b>

The distribution of these incomes is significantly skewed across the three socioeconomic categories of the sample ( $n=81$ ). That is, wealthy households who make 15% of the sample earn 45% of these cash incomes (>N\$2,000 per month), middle wealth category households who make 44% of the sample earn 37% (N\$1,715) and poor households who make 41% of the sample earn 18% (N\$849) (Figure 10). Because this group of livelihood portfolio is responsible for major cash inflow into the households for daily needs, it confirms earlier discussions that the poor households have constrained cash resources for their daily needs, especially food. Therefore, any risk on the livelihood that requires allocation of extra financial resources to an expense further constrains the ability of the poor to meet the very basic household needs – food and water – and consequently intensifies financial poverty.

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out the amounts to the beneficiaries on specific dates of the month in designated places (Erwee and Anker). The pay-out dates are usually announced on the local vernacular radio. Beneficiaries begin arriving at the pay-out location a day before because some come from very remote villages where transportation is hardly available except by donkey carts.

<sup>115</sup> Figures in parentheses or brackets represent standard deviation.

### iii. Household cash income from homebased industry

Home industry plays a limited role (7% of all household cash incomes) in supporting the livelihood of most households in the conservancy. The industry includes both making commodities for sale and offering services for cash. Common commodities made and sold by some households include: alcohol, tobacco and livestock products. Some of the homebased services provided by the households in exchange for money include small groceries shops, hairstyling, dressmaking and repair, mechanical services and construction work. Altogether, home based services generate a meagre monthly cash income of N\$79 per household, on average, representing 4% of all cash incomes for sample households (Figure 9). Sale of commodities earn an average of N\$49 per household per month constituting only 3% of all cash income for the sample households (Figure 9). Interestingly, during a focus group discussion with communities, these kind of petty business and work were considered a venture for poor households because they needed very little financial capital to invest and similarly yield meagre profits. The distribution of income from petty home-based services (Figure 7) and production of goods (Figure 8) validates the qualitative data from the focus group discussion. For services: Wealthy households (15% of the sample) had 10%; middle wealth category households had 47%; and poor households had 43%. For goods: 23% by wealthy households; 29% by middle wealth category (44% of the sample); and 48% by poor households (41% of the sample). No household in the sample was economically involved in any homebased industry that produced tourism-related commodities despite the area being a communal conservancy and a tourist destination.

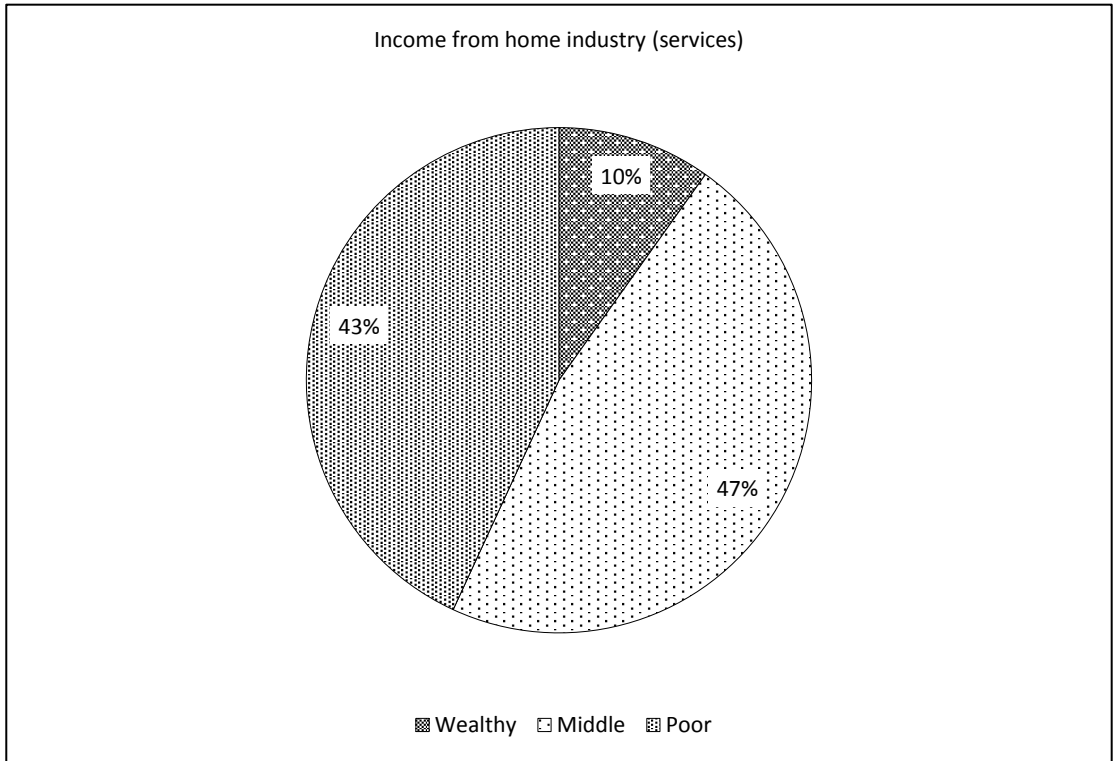


Figure 7: Household cash incomes from homebased industry (services)

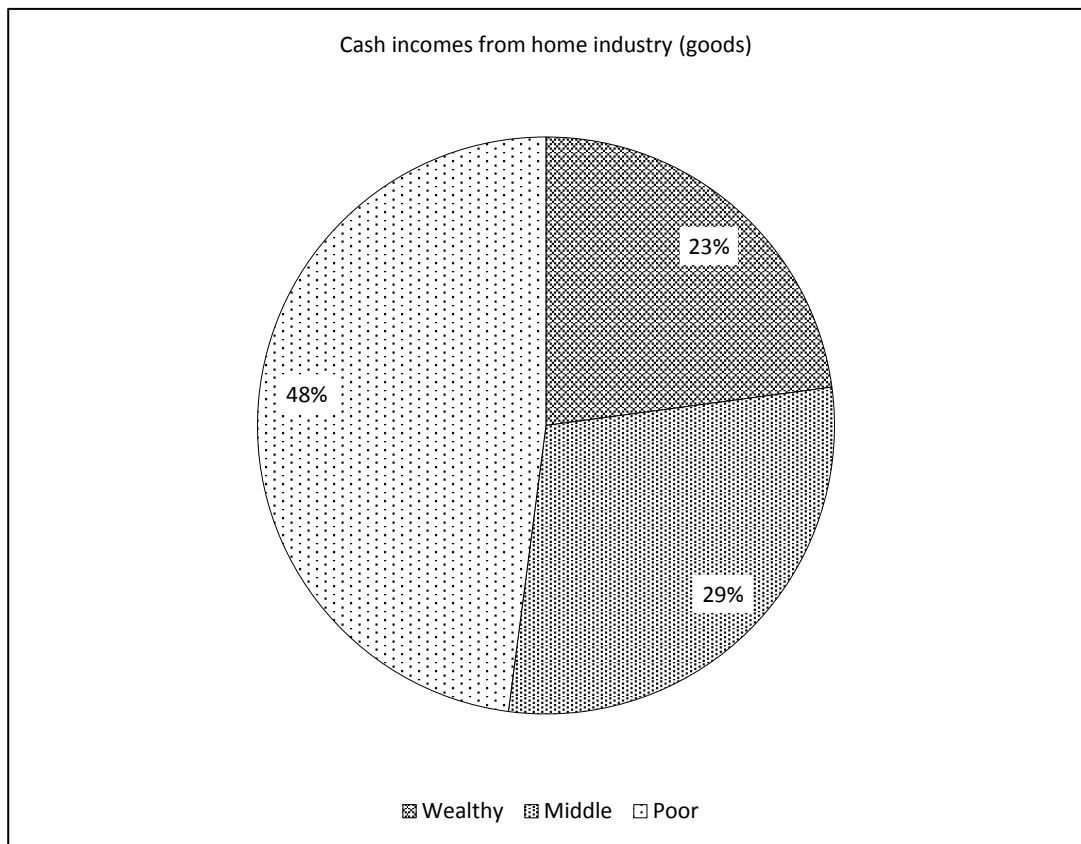


Figure 8: Household cash income from homebased industry (commodities)

### *Overall cash incomes*

In sum, wealthy households generate a total monthly cash income of N\$2,637 per household (44% of total incomes); middle category households N\$2,298 (38% of total cash incomes); and poor households N\$1,086 (18% of total cash incomes). Although, the difference between cash incomes for middle category and wealthy households are not so wide, the difference in wealth between the two categories is manifested in the wealth reserved in livestock holding as already shown earlier in Table 11. The diversity of household cash income portfolios increases from wealthy to poor households. Thus, the poorer a household is, the more diverse the livelihood strategies. This is because poor households have little financial resources to invest in strategies that generate high financial gains as their wealthy counterparts. For example, they have less livestock holding that is not only a reserve for better off households, but also sources of non-cash incomes for the households. Ellis and Bahiigwa (2003) in their study of livelihoods and rural poverty reduction in Uganda, found that less productive income sources/portfolios, like making and selling alcohol, were more associated with poorer households than wealthier ones. In relative terms, although the poor enhance their coping strategies by diversifying their livelihoods (Chambers 1995; Ellis 1998, 2000a; Ellis and Bahiigwa 2003), they still live a much more precarious life compared to other socioeconomic categories, characterised with frequent hunger and inadequate supplies of basic household commodities.



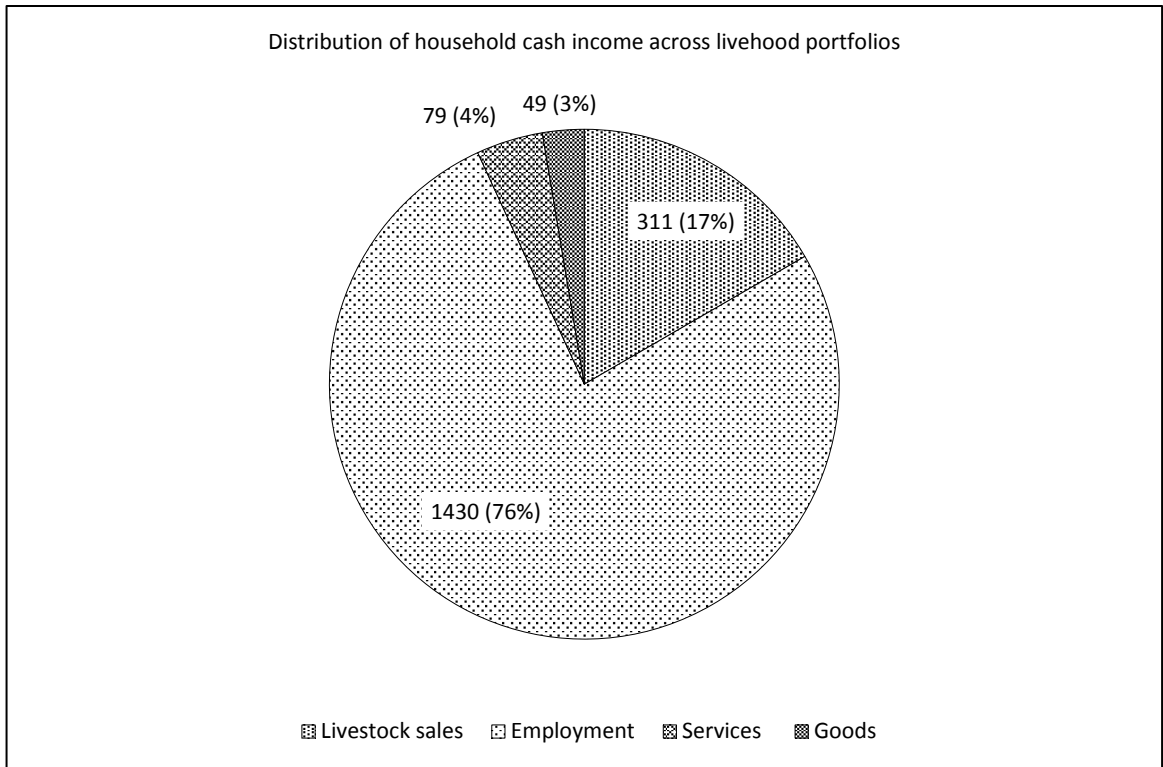


Figure 9: Distribution of household cash incomes across livelihood portfolios

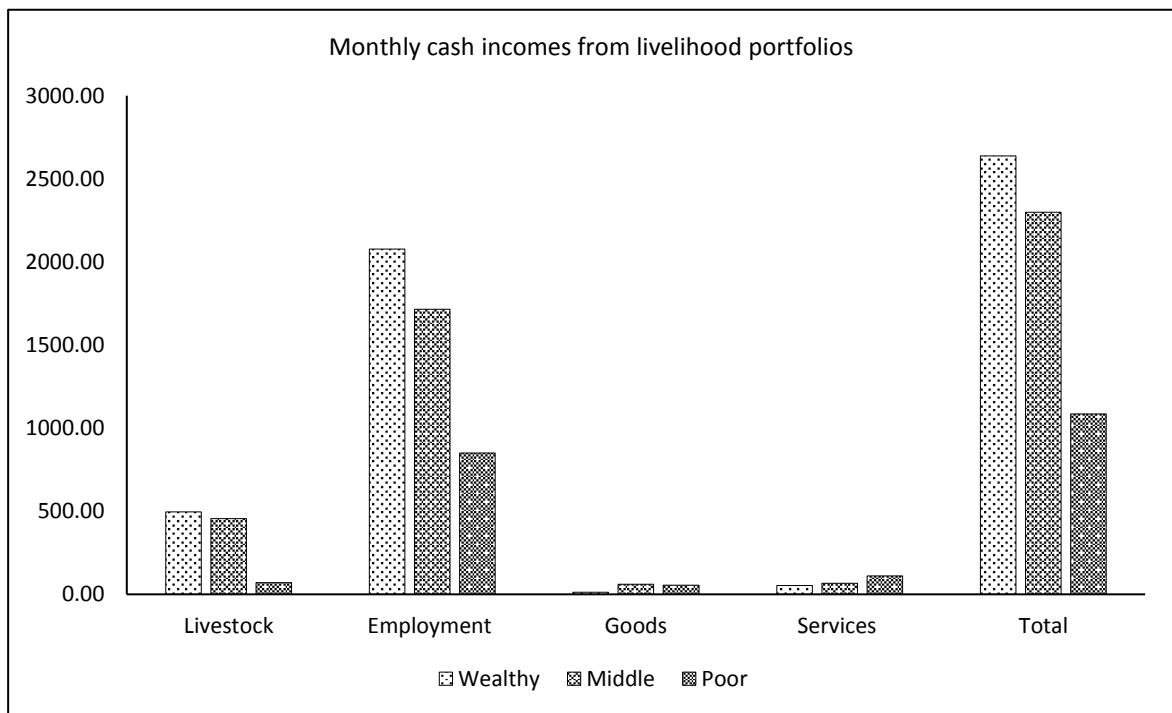


Figure 10: Monthly cash incomes from livelihood portfolios across socioeconomic categories.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>116</sup> The wealthy are 15% of the sample; the middle wealth category are 44% of the sample; and the poor are 41% of the sample.

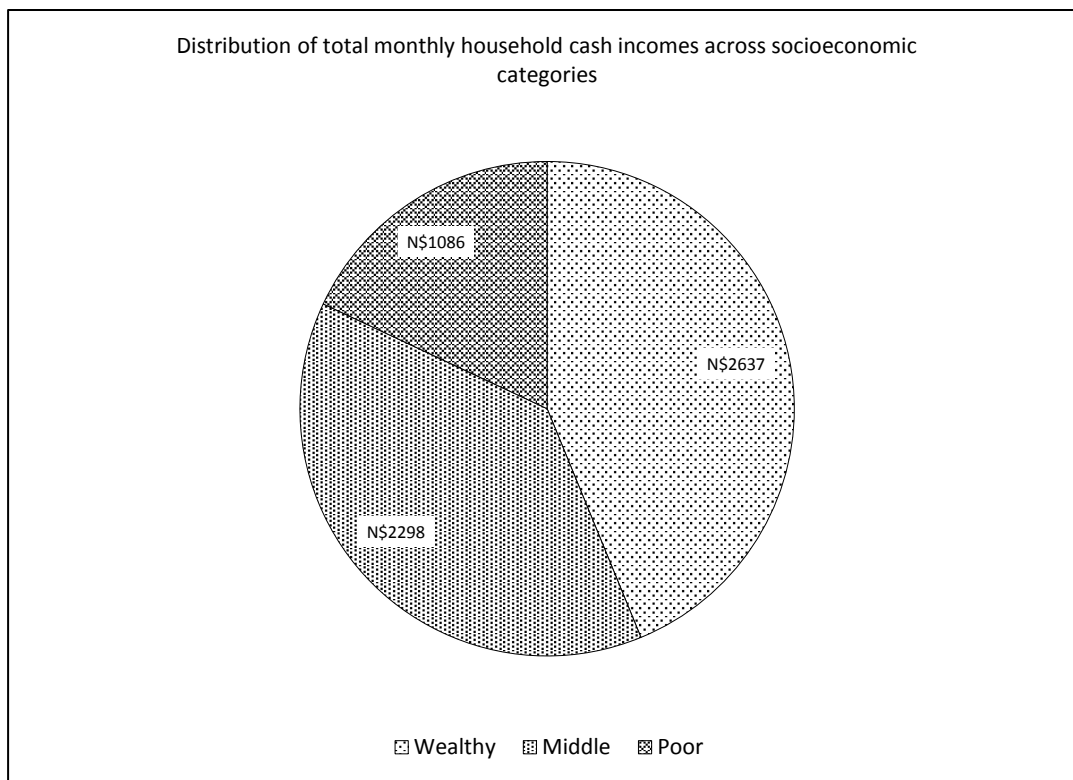


Figure 11: Distribution of total monthly household incomes across socioeconomic categories.<sup>117</sup>

### *Household noncash incomes*

Cash incomes are complemented by noncash incomes in order to meet household livelihoods demands. These include noncash remittances, sharing food with relatives and neighbours, government's drought relief food and livestock products especially milk and meat. The distribution of these livelihood strategies varies across socioeconomic categories. Table 14 shows that 81% of sample wealthy households, 73% of sample households in the middle wealth category and 62% of sample poor households receive some form of noncash remittances. These remittances are usually in the form of groceries, including: food, medication and commodities for livestock husbandry such as, feed supplement and medication.

Sharing food with neighbours and relatives is a common coping strategy for constrained livelihoods (Schnegg 2016a). However, households in lower socioeconomic category (middle and poor) are more likely to ask food from neighbours and relatives than those in the higher socioeconomic category (wealthy). Drought relief food is another safety net for most households in the area. The diversity in its contribution to household noncash income is almost the same across all socioeconomic categories. That is 39%, 36% and 37% of the

<sup>117</sup> The wealthy are 15% of the sample; the middle wealth category are 44% of the sample; and the poor are 41% of the sample.

wealthy, middle wealth category and poor households respectively (Table 14). This insignificant variation can be explained by the fact that the drought relief food was distributed to all households without considering their wealth or income levels, since all were affected by drought. However, the distribution was biased on the size of households – larger households receive more than smaller households.

The average contribution of milk from own livestock to household noncash income was more for wealthier households because they have more livestock especially cattle than those of lower wealth levels. Although meat from livestock rarely contributed to household income, a larger proportion of wealthier households (30%) reported that meat from their own livestock was part of their household income compared to those of lower wealth categories (13% and 9% for middle and poor households respectively). The explanation here may be simple – because the lower wealth categories have far less livestock compared to wealthy households (see Table 11), they are far less likely to slaughter livestock for household food consumption. Noncash incomes from the conservancy (especially meat), although highly expected by communities, is hardly realised or reported across all socioeconomic categories (Table 14). Thus, except through wages for those employed and their families, the conservancy does not make any significant contribution to household cash and noncash incomes for households. Furthermore, cash incomes from the conservancy, in form of wages, were mainly reported by the few people (67 people, 3% of possible adult population) who are employed by the conservancy and its lodges.<sup>118</sup> Although I return to this particular analysis in Chapter 10, it is important to note here that people reported that these incomes were significantly low and not easily shared within the community. In addition, noncash incomes from the conservancy were seldom realised. They included meat portions from the conservancy which people hardly received, and whenever they did, it was not more than 5kg per household per year. Overall, incomes from the conservancy, do not show up as a direct significant livelihood source for over 90% of possible adult population.<sup>119</sup> This is so despite the fact that the establishment of the conservancy was much expected by the communities to change their lives and its positive impacts have been increasingly emphasised in public discourse.

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<sup>118</sup> Here, the adult population of the conservancy is assumed to be the 2005 members of the conservancy.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

Table 14: Percentage distribution of noncash income across socioeconomic categories

<b>Noncash incomes portfolios</b>	<b>Percent of households receiving noncash incomes (n=81)</b>		
	<i>Wealthy (15% n)</i>	<i>Middle (44% of n)</i>	<i>Poor (41% of n)</i>
Remittances	81.0	73.1	61.8
Sharing with relatives and neighbours	11.9	40.5	25.1
Meat from conservancy	1.2	2.4	3.0
Drought relief food from government	39.3	36.4	37.2
Milk from livestock	42.9	40.1	40.0
Meat from livestock	27.7	12.7	9.0

### *Household expenditures*

Expenditure data was collected from a sample of 81 households between February 2015 and January 2016. Similar to the income, the survey was based on a monthly recall method where respondents were asked to report on their expenditure for the previous month. The data was then analysed for 9 months excluding March, where the turnout was less than 30 households (See Chapter 4 for challenges with data collection methods). The analysis was summarised around 9 expenditure lines namely: Household food supply, non-food household items, transport, healthcare, education, ceremonies, housing repairs and maintenance, water supply and livestock husbandry. There is no significant seasonal variation in household expenditure except for water costs.

Altogether, the data (Table 15) show that monthly expenditure on food is the highest at N\$356 (36% of the budget) per household, followed by livestock husbandry (N\$160 or 16%) and non-food household items (N\$153 or 16%). Generally, there is skewed distribution of the monthly expenditure on household needs across socioeconomic categories (Figure 12). The skewed distribution of the cash expenditure on livestock husbandry across socioeconomic categories can be explained in three possible ways. One, is that the wealthy households have larger livestock holding compared to the other lower wealth categories thereby requiring more costs for medication, feeds and other related costs. Two, wealthy people aspire to practise modern livestock husbandry like the white commercial farmers as a factor for and sign of upward mobility. In addition, the wealthy have more access to the necessary financial resources that they invest in livestock husbandry thereby increasing the resilience of their livestock economy to livelihood shocks such as droughts and depredation. The costs, for example, include hiring of herders which is common amongst the wealthy households but hardly possible for those in other wealth categories.

Household expenditure on travel takes 10% of the budget or N\$102 (Table 15). The expenditure on water per household is N\$99 per month (10% of the budget) which almost equals the cost of transportation despite the fact that people in this area travel long distances to purchase essential household items nearly every month. Households spend more financial resources on water than they do on health care and education, even though these services are not entirely subsidised by the state. The figures may appear little for people with well-paying formal jobs such as teachers or other government employees in the area, but for the pastoralists, and especially the poor, these costs are evidently high and put economic burden on the households. Throughout the conservancy area, households contribute for water costs in a flat-rate regime where all pay the same regardless of amount of water used (see Chapter 8 for detailed analysis). Qualitative data indicate that people of all socioeconomic categories find costs related to water to be high and a burden to meeting their livelihoods needs. Furthermore, their expenditure on water (Figure 12) is nearly equal across the socioeconomic categories (N\$112, N\$108 and N\$77 for wealthy, middle and poor categories respectively). Water consumption largely varies according to the number of livestock owned, which determines the socioeconomic categorisation. Thus, households that consume more water pay nearly the same cost as those with far less water consumption.

In general, 85% of the population who own less than 40% of the cattle subsidises the water consumption of the wealthiest 15% of population who own more than 60% of the cattle (Table 11). Table 15 shows that the expenditure on water increased in months of drought (July–December, 2015). That is, the data shows that households' expenditure on water costs between September 2015 and January 2016 was at a monthly average of N\$133 per household, which is more than the monthly average of N\$99 (Table 15). As I will show in Chapter 8, this increase in expenditure is largely associated with two factors. One, during drought, livestock graze far away from the villages implying that they are most likely to drink water from water points where their owners are not contributing for costs. When such happens, the poor in those villages will be subsidising water consumption of the wealthy households from other villages. Two, during the dry months, elephants which are conserved by the conservancy, drink more frequently from the communal water points leading to an intersection between water management and wildlife conservation in the area. Pastoralists, especially the poor in relative terms, subsidise water consumption of increasing numbers of elephants thanks to community-based conservation. Looked at from this point of view, and which is reflected in many voices of community members who are quoted in Chapter 8 and Chapter 11, conservation puts a strain on livestock economy which is the main livelihood strategy in the area. At the same time, the conservancy insignificantly contributes to meeting the daily needs of these communities. Hence, as community conservation contributes to the increased population of elephants and

tourism activities as reported by NACSO (2015), the essential livelihood of the communities suffers due to higher water costs caused by elephants.

Table 15: Household cash expenditure across months

Month in 2015	Amount spent on each household need in Namibian dollars (N\$)								
	Food	Non-food	Travel	Health care	Education	Ceremonies	Housing	Water	Livestock husbandry
February	355	190	165	6	30	142	13	134	327
April	380	224	105	33	5	100	2	47	65
May	340	132	118	22	21	78	-	57	123
June	363	179	57	2	33	61	3	97	178
July	335	144	88	1	26	24	3	46	76
August	439	150	101	33	20	176	4	80	161
September	339	126	90	33	61	35	-	103	280
October	295	102	87	-	-	103	11	155	131
November	259	100	83	1	-	38	6	150	72
December	437	148	110	6	1	32	10	123	185
<b>Monthly average</b>	<b>356</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>160</b>
<b>Std. Dev.</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>305</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>463</b>

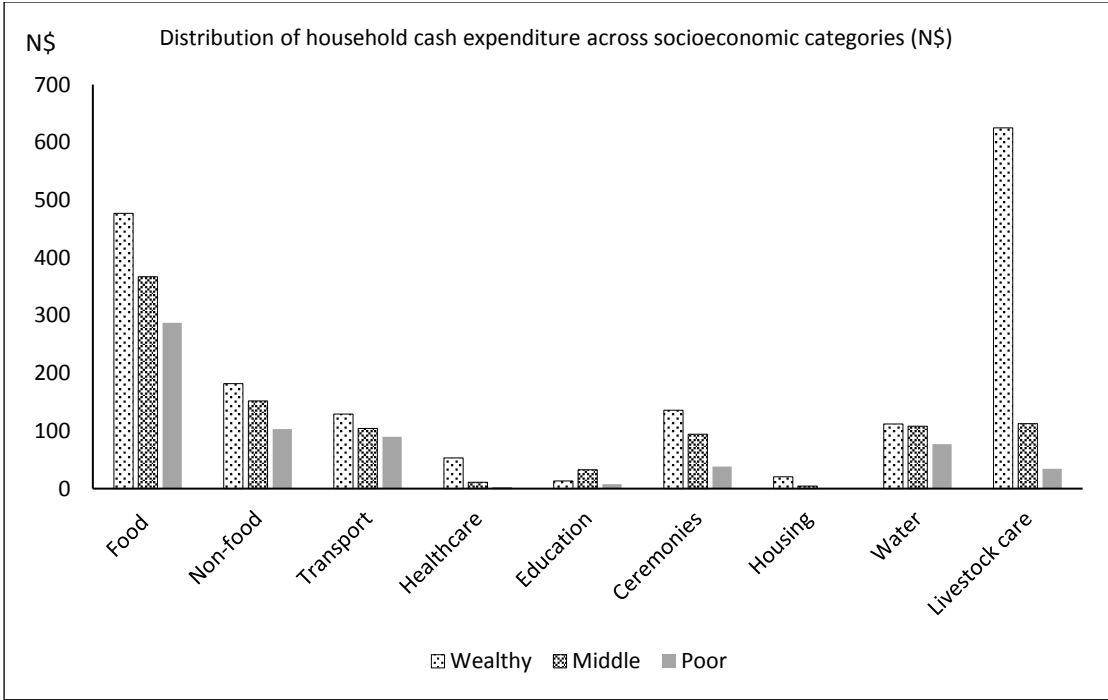


Figure 12: Distribution of household cash expenditure (in N\$) across socioeconomic categories

### *Household food consumption*

Food consumption is another factor that is used to distinguish wealth categories of households in the conservancy. Household food situation was analysed from data collected through the survey conducted between October 2015 and January 2016 as well as qualitative data from participant observation. The data was analysed along three attributes, namely: main sources of food, household food consumption score (explained in the next sections), and coping strategies.

#### Sources of food consumed in households

A major expectation of communal conservancy was to improve the lives of local communities, including, enhancing food security, through provision of jobs and distribution of game meat. However, the main sources of household food in †Khoadi †Hôas largely mirror the sources of cash incomes for the households. That is, food was mainly bought by cash incomes from the various sources identified and discussed earlier, namely: pension and welfare grants, sale of livestock, employment and remittances, incomes from home industry or small homebased businesses and menial jobs. Since cash incomes are small and are quickly spent as soon as they are earned, households are not able to tell which income they spent on what food. Quantitative data from the survey show that pensions and welfare grants contribute a larger proportion (46.9%) of the household income compared to the other sources. It is followed by incomes from employment (16%), remittances (15.6%), home industry (8.2%), and menial jobs (3%) (Figure 13). It is important to note that cash incomes are the major sources for daily household food. Although milk from households' own livestock holding provide an important source of daily food intake, its contribution was reportedly low because of two main reasons. One, milk is only one food item consumed by the households and thus is a small percentage of the dietary consumption of the households. Second, the survey was done during severe drought when there was hardly any milk production from cattle. This means that the consumption of milk from own household livestock holding during these months of the survey was extremely rare, if any. Other sources of food that made only 1.7% included sharing food from relatives and neighbours. Though sharing of food is a common practice for coping with food scarcity (Schneegg 2015, 2016a), its low percentage is associated with the fact that only a few food items like sugar, maize meal, tea, milk and meat are often shared.

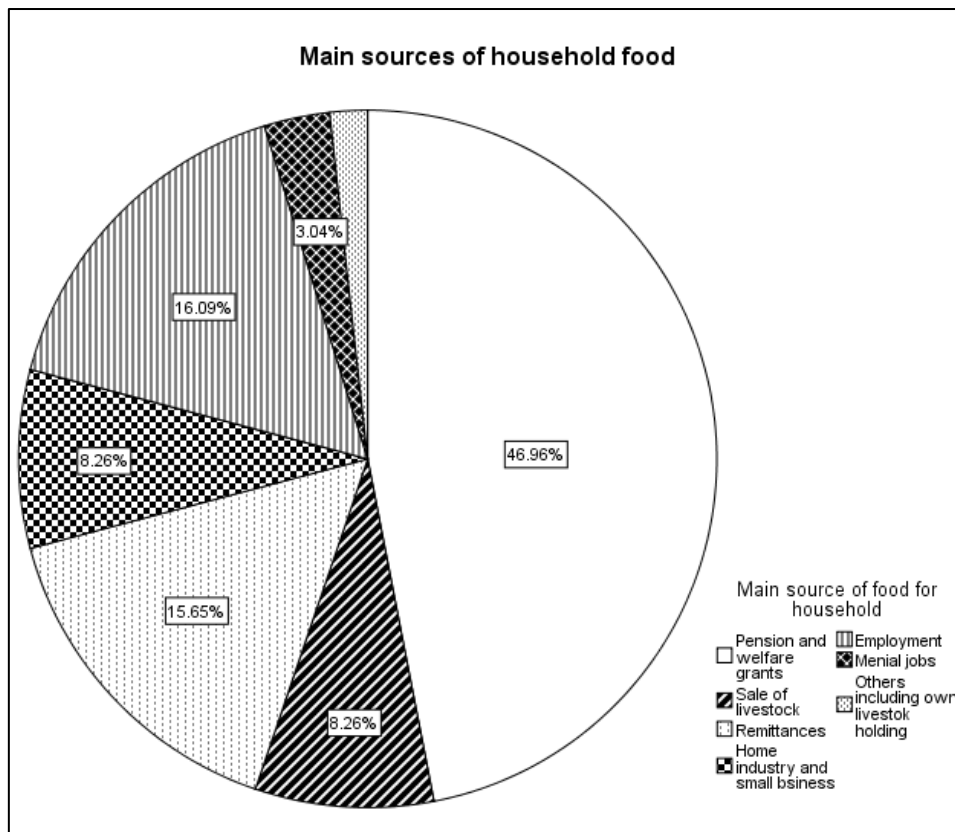


Figure 13: Main sources of household food

Thus, the more endowed the household is with financial sources, the more likely it will supply its daily food needs. Pensions and remittances are usually regular and remain an important source of food across all socioeconomic categories. However, it is important to remember that pension also includes contributory pension paid to people who were formerly employed and retired. These pensions are of higher financial value, especially when added to the non-contributory pension given by the state to all citizens over the age of 60. During a focus group discussion in most of the communities, participants identified the opportunity of a household to combine these kinds of pensions to raise regular household cash incomes, thus associating them with higher socioeconomic categories. For example, in Rooiplaas village, the head and bread winner of a wealthy household is retired government employee who combined his pension from Government Institutions Pensions Fund (GIPF) with the non-contributory state pension as well as that of his wife. Other than pensions and welfare grants, wages from employment also contributed significantly to household food supply through direct wages and remittances. Remittances are a significant source of food in all wealth categories. However, direct wages from employment is insignificant amongst the poor (44% of the sample). Hardly is any breadwinner of the poor households gainfully employed. They are often characterised with low levels of education that impede their chances of formal or gainful employment.

As already discussed, livelihood strategies with less potential of raising significant household income are more common with poor households. Such include menial jobs and



sharing of food from relatives and neighbours. In contrast, such sources of food hardly exist amongst the wealthy households. This finding coincides with qualitative data from focus group discussion as the following vignette helps to illustrate:

**Uses:** People from poor houses struggle even to eat. They have to ask for food from their neighbours. Sometimes they get and sometimes they don't. But people are always kind to help each other with food. Sometimes they ask them to clean the compound, or fetch water for the shop or lift some loads for them. They have to do some menial jobs around in order to survive.

**Richard:** Do the wealthy people also do menial jobs around to survive?

**Jacobus:** They are the ones who give us menial jobs. These kind of jobs are for poor people who have nothing. They could just be having one cow or two goats.

**Richard:** How about the households in the middle wealth category? Do they also do some of the menial work?

**Uses:** It is not easy to find them doing those jobs. They are not poor. Only poor people do menial jobs to survive here.<sup>120</sup>

Indeed, in the excerpt above, being poor is characterised with surviving on extremely low income and poor quality livelihood strategies such as menial jobs, locally known as *zula*, that are often paid in form of food, alcohol or cash, often as low as between N\$2 and N\$10. It is a distinguishing factor of the poor in the community. Low income and poor quality sources of food such as menial jobs and asking from relatives and friends are not only considered a survival strategy of the very poor households, but also as a sign of poverty. Figure 14 shows that the diversity of the household food sources increases as one moves down the socioeconomic ladder – from wealthy to poor households. Therefore, similar to the diversity of sources of cash incomes across socioeconomic categories, the poorer the household, the more diverse the sources of food. However, the diversity of food sources is characterised with less stable strategies. Nevertheless, the diversification of sources of household food reduces their vulnerability to severe food shortage and insecurity.

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<sup>120</sup> Focus Group Discussion in Blauplaas village on 26.11.2014.

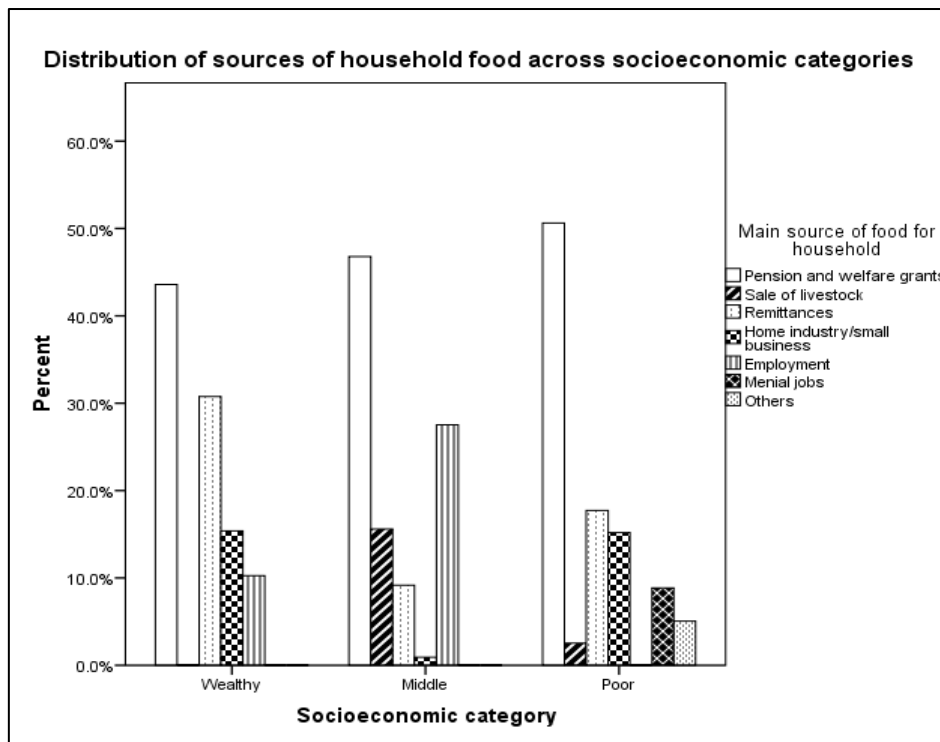


Figure 14: Distribution of sources of household food across socioeconomic categories

### *Food consumption pattern*

Food provision is one of the most important livelihoods outcomes for households in #Khoadi //Hôas. Pastoralism, water management and conservation in the area are more often than not discussed by the communities in relation to their contribution to household food situation. Moreover, it is one of the key determinants of socioeconomic categorisation in the area. The significance of household food situation in understanding livelihoods and link to water and wildlife management thus became inevitable during fieldwork and analysis. To measure household food situation, I used Food Consumption Score as a convenient tool. Food Consumption Score is a composite of dietary diversity and food intake frequencies that has been applied to determine the food insecurity amongst households, which is an indicator of unstable household livelihoods and poverty situation (Bukusuba et al. 2007; Carletto et al. 2013; Headey and Ecker 2013; Maxwell et al. 1999; Wiesmann et al. 2009). It measures the number of different kinds of food or food groups that people eat and the frequency with which they eat them within the last seven days, which are then weighted according to nutritional importance, generally set by World Food Programme (Maxwell et al. 2014:108; United Nations Organisation 2008). In practice, to calculate the Food Consumption Score, different kinds of food are weighted against a universal nutritional density and multiplied by the number of times the food was consumed over the last seven days (Carletto et al. 2013; Maxwell et al. 2014). The data is then used to classify households as having ‘poor’, ‘borderline’ and ‘acceptable’ food

consumption according to a guideline by World Food Programme (WFP) (United Nations Organisation 2008). In 2014 and 2015, the Directorate of Disaster Risk Management in the Office of the Prime Minister of Namibia (OPM) and WFP defined ‘poor’ consumption as a sign of extreme food insecurity with a Food Consumption Score of between 0.5 to 21.0; ‘borderline’ food consumption as medium food insecurity with Food Consumption Score of between 21 - 34.5; and ‘acceptable’ food consumption where the Food Consumption Score is at least 35 (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2015, 2016).

Data on household food consumption pattern was collected from sample household ( $n=81$ ) for the months of October, November and December, 2015. These months are generally dry and coincided with a severe drought that was considered a national disaster. Data was collected on the dietary diversity or the kind of food consumed by the household and food intake frequency or the number of times the kind of food was consumed within the last 7 days. The data was used to measure household Food Consumption Score. From Table 16 and following the classification of food consumption score by OPM and WFP (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2016; United Nations Organisation 2008), 40.7% of the sample household ( $n=81$ ) are extremely food insecure. 47.3% live on the borderline whereas only 12% have acceptable food consumption pattern or are food secure. The average food consumption score is 25.6 which falls within the ‘borderline’ category or medium food insecurity. Thus, if the data is extrapolated to represent the entire conservancy, it can be said that, on average, households living in the conservancy are moderately food insecure. This corroborates the qualitative data from participant observation that indicates that most households in #Khoadi //Hôas live a precarious life, largely characterised with frequent food scarcity.

Table 16: Household food consumption score

<b>Food Consumption Score</b>	<b>Percent (n =81)</b>
Poor (0.5 – 21)	40.7
Borderline (>21-35)	47.3
Acceptable (>35)	12.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

Similar to incomes, the conservancy was hardly mentioned by people as a source of food for households. People rarely got game meat from the conservancy as mentioned earlier. It is important to note that communities here expected that the conservancy programme would increase food intake in the area through provision of jobs that earn wages to increase the purchasing power of people and distributing game meat to households. A male informant explained during an interview:

Our expectation was that the conservancy would change our lives by creating jobs which would bring money so that we could feed ourselves and children. We were told that

whenever a kudu or oryx was hunted and killed, we would get meat. But this is not happening.<sup>121</sup>

Indeed, circumstances that increase strain on means of providing household food need not only work against the expectation for community conservation, but they also intensify the severity of food insecurity that is already overburdening the communities, especially the poor as the data show. Such circumstances strain food provision either by constraining livelihood strategies, for example, increasing costs on other domains, thus reducing purchasing power on food items or curtailing the productivity of dominant livelihood strategies like livestock keeping. This consequently exposes households to food insecurity and eventually works against poverty alleviation aims. Overall, CBNRM promised improved lives by creating employment to the local people and providing game meat left from trophy hunting, which according to local communities includes improving food security. Employment in the conservancy and lodges provides income to only a few people whilst the wages are little and hardly shared within the communities. Game meat is also rarely distributed or reported as source of household food. In addition, conservation laws have prohibited the communities to hunt for food. To a vast majority of the people of #Khoadi ǀHôas, conservation in the area has on the contrary contributed to constrained food security by increasing the vulnerability of their livestock economy to predators and making the area unsafe for free movement in search of veld food because of increased number of elephants.

### *Chapter conclusion*

Livestock keeping is an important livelihood strategy for communities living in #Khoadi ǀHôas. Livestock contributes to the daily dietary intake of households through milk provision during months of good pasture and occasional meat supply. However, livestock remains most significant as a household wealth reserve. Therefore, livestock determines the socioeconomic stratification of households whereby people's wealth is measured according to the herd sizes they own. Taking together the data from the survey, the wealth ranking exercise and participant observation, an emphasis is made on how viable livelihood is a result of the ability of the of households to expand their asset ownership over time. In the case of communities living in #Khoadi ǀHôas, livestock is a central household asset that determines the stability of the household's livelihood. The point here is that, a stable ownership of livestock leads to a successful accumulation path or upward mobility or process for households in these communities.

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<sup>121</sup> Interview with a male informant at Vlieplaas village on 12.05.2015.

Despite being located south of the veterinary cordon fence or the *red line* and associated possibility and efforts of integration into Namibia's livestock market economy, communities in #Khoadi ||Hôas rarely sell their livestock, except under extreme pressure for large household expenditure. As long as livestock stores the wealth, resources for daily household survival can be sought from other sources. Consequently, livestock keeping remains a dominant livelihood strategy for the people of #Khoadi ||Hôas and a determinant of amount of water used by the households, but it rarely brings the financial resources necessary for daily survival such as buying food and diesel for pumping water or repairing water pumps. For their daily survival, households combine different strategies including incomes from waged employment in nearby commercial farms and the conservancy, remittances, state cash transfers especially through non-contributory pension and petty business. In addition, sharing amongst households, especially of food items, helps to distribute wealth and reduce risk of starvation in #Khoadi ||Hôas. However, as the data shows, even with such flexible survival strategies, households in #Khoadi ||Hôas still live a precarious life characterised with food insecurity and lack of supply of other basic needs such as water. Expenditure on water, is higher than other essential services such as health care and education which are not entirely free of financial costs to households, or fully subsidised by the state. Water, as a salient resource for these communities, puts a strain on their meagre incomes further constraining upward mobility or hindering their rise from poverty. Whereas communities expected that the conservancy programme would help to lessen their poverty and deprivation, the data show that it contributes minimally to the support of the daily lives of a vast majority households, a point that I further elaborate in the next chapters.



## Chapter 8

### Water management practices in †Khoadi †Hôas

This chapter analyses water management practices in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy and how they link to household livelihoods. It sets to achieve two objectives. The first one is to describe the way in which community-based water management has been practised in the area, taking into consideration the prevailing socioeconomic conditions of the local setting. By doing so, I describe how community-based water management was introduced in the area and how it evolved during the process of implementation that has yielded into the current practices. I further advance to the second objective of offering explanations to the outcomes of current practices of water management in †Khoadi †Hôas. I demonstrate that household livelihood patterns have been at the core of this evolution. That is, the manner in which households endeavour to sustain their livelihoods and the challenges that they face in achieving their livelihood needs impinge on the water management practices that emerge and prevail. The central argument in this chapter is that, the flexible and disproportional water management practices that emerge in †Khoadi †Hôas sustain water supply and access, but lead to skewed distribution of economic costs. The result is, in relative terms, poorer households pay more financial costs and have limited coping strategies to the effects of lack of water whenever it occurs.

#### *Water supply and infrastructure*

As discussed in Chapter 3, †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy area was occupied by commercial farmers of European descent before the implementation of the Odendaal plan in 1960s. The colonial government of South West Africa invested in water infrastructure by sinking boreholes and equipping them mainly with wind pumps and diesel engines to enhance the commercial livestock farming (Schmokel 1985). Maintenance of the water points was the responsibility of the commercial farmer. By around 1970, consistent with the implementation of the Odendaal plan, the farms in the area were expropriated by the colonial government and declared part of the homeland of the Damara administration. Consequently, a new arrangement of water management was adopted. The colonial government, through the Damara administration, sustained the supply of water to the natives by providing diesel and maintaining the mechanical health of the infrastructure including pumps (see Chapter 3). Like in other native homelands in Kunene, access to water in the area was seen to be free (Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Bollig 2016) and controlled by the traditional leader –village headman.

The technology for pumping water at the water points has changed over time in most farms. For example, at independence there was no farm, known to my informants that operated on solar power. After independence, some boreholes in the area were fitted with solar pumps to replace either the wind pumps that were considered inefficient or the diesel engine pump that were seen to be costly for poor communities.<sup>122</sup> With time, the solar pumps in some farms have been replaced with diesel engines because the latter are considered to be having more power to pump water into the reservoir compared to the former.<sup>123</sup> A vast majority of all functioning water points (109 out of 161) are fitted with diesel powered water pumps (see Table 2). Therefore, there is the need to buy diesel and meet other costs such as engine oil as well as those costs pertaining to repairs. Two villages have their main boreholes operating on a solar powered pumps, and hence do not incur diesel costs. Apart from the water pump, other water infrastructure that makes a communal water point, in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy, include a reservoir usually a dam built of concrete, plastic water tanks (usually three of them) of 5,000 litres capacity and water troughs for livestock (see Table 2). In some villages, the water point is surrounded by a concrete wall meant to prevent destruction by elephants. Such are referred to as elephant-proof dams or water points (Picture 7).



*Picture 7: A typical water point in #Khoadi //hôas conservancy*

The water is pumped from the borehole into the main reservoir. When the main reservoir is full, water is then pumped into the plastic tanks raised at a height of more than three metres above the ground – high enough to enable the water to flow through gravity into pipes and taps. The water that is reserved in the plastic tanks is used for domestic purposes. Some households, especially those of higher wealth categories, have connected water supply from the plastic tanks to their houses using plastic pipes that run above the ground to taps or private

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<sup>122</sup> Interview with a government employee in charge of rural water supply in Grootberg on 19.03.2015 at Erwee.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*



tanks that they have installed in their home compounds. Often, the pipes burst open leaking out water due to prolonged direct sunlight and other causes of tear and wear. Households which do not have pipes connected to their compounds, have their members fetching water from the water point in containers using cars, donkey carts or on foot.

### *The advent of community-based water management in #Khoadi //Hôas*

Community based water management (CBWM) was introduced by the government in the area as early as late 1990s (Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Bollig 2016; Schnegg and Linke 2015, 2016). Following the National Water and Sanitation Sector Policy, the government began by rehabilitating water points (Schwieger 2017; Schwieger 2015) and withdrawing from providing basic water costs, especially for buying diesel (Schnegg 2016b). The rehabilitation of water points included cleaning the boreholes; replacing the pipes; replacing the water pump where possible (Schwieger 2017). For example, replacing wind pumps with diesel engine pumps and sometimes with solar pumps; rebuilding concrete water reservoirs and putting up plastic water tanks for domestic purposes.<sup>124</sup> Water troughs for livestock were also replaced. Some of this work went on until the year 2010. For example, the water point at Springbokplaas village was rehabilitated in the year 2009/2010 as described in the case studies in the following section.

The work to establish water point association and committees in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy area started at the turn of the year 2000. It is important to mention that it was also around this time that the conservancy programme was taking shape in the area. After rehabilitation of water points, the government rolled out a capacity building phase that would include awareness creation and training of communities to form Water Point Associations (WPAs) and Water Point Committees (WPCs) (Schwieger 2017). Therefore, the DRWS (currently DWSSC) office in Khorixas that is responsible for #Khoadi //Hôas area started by creating awareness about CBWM programme in most of the farms whose water points had been rehabilitated. This was aimed at informing farming households, who shared a water point, about the objectives of the CBWM and its benefits. There was the presence of NGOs and projects operating in the area such as World Wide Fund for Nature in Namibia (WWF-Namibia), Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF), Sustainable Agriculture and Rangeland Development Programme (SARDEP) and Desert Research Foundation in Namibia (DRFN), except that their primary focus was on wildlife conservation and rangeland management (Kruger and Kambatuku 2003; Kruger et al. 2008; Li and Vaughan 2003). CBWM was considered as an issue that would facilitate conservation and discussions on thematic issue of desertification (Li and Vaughan 2003; Government of the Republic of Namibia 2002b).

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<sup>124</sup>Interview with a government employee in charge of rural water supply in Grootberg on 19.03.2015 at Erwee.

Awareness creation sessions for CBWM were organised in the form of short meetings, sometimes when the rehabilitation of water infrastructure would be going on. The sensitisation sessions were aimed at creating a sense of ownership in water management and especially in covering the costs which were previously taken by the state (Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Linke 2015; Schwieger 2017).

Equally important, was to create an organisational structure through which new institutional solutions for collective responsibility on water costs would be implemented or enforced. Therefore, after creating awareness about the need for CBWM, the government officials then embarked on establishing community WPAs and formation of WPCs. As the cases in the following section show, this led into the formation of WPAs as households who shared a water point regularly. The WPC was established to implement rules that were agreed upon. However, during the awareness creation sessions, communal farmers in some villages had organised a committee that would wait for the technical input of the government officers. DRWS/DWSSC officers from Khorixas who had been trained went into the selected farms and organised meetings with the farmers in order to address different objectives, sometimes at different meetings. One of the objectives included teaching the communal farmers about the importance of working together with the government to manage their water points, including through sharing the costs of maintaining the supply of water and repair of the engines and pumps. This was expected to enhance a sense of communal ownership and responsibilities through an association.

After people had agreed to form the association and succeeded to elect their leaders to form a Water Point Committee, the DRWS/DWSSC officials facilitated meetings in order to help them to develop the constitutions for their association. The constitutions detailed the general governance of the association including procedures of electing the committee and roles of members of the committee, procedures of holding meetings and general provisions for handling finances of the association. Special training was organised in Erwee for members of the committee where they were trained on their roles and how to implement the management plans and the constitution. It is important to underscore that the idea of an association was not new to the farmers in the area as most of them had been members of the Grootberg Farmers Association.<sup>125</sup> The other objective was to develop the water point management plans. The water point committees were guided by the ministry officials to develop their rules and the management plans, key of which, was how to share the cost of pumping the water and maintaining the pumps equitably amongst the water users (households). This was based on a template developed by DRWS/DWSSC. All these activities happened within the first phase of the CBWM implementation plan – capacity building phase. This phase was meant to prepare

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<sup>125</sup> Interview with an employee of Division for Agriculture Extension in Anker, on 13.10.2015.

the way for the handing over of the water points to the WPC through a lease agreement. However, most of the water points are still at the first stage of the CBWM process because they have not developed the management plans. But even the ones that had been admitted to the second phase by signing lease agreements have had their committees becoming less functional with further consequences of people abandoning or changing set rules as the following case studies help to illustrate.

### *Changing cost sharing rules in Rooiplaas village*

Rooiplaas village is a settlement of about 46 households, majority of which are of Damara community. There are two water points in the village. In the early 1990s, one of the boreholes was fitted with a diesel engine pump and the other was operating on a wind pump. When the community-based water management became a national policy agenda, and with the collapse of the Damara administration, the government stopped supplying the diesel to Rooiplaas community. The government's role remained to rehabilitate and maintain the water infrastructure. Pietrus, a resident of the village, who worked for the government and was considered wealthy because of the size of his livestock holding, organised the households to contribute diesel every month to pump water. He assigned the role of pumping water to his worker. Households brought diesel to his house. Nevertheless, diesel contribution by individual households was very irregular because, 'many people complained that diesel was expensive for them to buy'.<sup>126</sup> When the water points were finally rehabilitated by the government in the late 1990s, one of the boreholes was fitted with a solar pump in order to save the households of the high costs of buying diesel.

Around 2001/2002, a water point association (WPA) was formed in the community as well as a corresponding water point committee (WPC). However, because there was no need to collect money for purchasing diesel, officials from the DRWS only advised the communities to organise how to collect money for emergency repairs. My informants remembered that the emergency fees were set at N\$5 per household per month. Unfortunately, no household contributed this amount of money. This is because households did not see an urgent need to contribute the money, as problems are often dealt with in the community as they come. In addition, there was also no need for the WPC to meet regularly and collect money. Therefore, the momentum of the community-based water management (CBWM) that had just been kicked off by the DRWS began dying off. A further blow to the functioning of the committee was that some of its members moved to other areas to look for work. Furthermore, no more meetings were organised by DRWS in support of the WPC. Consequently, personal recollections from elderly members of the farm including a former vice chairperson, indicate

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<sup>126</sup> Interview with Pietrus on 22.11.2016 at Rooiplaas village.

that one year after the committee was elected, it started being slow in its operation, and finally collapsed.

With time, the community realised that the solar pump was not pumping enough water to fill the reservoir because of what they termed 'low power'. Around 2009, the solar pump was replaced with a more powerful diesel engine by the DWSSC. Consequently, cost of diesel and that of maintaining the mechanical condition of the pump re-emerged. Hence, there was a renewed effort by the government to revive the water point committee in order to manage the collection of diesel and the operation of the pump. A water point committee was elected after meetings conducted by the officials of the DWSSC from Khorixas. This gave way to the development of a new water management plan. In the management plan, payments for the supply of water and maintenance of the engine were inscribed as follows:

1. N\$ 1.00 per head of large stock units including cattle, horses and donkeys.
2. N\$ 0.50 per head of small stock units including sheep and goats.
3. N\$10 per household per month for emergency repairs.
4. N\$100, per household, membership fee for the water user association payable only once.<sup>127</sup>

Generally, the rules were identical to others in the nearby villages and were adopted from the government template, as was the case with other water point associations in Kunene (Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Bollig 2016; Schnegg and Linke 2015, 2016). The rules were agreed on and signed by the WPC to be binding for households in Rooiplaas village. A water pumper or caretaker of the infrastructure was identified and trained, together with those from other villages, by DWSSC. Two months after signing the management plan, no one had honoured the new proportional cost sharing rules. The pumper for the village recalls that:

Deviation from the rule started immediately when Pietrus refused to contribute money. Instead he bought diesel and gave it to his worker to put in the engine and pump the water for his many cattle and goats. He saw that he was contributing a lot. Also, he did not want to give money to the treasurer. May be he thought the treasurer would misuse it.<sup>128</sup>

As mentioned earlier, Pietrus was considered as one of the wealthiest farmers in the village throughout this period and had over 50 heads of livestock and over 100 goats and sheep. His cash contribution for diesel would obviously be the highest. His trust for the good use of money if given to the treasurer was low, according to the old man whose voice is quoted above. He withheld cash contribution and instead opted to buy the diesel by himself in subsequent months. The other households followed suit and finally no one gave money to the treasurer. Important to note is that, diesel contribution were of random amounts where each household would bring their diesel to the pumper except Pietrus who gave the diesel to his worker to pump water. Then the planned and fixed 'per-head of livestock' contribution died off and a flexible

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<sup>127</sup> Since the water point management plan for Rooiplaas village was not available for review, I got these details from a group interview at Rooiplaas village. There was very little deviation from the figures that informants gave.

<sup>128</sup> Interview with a 43 year old pumper for Rooiplaas village on 22.03. 2015.

ad hoc disproportional institutional solution emerged in Rooiplaas village. The pumper, instead of asking households to contribute money according to the number of livestock a household owned, began asking households to contribute diesel. Many conflicts arose each time the pumper asked people to bring diesel, especially when there was no diesel left. People preferred to go and pump water by themselves.

Conflicts were intensified when some people bought and installed their own private water tanks in their compounds and connected them to the main pipe taking water into their private tanks. The pipes running into the private tanks ran above the ground and would occasionally burst and spill water leading to wastage. Those who installed private tanks preferred to pump water into their tanks first and then if the diesel remained, pumped water into the communal reservoir, thus, turning a communal good into private property. As time went by, and with more conflicts, the pumper gradually avoided asking people to bring diesel or money to him. People voluntarily did the collection on ad hoc basis. Hence, the diesel contribution practice that has emerged and persisted over time since the establishment of the water point committee has been flexible and ad hoc. Despite the flexibility, households have regularly contributed diesel out of being cautious for the potential loss they stand to incur because of lack of water for their livestock. Those who have private tanks at home shield themselves from the risks of running out of water in case no one brings diesel. When the communal reservoir goes empty and the water troughs run dry before the next person can voluntarily contribute diesel, those with private water tanks in Rooiplaas use the water they stored in the tanks for their livestock, especially the vulnerable ones.

Similarly, the water point committee has never succeeded to collect, from households, the other contributions for emergency repair as planned. No household has ever registered as a member of the water point association except through their presence at the meetings conducted by the officials of the DWSSC from Khorixas. Collection of N\$10 monthly contribution per household for emergency repairs was tried a few times and the momentum to collect it died off. This was blamed on the treasurer who moved out of the farm to stay in Erwee so as to take care of her children who were going to school there. No arrangement was made to elect another treasurer as people were unwilling to take up the responsibility of collecting money from households because they did not want to bother people by asking for money every month.

In 2012, the diesel engine that the DWSSC had installed for them broke down. Since the water point had not been fully handed over to the committee, the government still had the obligation to bear the cost of major repairs. The pumper reported the damage to the DWSSC office in Erwee and Khorixas. DWSSC officers came and assessed the damage and concluded that the solution was for the government to replace the engine with a new one. This process took too long to realize positive results. The chairman of the WPC together with the pumper

called the residents of the village to a meeting to inform them that they would be required to contribute at least N\$11,000 to buy a new engine. To raise this amount of money, every household was asked to contribute any amount of money as a 43 year old female respondent recalled:

We made contribution as one could. Some contributed N\$200, some 100N\$ and others contributed N\$5. My husband [pumper] was collecting the money. But there was no rule that you must only give a certain amount of money. Everyone gave according to what God gave them and what their heart told them. But those with many livestock like Pietrus gave more money than those with a few livestock, like me. That is how we do things here.<sup>129</sup>

My fieldwork coincided with a breakdown of the water pump of the village. The cost for repairing the pump was estimated to be N\$800. In a community meeting, the cost was divided equally amongst 46 households. Each household was asked to give N\$25 including the cost of transport to buy a new part to replace the broken one. The pumper, who was the only active member of the WPC left in the village, was asked to collect the money from the households. His attempts were not yielding much fruit, as just a few households contributed a total of N120, whilst the rest complained that they did not have money. But even those who contributed, gave less than the amount that was agreed on. When Pietrus came back to the village from his work, he contributed the rest of the money and bought the new part as well as fixing it together with the pumper. When I met the duo repairing the pump, Pietrus complained bitterly:

I do everything in this farm. I am the one they are looking up to for solving water problems. But I do this for my livestock which is my wealth. I don't want to leave my livestock without water.<sup>130</sup>

Later, when I brought up the topic whilst at the pumper's house, his wife quickly dismissed Pietrus' anger saying:

But he is the one who uses more water. He pumps water to his own tank. Big tank, I tell you. And it is not fair that he is doing that. You should go and see it. We also know that N\$800 is nothing compared to his many livestock. He can give even more. He should not complain.<sup>131</sup>

Whilst the struggle to keep the pump running at Rooiplaas continued, by October 2015, the pumper for the village had secured a temporary job with a government department in Erwee. He had surrendered his duties to Samson – a relative of his wife – who was also not keen on staying in the village for long. The duties of a pumper is not only to operate and maintain the engine but also to collect diesel from households, since no one contributed money anymore and there was no treasurer to help. The pumper shoulders the burden of ensuring that the diesel for pumping water is available. This consumes effort and time for doing other household productive activities. Samson was not prepared to move around the village in order plead with people to contribute diesel. Consequently, the ad hoc, flexible disproportionate institutional

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<sup>129</sup> Response from a female participant of the FGD aged 43 during a FGD conducted on 16.10.2014 Rooiplaas village.

<sup>130</sup> Interview with Pietrus on 22.03.2015 at Rooiplaas village.

<sup>131</sup> Interview with Pamela on 22.03.2015 at Rooiplaas village.

regime that organically evolved would continue with various socioeconomic consequences. But before I delve into an analysis of the nature and consequences of this organic institutional solution of managing communal water, I consider another case study that has only developed lately.

### *Changing cost sharing rules in Springbokplaas village*

Springbokplaas village is home to some ten households, most of whom are relatives and of Damara community. Four households are headed by people who live and work in towns but have livestock in the village. The village is closely neighbouring other two villages. The water point at Springbokplaas was established only in 2011/2012. Before that time the community shared a water point in one of its neighbouring villages. The water point was controlled by a water point committee that was constituted by people from both villages. In 2011, the water point for Springbokplaas was established, including an elephant proof concrete tank, three plastic water tanks and a new engine together with the water trough for the livestock. The government officials from Khorixas organised a meeting with the community and introduced the idea of a water point committee there as well. But the idea of the committee was not new to the community because they had been involved in community-based water management during the formation of the committee in the neighbouring village. At the end of that meeting, a committee was established but only 2 positions could be appointed because many influential men were not present at the farm.<sup>132</sup> Bon, the village headman, was elected as their chairman. His nephew, Benadus, was elected the pumper or caretaker of the water point. Benadus was seen to be experienced for the function because he was already a pumper in a previous committee of the neighbouring water point. Other positions were to be filled later because the people felt that there were important members of the community who must be involved in leadership position. After the election, the two officials were invited for a 5 day-training in Erwee where officials of water point committees from other farms were also being trained. The training covered their roles in the different portfolios.

A few months later, another meeting was organised by DRWSS with the residents of Springbokplaas. This time they were taught how to develop a constitution and water point management plan that would enable them to register as a Water Point Association (WPA). The constitution would establish the WPA as a legal entity and established rules for: Meetings and elections of individuals into committee offices; the responsibilities of the officials; and the objectives of the WPA. The management plan set out cost sharing rules including the fees that should be paid by each household in order to access water and the sequence of making the

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<sup>132</sup> All the part-time farmers were absent in this meeting.

payments. With the information that was gathered, the government officials went back to Khorixas and developed the two documents which were later brought to the officials to sign. The water sharing rules that were agreed on included:

1. 10N\$ per household for emergency purposes. This money should be banked and only used for emergency purpose. For example, when the pump breaks down.
2. 0.50 N\$ per head of large stock unit including cattle, horse, donkeys and mules.
3. 0.20N\$ per every head of small stock unit including sheep and goats.

After their adoption, the cost sharing rules were only implemented for three months. Benadus was the one who was responsible for pumping the water and collecting the money from households. He soon began to realize that it was very difficult for people to honour their promises. Like in Rooiplaas, deviation from rules in Springbokplaas began when:

People, especially those who have lots of animals began to see that they were paying more money than others. They saw that it was difficult to keep their promise and did not want to pay. Benadus also got tired of following people in their houses. Some [part-time farmers] complained that the rules were made by their workers yet they are expected to bring money.<sup>133</sup>

The following month, which was December, the two leaders called for a meeting when almost everyone was at the farm. They discussed about the contribution of diesel and they agreed to go back to the old way of contributing diesel on a flat rate basis instead of according to the number of livestock a household owned. They decided that every household would contribute, either in cash or in form 25 litres of diesel for the month that it is allocated. Most people in that meeting agreed to that suggestion because it was easier to implement and people had experienced it since the days when they shared a water point with their neighbours. Flat rate system was then reintroduced in Springbokplaas. Then Benadus, the pumper, made a list of how people would be contributing diesel across months.

The first few months people contributed diesel as had been agreed. Some people would send money to Benadus, especially those who worked and stayed in towns. Then problems started emerging that would compromise the enforcement of the reintroduced system. This time it started with Silvano, a wealthy part-time farmer working for the government in nearby town, who did not contribute diesel in time during the month that he was allocated. When Benadus asked him why he failed to contribute diesel on time, 'he said that he did not get money on time because he was moving to start work in another town'.<sup>134</sup> This led to a delay in diesel contribution and people had to move their livestock to the water point of the neighbouring village. The next time, Alfons who works in a nearby town, did not contribute diesel. Coincidentally, both Alfons and Silvano have the largest numbers of livestock in Springbokplaas. They also have private tanks at home and employ workers. By all standards

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<sup>133</sup> Field notes from Springbokplaas, 23.06.2015.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*



they fit the local description of wealthy farmers. The WPC chairman asserted in my interview with him that:

It is Silvano and Alfons who broke down the system that we had agreed on. They refused to give diesel on time and we did not have diesel to pump water. We started getting problems from others when they broke the system.<sup>135</sup>

Since then, collection of diesel has been irregular, especially from the two households. The chairman of the WPC, who was also the village headman, threatened them that if they didn't want to cooperate with the others then he would expel them from the village. But these also remained as mere threats as it is a long process to revoke land right.

In the second week of June 2015, there was no water in the reservoir and all taps were dry. Livestock were moved to drink water in a neighbouring water point. When I sought to know from Bon, the chairman, whose turn it was to contribute diesel, he informed that it was the turn for Alfons and added that:

He has cattle and goats, more than 80 cattle. He has two herders who stay in this farm and are using water but he doesn't want to cooperate with us. He always complains that he doesn't have time to bring the diesel. At the same time he doesn't want to send the money to Benadus so that he can buy the diesel. He wants to bring the diesel by himself, but you see now he is late.<sup>136</sup>

However, in my interview with Alfons, he insisted that whenever he sends money to the pumper to buy diesel, the pumper does not use all the money for diesel but instead keeps some for himself. So he prefers to bring the diesel himself, but he cannot always come at the time when his turn to give diesel has reached. He explained:

I have told Benadus and Bon to just tell the next person to buy diesel and when I come I can give mine but they don't want to understand. So what can I do?<sup>137</sup>

Noncompliance to the cost sharing rules continues in Springbokplaas village thereby constraining the implementation of CBWM. Anybody shares the water whether or not they contributed. Whenever there is insufficient stock of diesel, Benadus, the pumper approaches the households and asks or borrow diesel from specific households. Yet this loose arrangement also comes with challenges. For example, in the first week of the month of July 2015, there emerged a conflict between Benadus and his uncle Bon, the WPC chairman over diesel contribution. Benadus had borrowed diesel two times from Bon when there was no diesel to pump water. In the first instance, it was in the month of February when Benadus was scheduled to contribute diesel. The next time was in the month of June when Alfons was to contribute diesel but failed. In both instances, Benadus had promised to refund the diesel to Bon, but he did not. In order to claim back his diesel, Bon refused to contribute diesel in July when his household was scheduled to do so. This led to a bitter exchange of words between the two

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<sup>135</sup> Interview with the late Bon, chairman for WPC at Springbokplaas on 23.06.2015.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> Interview with Alfons in Kamanjab on 12.07.2015.

relatives, who were also neighbours and officials of the WPC. They never spoke to each other, at least in a friendly manner until Bon died in October 2015.

Other than failure to contribute diesel and other costs, another problem that has emerged from CBWM in Springbokplaas is the failure of the WPC to meet. In the constitution of the WPA, the committee is supposed to hold meetings to make decisions that are important for water management. But this is not taking place. The main contributing factor is that some heads of household are not always residing in the place. They stay in urban centres or visit relatives for various reasons and only come back during holidays and long weekends.<sup>138</sup> Even Benadus who was appointed the pumper was absent from the village most of the times, visiting relatives. Sometimes, he stays with his wife and children in Anker settlement whilst the children attend school there, before returning to Springbolplaas when the school is closed. When he is away, his two nephews and brother-in-law are responsible for pumping the water. Although this is only supposed to happen if a meeting is held and the community approves, according to the water point management plan developed by the DWSSC.

### *Explaining the instability of CBWM*

The two case studies described above generally represent the development of CBWM and the resultant institutional transformation in #Khoadi ||Hôas communities. A common feature in the two cases and throughout the #Khoadi ||Hôas is that no sooner had proportional rule been introduced and left to steer ahead a new institutional dispensation, than its very building blocks began to crumble, transforming water governance to a flat rate payment rule. There are two salient features of this transformation that are illustrated in the case studies: One, is an organisational collapse where the water point association and committees become dysfunctional; two, is the institutional transformation that leads to untargeted cost sharing arrangement. In the following section, I discuss some challenges that faced the organisational architecture of CBWM that contributed to dysfunctional WPCs. Dysfunctional here means that the committees do not function in the manner they were designed.

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<sup>138</sup> A long weekend in Namibia refers to a holiday that connects with a weekend. A typical example is the Easter holiday. A long holiday refers to leave days probably not less than a week, usually taken by employees during the month of December, when they return to their rural homes to meet other family members as well as check on their livestock.

### *The collapse of water point committees*

Community sensitization and awareness creation for CBWM in †Khoadi †Hôas area was completed by the year 2011 for all the 42 villages with own water points. By the beginning of 2015, four water points were on leasehold stage. In the same year, only a few of the WPCs were intact or functional. The signs that a water point committee was dysfunctional included failure to organise and hold meetings, failure to collect diesel or money for diesel as per the water point management plan and failure to enforce sanctions against households or individual farmers who do not comply with the rules. In addition, from the case studies and general observation about water management practices throughout the conservancy, it is evident that inhabitants of the farms hardly relate to the water point association. Seldom did I come across a head of household that would affirm immediate knowledge of a water point association compared to the immediate response that I would get about their membership to farmers association or conservancy, for instance. This can be partly explained by the fact that WPC largely remain unstable. Some of the reasons that explain the failure of the water point committee to function are related to livelihood situation of the people in the area.

#### i. Migration and committee functionality

Only in 4 farms (19.21%) had all their water point committee members always staying at the village or farm (Figure 15). In 8 farms (40.68%), at least some of the committee members were not staying at the village, whereas in 7 farms (40.11%) most of the committee members were not staying at farm (Figure 15). All in all, the absence of a section of the committee members in the villages to engage in decision making for water problems is widespread in the area. Migration of people is a major factor that is contributing to this challenge. In Kunene, the convergence of pastoralism, migration and waged employment is a prosaic phenomenon (Schneegg et al. 2013). People out-migrate to other places to look for employment, a time within which they stay connected to and influence decisions in their villages through remittances (Greiner 2011) or by keeping livestock as part-time farmers (Schneegg et al. 2013). Furthermore, in †Khoadi †Hôas, just like in other areas of southern Kunene, parents migrate with their children from the villages to settlements in which schools are built so that the children can attend school (Greiner 2011). Migration also happens, especially amongst the very poor, as a way of surviving food scarcity, a practice that is common in Namibia as a whole (Pendleton et al. 2014)

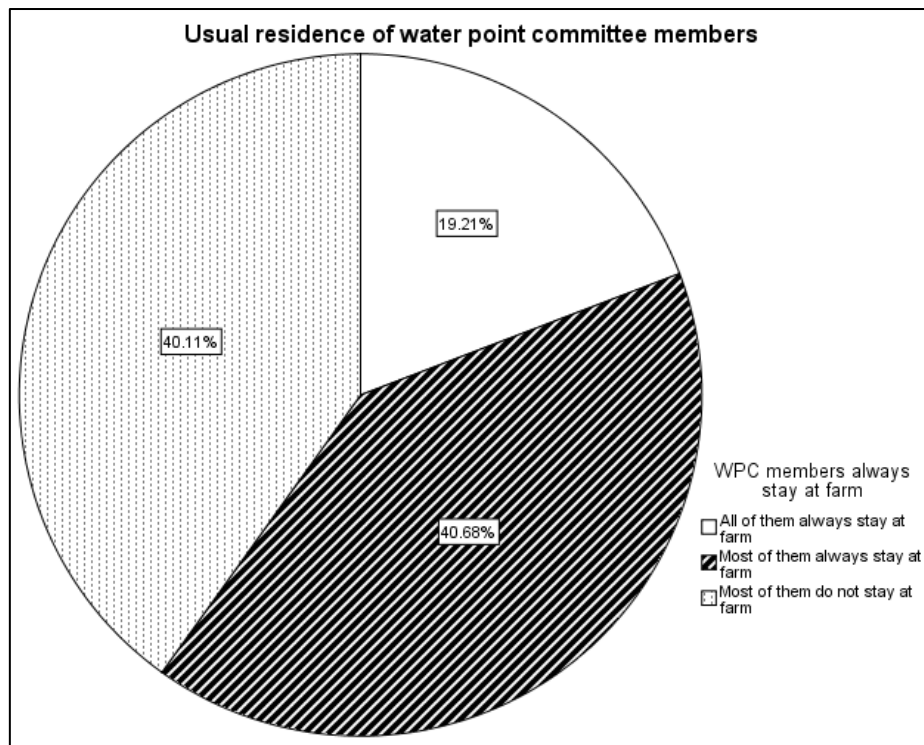


Figure 15: Usual residence of water point committee members

Outmigration of some members of the committee leads to sluggish or delayed decision making. As the case studies from Rooisplaas and Springbokplaas show, members of the communities, including committee members migrate to other places for different reasons. In their absence, decisions to enforce rules, for example, to deny water to unpaying neighbouring farmers and to change leadership are not attempted. The communities have to wait for those who are away from the villages to return in order to effect changes or make new resolutions. In some cases, documents like the water management plans and constitutions get lost when some committee members are absent from the community, especially for long duration. For example, in three villages, informants remembered that they were assisted by DWSSC to develop constitutions and water management plans. But when I sought to see them, nobody could tell where the documents were because people who were elected to WPC positions went out to different places to look for employment and probably took the documents a long with them. More crucial is that when key positions such as that of the pumper, treasurer and chairperson, are left vacant, hardly anyone from the community volunteers to assume the duties because those duties are bothersome and burdensome. Furthermore, in #Khoadi #Hôas nobody wants to dictate to others on what they should or should not do. Hence, as the officials migrate out of the village, they also do so with the expertise, yet DWSSC is not offering training for WPCs in the area anymore. Migration is also linked to the problem of part-time farmers who have well established jobs in the cities but keep livestock in the villages.

ii. The problem of part-time farmers

In almost every village of †Khoadi †Hôas, there is a part-time farmer who stays in the major towns or nearby urban centres for the purpose of employment. Although not in all cases, many people from †Khoadi †Hôas who have stable jobs with higher incomes usually find investment in pastoralism a worthwhile economic venture. They are often the wealthy farmers because they have regular income to invest in livestock husbandry, for example, by hiring a herder. They occasionally come home, especially during the long weekend and festive seasons to check on the condition of their livestock and make visible connection with the community, for example, those who take care of their livestock and kraal. Schnegg and colleagues have also correctly argued that part-time farming is a ‘central means of maintaining belonging’ to communities in Kunene (Schnegg et al. 2013:352). Therefore, although absent from the community, part-time farmers are present in the social webs that affect or shape water management in †Khoadi †Hôas. The way in which they influence decisions can be analysed in various ways, but two are critical to this thesis as I explain in the following paragraphs.

One, because of their wealth and association with regular incomes, they are, in most cases, viewed in high political and social pedestal that major decisions cannot be made without their consent (Schnegg and Linke 2015). However, part-time farmers are usually absent when decisions have to be made on important matters of water management. In some cases communities are forced to elect a part-time farmer in committee positions even though they will not be present in most meetings. This was the case in Blauplaas village where a wealthy part-time farmer working in the capital was elected because residents of the village saw him as the one who significantly supports them materially during difficult times like funerals. In Vleiplaas village, where almost all residents belonged to one family, a part-time farmer who worked as a police officer was seen as the head and spokesperson of the family. Electing them in WPCs was considered as a way of honouring them, whilst failure to do so would mean being ungrateful to their support and lack of recognition of their fame. In such cases, the water point committee cannot make decisions with far reaching consequences for the fear that absent part-time farmers may later on contradict the local decisions. An equally conspicuous example is in Springbokplaas, where there are four part-time farmers who are considered wealthy. When the water point committee was being established, the part-time farmers were not present. Subsequent meetings were also held in their absence, including when DWSSC made meetings with the community to agree on the cost sharing rules amongst others. One of them, complained that he could not honour an agreement that he was not part of and verbally vilified the chairperson and the pumper for allowing their workers to decide on their behalf. Consequently, in the last quarter of 2015, the community wanted to conduct a meeting to change the leadership of their committee which they thought was becoming dysfunctional. But they had to wait until December when they hoped that the part-time farmers would be at the

village to participate in the meeting. This makes decisions making by the water point committee halted completely, if not slowed down.

Two, the DWSSC also finds the weekend farmers presenting a challenge in training and strengthening the functioning of the WPA. An officer from DWSSC, for example, told me that they could not hold meetings regularly with the people because influential people who work in the city would not be present and the residents of the village usually would not accept to have the meetings.<sup>139</sup> Therefore, their programme must only be held in the weekends during which the government would hardly send the officers to the field because it is costly. The officer explained this challenge in the manner illustrated in the vignette below:

Those farmers who stay in the cities with work are very influential in the farms. They are the ones having more cattle and more power. Yet they can only come to the farms during long weekends or in December. We also cannot work on long weekends because the government will not want to pay overtime allowances. It is either we wait until December or just do the meetings with the people present. Either way, the committee will break because of slow and low contact between the office and farmers.<sup>140</sup>

The officer explains a problem that is embedded in the social realities in the farms. Her point is: Bypassing part-time farmers in decision making leads to a potential invalidation or sabotage of the decisions by the networks of power in the farms. A possibility is to arrange meetings when they are present, but this means working outside the official work hours that costs the government more. Consequently, the community outreach work is impeded with a further consequence of weakened and/or collapse of local CBWM organisational structures.

### iii. Inadequate capacity of the DWSSC

The breakdown of the organisational arrangement for water management was also as a result of external factors affecting the CBWM. Hardly do WPCs get follow-up support after they sign the constitution and water point management plans. The plan to implement CBWM required that DWSSC would provide follow-up technical advice and support for institutional strengthening for the WPC.<sup>141</sup> Hardly did this happen. Hence, after the establishment of a committee in one water point, it would soon breakdown. The DWSSC officer whose voice is quoted above added that they '[...] would establish one water point and then move to the other and when [they] establish the third one, the first is already dying off'.<sup>142</sup> By 'dying off', the officer meant that the WPCs would not be working according to the procedures set in the

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<sup>139</sup> Interview with DWSC officer on 19.03.2015 in Erwee.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> See for example a report compiled by Burgert Gildenhuis in July 2010 for the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry titled 'A report on the formulation of policy for the subsidization of rural water supply in Namibia'. See also a set of questions and answers compiled by the Division of Rural Water Development in the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry compiled in 2001 titled 'Implementation of Community Based Management: National Compilation of Questions and Answers.

<sup>142</sup> Interview with DWSC officer on 19.03.2015 in Erwee.

CBWM implementation guidelines, for example, meeting regularly and contributing for the costs according to the management plans. Challenges that lead to insufficient follow up include: lack of human resources at the DWSSC to do the follow up in the area with over 200 water points. Another challenge is the insufficient financial resources for continued support to the water point committees through training and follow up.

iv. Committees and meetings are time consuming

Some committee members considered frequent meetings as required by the DWSSC to be time consuming which eventually discouraged both the committee members and the community. Furthermore, since CBWM is based on cost sharing, the committee members do not have any financial or other form of motivation to undertake their duties as in the case of the conservancy and farmers association. As a consequence, meetings are hardly organised except when there is a problem with water pump. Water related problems are handled as they come and experienced rather than through premeditated remedial measures. Nevertheless, CBWM also leaves members of the committee with a varied level of burden. Those who take up key leadership responsibilities like the pumper have a social pressure to put more effort to navigate the social constraints in ensuring water supply is achieved and sustained. Some of these burdens are directly affecting social and economic wellbeing of the households and the communities which is linked to the second part of the transformation – changes in the institutional solutions of sharing cost, which is my focus in the remaining sections of this chapter.

*The nature of current cost sharing rules*

The instability or collapse of local CBWM organisational structure influenced a transformation in institutional solution to water management. With CBWM, cost sharing rules are designed and formalized in the transcripts of governance, namely: the WPA constitution and water points management plans. Both are designed according to the blue print from the government's DWSSC (Schnegg and Linke 2016). It is the primary responsibility of the WPC to ensure that the cost sharing rules are followed by households who access and use a water point. These responsibilities include, explaining to people the costs and the rules of sharing costs. The definition of costs varies in terms of technology used to pump water at any given time and farm. For solar and wind technology, monetary costs are minimal, if any, and generally include emergency repair costs that were universally pegged to N\$10 per household per month across communities in #Khoadi //Hôas. Costs increase significantly for the water points where water is pumped using diesel engine because the households need to buy diesel and engine oil almost on a monthly basis. In the entire conservancy, water points operated on

diesel engine pump were 109, accounting for 67% of the total water points in the area (see Table 2).

At the inception, government's CBWM, as illustrated in the two case studies above, proposed a proportional and planned solution to cost sharing where people pay for water according to how much they use. This was largely pegged on the number of livestock one owned. Rates were negotiated during inception meetings and later on inscribed in the management plans. These rates vary from farm to farm where informants could remember the negotiation results or where the water points management plans were available for my review.<sup>143</sup> For example, in Rooiplaas, the rates were N\$1.50 for large stock and N\$1.00 for small stock, whereas in Springbokplaas, the rates were N\$1.00 and N\$0.50 for large and small stock units respectively. The rates were usually proposed by the DWSSC based on their estimations and then negotiated with the households in a meeting based on their livelihood hardship conditions. A fee was also established for households from other farms who may want to access and use the water in another farm because of damage of their water point. This fee also varies from one farm to another. In all the payment arrangement proposed by the DWSSC, fair distribution of costs was evidently emphasized.

Considering that socioeconomic categories are largely based on numbers of livestock a household owns (see Chapter 7), it would mean that the wealthy farmers who have more livestock would in absolute terms pay more. In this case, cost sharing amongst individuals considers households as discrete and independently responsible for the water that they use. Yet the livelihood system of households in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy is interdependent through the ways in which people mobilise and use resources, including, water, pasture and labour. Also, there was a plan of setting money aside for unforeseen costs such as risks of breakdown of infrastructure. The cases suggest a transformation from this institutional practice into flat rate cost sharing solutions which is a direct contrast to the government solution. Other studies in similar ethnographic contexts have made similar observations (Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Bollig 2016; Schwieger 2017). Schnegg (2016b) in particular, reports that the proportional (or pay as you use) that characterised the CBWM proposed by the government gave way to a flat rate cost sharing rule. In †Khoadi †Hôas, as illustrated in the two case studies, water management practices that have emerged in communities mirror the flat rate regime (*Ibid.*) in that they are disproportional, but in addition, they are flexible and ad hoc. The nature of these institutional solutions is broadly: (i). A multiplicity of flexibility and;

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<sup>143</sup> From the nineteen farms that I visited, only two were able to show me their water management plans. The rest did not know whereabouts of their water management plans or the water management had not been developed even though a WPC existed. In cases where I was unable to see a water management plan but a WPC had been established in the past, I relied on informants' memory in group discussions and individual interviews especially for previous leaders of the committees.



(ii). Rather than being seen as an economic good that requires rational choice to allocate, water in #Khoadi //Hôas is a social resource whose governance is embedded in webs of social relations (Schneegg 2016b) that shape people's livelihoods.

i. Multiplicity of flexibility

Different scenarios of sharing the costs of water are adopted at different villages. Four scenarios can be identified as outlined in Table 17 below. In most villages (9) that I surveyed, households had adopted to contribute 25 litres of diesel for the month that is allocated to a household. Though it worked and the pumps ran, the most common problem that led into conflicts was that many households delayed to contribute on time. In some cases, irregular payments were realised when households could contribute less than 25 litres of diesel, although this was always treated, with little success, as arrears that the household would have to settle in the future. In three villages, households also agreed to pay N\$100 to a treasurer who would then send one of the members of the community to buy diesel in nearby towns. This scenario registered highest cases of defaulters with some people opting to buy their own diesel and bringing it to the treasurer. The main challenge here was always about trust, especially from part-time farmers who did not think that all their money would be used for buying diesel. In 3 cases, a scenario where households bring diesel of un-prescribed quantity and pump water by themselves or give to the pumper was practised. Its main advantage was that people could bring diesel as little as they could get, something that mirrors the manner in which people meet daily household needs in the area. Dams would go dry for a day or two, and the third day, there would be a household contributing as little as 5 litres of diesel, and the pump would run again. The main disadvantage of this scenario was that some households contributed diesel more frequently than others. There was one case, a total laissez-faire scenario, which emerged from a recently collapsed '25 litres of diesel per month' scenario. It was characterised with a complete mixture of scenarios and appeared to be unstable or in a state of transition into another scenario. An important point to emphasise here is that the scenarios are never static, going by the narratives of the transformation of water management institutions in #Khoadi //Hôas. They are always transforming into another depending on what challenges communities face, hence their spatiotemporal multiplicity. The laissez-faire scenario, for example, appears to be unstable transitional state when a breakup in one institutional solution leads to the next, which may not easily be predictable.

Table 17: Kinds of flexible cost sharing scenarios that exist in #Khoadi //Hôas

Type of cost sharing	No. of villages	Description
Households contribute 25 litres of diesel for the month allocated.	8	Highly defaulted through delays in bringing the diesel. Some people also bring less than 25 litres of diesel, but this is an acceptable norm.
Household contribute 100N\$ per month.	3	These are villages with not more than 5 households. In most cases money was given to one person with the car to buy diesel. Payments were hardly realised.
Contribution of diesel of un-prescribed quantity.	3	Cases of lack of water at the water points were very common in this scenario. But it was quickly solved by someone bringing a little diesel. The pump kept running on low amounts of diesel.
Total laissez-faire.	1	Here, all the above cost sharing scenarios would apply at different times. 'You bring as you get and in whatever form, that is, in cash or the diesel itself'.
No cost paid for using water.	4	This included villages where water was pumped with solar pump. Hoada Campsite pumped the water from one village and allowed them to use the water for free.

ii. Water as a social resource rather than an economic good

Sharing the cost of water is not based on a fixed market price that characterises government's CBWM. Cost sharing here is rather left loose in a moral practice largely motivated and shaped by local socioeconomic conditions such as the notions of equity, nonlinear livelihood patterns (Chapter 7) and power dynamics (Schnegg 2016b). That is, although most villages follow a practice where each household is required to contribute 25 litres of diesel for the month that the household is allocated, many households end up contributing much less than the agreed quantity. In exceptional circumstances, a few end up contributing more than that. In #Khoadi //Hôas, water is thus not an economic good that attracts a market price (United Nations Organisation 1992b), but rather a resource whose governance is embedded in the wider social institutions governing the totality of society (Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Linke 2015). Like most social resources, for example, helping in a funeral or respect, cannot be given a price, so is water in #Khoadi //Hôas. For example, there is knowledge in many farms that households should be contributing 10N\$ a month for emergency repairs but this doesn't work out. Instead, whenever there is damage to water infrastructure in a village, households usually meet to

discuss how to contribute towards the repairs. Contributions are nonetheless left open to the ability and willingness of the individual household.

The flexibility of letting cost sharing rules be shaped by the forces of social relations rather than market pricing has two advantages. One, it is insured on social networks in the form of sharing which is an acceptable means through which households cope with local livelihoods challenges (Schneegg 2016b, 2016a). For example, there is no monthly contribution that is targeted towards funerals yet people are as sure about having a funeral as they are about the damage of the water pump. When somebody dies, members of the family and the residents of the farm, especially those who are related to the deceased come together and contribute towards the funeral expenses according to their ability. Future problems are not thought of. It is the current problem that has a direct bearing on social realities of the everyday life in #Khoadi //Hôas. Hence, the ad hoc contribution towards water supply and emergency is not new. Rather, it is nuanced on people's lifeworld that supports local livelihood system. Two, there is the advantage of realising self-governing sanctioning for sharing of costs. Though the CBWM discourse promoted an obligatory N\$10 monthly contribution, the practice is that whenever there is an emergency, people contribute according to their ability. At the face value, it might appear that this practice is easy to abuse by free riders. In #Khoadi //Hôas, this could be different at times as the female voice in the following vignette illustrates:

If I don't contribute people will get angry at me and may be no one will help me because I am not working together with them. So, I may not have a lot of money like others but when I get something [money], I give diesel even 5 litres.<sup>144</sup>

In similar vein, Pietrus, the wealthy farmer in Rooiplaas, commented, albeit angrily in the following vignette, during a focus group interview:

When the pump broke down, I went and bought the pump head and I fixed it myself. If I do not contribute the people will say that I am stingy because they are already saying that I am having many things [livestock]. They will say that I am a bad person. They will stop greeting me. Even if they see my goat getting attacked by a jackal they will not help. And that is not a good feeling.<sup>145</sup>

The poor have a social pressure to contribute however little they can because they would like to participate within the practice of sharing network. It is some kind of social investment in order to secure or insure one from a future misery, a system where one plays within these exchanges in order to remain socially attached to others and eligible for future support. Here, it is the possibility of a future misery that puts noncompliance into check. At the same time, the wealthy Pietrus is often under the social pressure of providing support out of the fear of being termed mean during gossips. Indeed, gossip is part of the social web that limits behaviour

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<sup>144</sup> Interview with Guibes at Springbokplaas on 04.06.2015.

<sup>145</sup> Response from Pietrus during FGD conducted on 22.03.2014.

in #Khoadi //Hôas, sometimes with severe consequences of verbal conflicts and physical fights leading to long term hatred or just 'bad blood between people', as the locals put it. Just like the fear of being ejected from the relations of sharing if one doesn't reciprocate and guilt amplified in gossip control unpopular behaviour, so is the practice of sharing the cost of water controlled and sustained through these webs of social relations. In the end, 'the pump keeps running' to provide water for farming households within the villages (Schwieger 2017).

### *Distribution of households expenditure on water*

Across all the 19 villages, there was reported an irregular contribution of diesel or diesel fees amongst majority of households. However, qualitative data from interviews and participant observation show that households somehow ensured that they stayed within the social web of sharing water by contributing even less than the expected amount of diesel. Variation of household expenditure on water was observed across socioeconomic categories. As Figure 16 below shows, there is above average regularity in the contribution of diesel for households except those households that were identified as poor, but which still reported significant level (44%). Almost all wealthy households (90%) contributed for water costs regularly, whereas 78% of the middle wealth category did so. Two explanations can be drawn for the data for wealthy households. First, they have more livestock than the others and therefore have the fear of a greater loss in absolute terms when there is no water in the village. Second, they have more financial resources compared to the other income categories, implying that they can afford diesel on a regular basis more easily than poorer households. At the same time, they also tend to have private water tank which they are motivated to pump water to, and hence the possibility of regular diesel contribution.

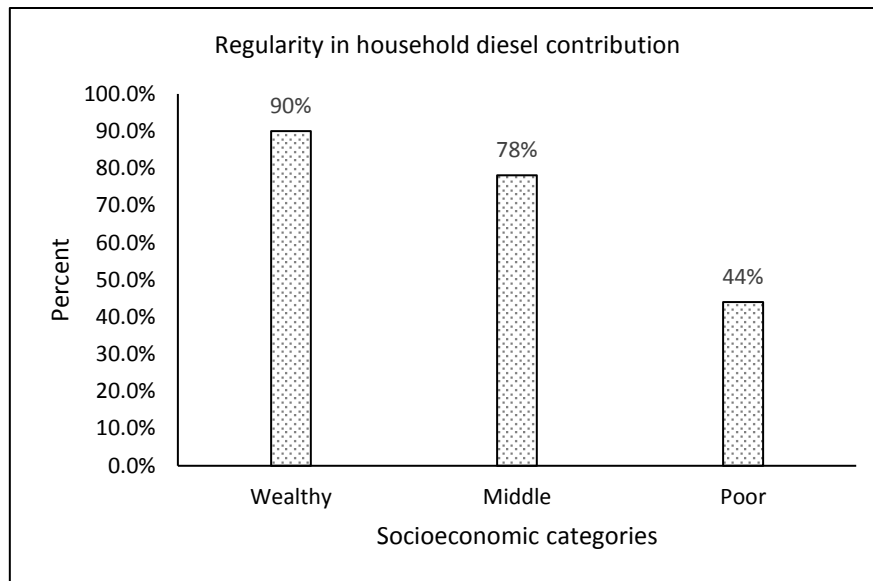


Figure 16: Regularity in diesel contribution across socioeconomic categories

The below average regularity in contribution of diesel amongst the poor households was widely attributed to their irregular and low income status. For the poor, the cost sharing presents budgetary challenges that make it difficult for them to abide by. I consider the example of Salina in the interview excerpt below.

**Richard:** So you didn't pay for diesel because you don't have money?

**Salina:** Yes but, this month I got some money. I fetched water for the old man and he gave me food and N\$20 from his pension. I also got N\$100 from my sister who called me to go to Kamanjab. She gave me N\$100.

**Richard:** So you had some money that you could have used to buy diesel even for 20 dollars, but still you did not contribute.

**Salina:** I just struggle like this to eat. I was very hungry and I did not have food in my house. So I had to buy maize meal, sugar and tea. I also bought soup bones so that I can eat. Then the money is finished. Next time I will buy diesel. But I also don't have even a goat. I use very little water at home. The others need lots of water because they have many cattle. If I don't give, it should not be a big problem. They should bring the diesel, shouldn't they?<sup>146</sup>

Salina's emphasis in the above interview excerpt points toward lack of financial resource as the main reason why she doesn't contribute to water costs. Indeed, there are very limited income sources for more than average number of the households in the area of #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy. Even though majority of the households were classified as middle wealth category (Chapter 7), their incomes remain minimal, sporadic and uncertain. To deal with the sporadic and uncertain nature of their income, lower and middle wealth categories allocate their financial resources to pressing basic needs as soon as it is earned (see Chapter 7). In the example of Salina above, food is a priority household need more than water. She quickly allocates the income that she gets from the sister and menial job on priority commodities

<sup>146</sup> Interview with a 46 year-old woman who heads a poor household in Sebraplaas village on 05.06.2015.

without which life will be unbearable in her household. Hence, for the households in the lower wealth categories, failing to honour the cost sharing rules is out of the desperate need to survive within the context of highly constrained financial resources. In addition, Salina invokes the notion of justice in defending her noncompliance with the rules for sharing the cost of water. She uses differences in water consumption determined by household livestock holding to bargain out her noncompliance. For her, those with larger herds of livestock should contribute more to water costs than those with smaller herds or none at all, like herself. That is, noncompliance or irregular contribution is not, in her view, an excuse for getting free water, but rather a way of recalibrating rules of sharing costs of water so that fairness is achieved. It is a bargain for fair distribution of costs. Like Salina, the poor in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy partly withdraw from flat rate institutional regime as a way of resisting its injustices. An analysis of the quantitative data on household expenditure on water (Table 18) helps to illustrate this point.

The data shows that, in absolute terms, wealthy households spend more on water costs than other wealth categories. Only the poor spend less than the average. However, relative to the livestock holding across the different socioeconomic categories, there is no major difference in expenditure on water cost across wealth categories. For example, the wealthiest, 15% of the population, who own a vast proportion of the cattle (63%), contributes only 38% of the water costs. This is nearly the same proportion contributed by those in the middle income category (36%), who own only 26% of the cattle. The unequal distribution of expenditure on water is adverse for the poorest 41% of the population who own only 11% of the cattle. Despite their low herd sizes and thus water consumption, they contribute a significant 26% percent of the total monthly water cost. In general, the disparities in expenditure on water costs for households do not correspond to the differences in herd sizes across socioeconomic categories. The implication here is, in relative terms, the poor pay more communal water costs than their wealthy counterparts. Michael Schnegg has made similar observation in other research sites in Kunene and concludes that the flat rate regime leaves the poor subsidising water consumption of the wealthy households (Schnegg 2016b).

Table 18: Household monthly average expenditure on water costs

Wealth category	Percent of sample Households	Percent of livestock owned			Household's contribution to water	
		Cattle	Goats	Sheep	Amount of money (N\$)	Percent
Wealthy	15	63	53	68	112	38
Middle	44	26	34	27	108	36
Poor	41	11	13	5	77	26

Variation in household expenditure is also observed across months. Figure 17 below shows the amount of money spent by households per month on water related costs. These costs include the infrastructure repairs as well as buying diesel. Notably, there is increased expenditure on water related costs between the months of July and December. These are also the months in which the intensity of drought increases with two possible explanations. One, drought leads to increased movement of livestock from some villages to others in search of pasture. Because most of the water points are unfenced, it is impossible to prevent livestock, especially cattle, from other farms from drinking water in particular villages. Furthermore, people also believe that by preventing cattle from drinking water, one is not only 'punishing the owner of the cattle but also, even to a greater degree, doing so to the animals, which is not a fair treatment'.<sup>147</sup> In sum, during drought, water consumption costs from one village are transferred to another village without due compensation. Again, it would follow that the burden, in relative terms, would be shouldered by the poor. Two, during the dry seasons, elephants come to the communal water points to drink water more often. As they drink, they pass the cost to the community which brings into the analysis the intersection between water management and wildlife conservation as a core objective of this thesis (see Chapter 11 and Chapter 12).

<sup>147</sup> Interview with a middle aged man in Sebraplaas on 04.06.2015.

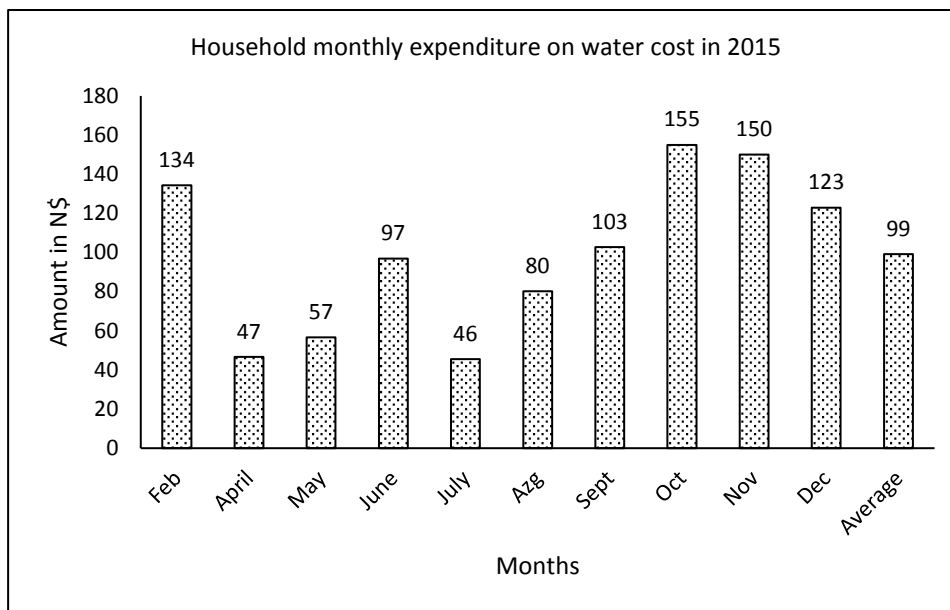


Figure 17: Average monthly household expenditure on water

### *Unequal vulnerability and resilience to water unavailability*

There are occasions when the pumps would not run and water will be lacking in the communal water points indicating that social institutions may be convenient for the people but not always stable or successful. Quantitative data collected from 19 villages in the conservancy for six months between July and end of December 2015 helps to illustrate this argument. The data represented in Table 19 show that nearly in every village there was lack of water at least once within a month. The frequency of lack of water increases with the severity of drought that intensifies as one moves from July to December. This is illustrated in the increase in the number villages lacking water 2 or 3 times within the month (Table 19).

Table 19: Frequency of lack of water at the communal water point in 2015

Months in 2015	No. of villages lacking water 1 time	No. of villages lacking water 2 times	No. of villages lacking water 3 times
July	6	2	-
August	8	7	-
September	4	6	3
October	5	6	4
November	5	4	5
December	7	7	1

The reasons for lack of water varies from one community to the other, and month to month, but on average, lack of diesel was only observed in 5 villages (26%) on a cumulative count. In most cases (13 villages or 70%), lack of water was occasioned by damage at the water point. These damages included mechanical faults and damages by elephants including when water



was pumped but drunk by elephants (see Chapter 11 for more analysis). In one case, the water point was locked for cleaning. It is also important to note that, during the drier months, there is increased number of livestock at certain water points because livestock, especially cattle, graze far away from their owners' villages hence drinking water from any nearby water point. Schnegg and Bollig have also demonstrated that it is during the dry seasons when, for example, cattle are on the move in Kunene that CBWM practices are stretched to collapse or near collapse or transformation (Schnegg and Bollig 2016).

Qualitative data shows that the wealthier households have much more opportunities than poorer households that help them to cope with lack of water, should such a situation occur. A key strategy is storing water in private tanks, thus helping households to adapt to lack of water resulting from failure to pump water due to lack of diesel or mechanical breakdown or other damages at the water point. The distribution of private tank ownership in #Khoadi //Hôas is positively skewed towards the wealthiest 15% of the population (Table 20).

*Table 20: Ownership of private tanks across socioeconomic categories*

Capacity of tank (Litres)	No. of households owning private tanks	Percent of total	Percent of households owning private tanks			
			Wealthy (15% of n)	Middle (44% of n)	Poor (41% of n)	Total
500 - 1000	18	47	23	50	27	100
>1000 - <1500	8	21	48	52	-	100
>1500 - <2000	7	19	62	38	-	100
>2000	5	13	100	-	-	100

Total No. of households with private tanks was 38 representing 48% of the sample (n=80).

Overall, 48% (38 households of the sample n=80) have a private water tank with a storage capacity of at least 500 litres (Table 20). Households of higher wealth categories (62%) tend to have water tanks with capacities larger than 1,500 litres, which are often connected by a pipe from the water point and which can hold water for almost 15 days. All poor households do not have private water tanks with a capacity exceeding 1,000 litres. Households in the middle wealth category have private water tanks ranging from 500 to 2,000 litres in capacity. Generally, as the data show in Table 20, the poorer households are, the less likely that they have private water tanks larger than 1,500 litres in capacity, which when filled with water can last them for significant number of days in case there is no water at the communal water point. This remains an advantage for wealthy households who store water in water tanks larger than 1,500 litres in capacity. The coping strategy of the poor in such cases largely relies on the webs of social relations that sustain collective action in the flexible, albeit disproportional manner

discussed above. The trend that the wealthier households are increasingly buying and installing large private water tanks, and pumping water directly into them as a priority, is a sign of privatising water and withdrawal from managing the commons (Ostrom 1990). In such circumstances, I am of the view that if the trend continues, the burden of organising and providing communal water will remain, in relative terms, a concern for the poor.

## Chapter 9

### The advent of communal conservancy in #Khoadi ǀHôas

#### *Early institutions prioritised livestock economy*

The formation of #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy is said to have been started by the Grootberg Farmers Association (GFA) which was by the 1990s a well-established and progressive organisation in the area (Jones 2006b; Kruger et al. 2008). GFA grew stronger as a Community Based Organisation in early years of independence (1990s) and helped to organize farmers around issues related to communal farming, including improving breeding and marketing of livestock (Kruger et al. 2008). These developments emerged out of a desire by Damara administration to support and improve communal farming in the area since the 1970s, to attain the aspired methods of farming practised in commercial farms. Towards 1980, the Damara administration established a livestock breeding centre – Grootberg Breeding Station (GBS) which was one of the farms appropriated from the commercial farmers who occupied the area (see Figure 3 in Chapter 3 for the location of GBS in #Khoadi ǀHôas). The farm that was approximately 5,000ha was fenced in order to prevent the breeding livestock from making contacts with others from the communal area. Agricultural technicians were employed to manage and operate the station. Livestock breeds with higher commercial values, especially the Brahman bulls, Afrikaner goat and ram were brought into the station in order to crossbreed with the local breeds kept by the communities farming in the area. Each communal farmer would bring their female livestock to crossbreed with the selected breed without paying a fee. In the mid-1980s, trouble began to hit the programme as marauding elephants started destroying fences in the area, including that of the breeding station. This compromised the desired strict control of livestock movement across the boundaries of the station. Upon recommendation from the agricultural technical officers in charge of the station, the Damara administration decided to close down the centre and relocate its activities to a site near Usakos, in the present day Erongo region (west of Kunene) that was also part of Damaraland.

With the coming of independence, development corporation activities picked up in Namibia in order to address the prevailing inequality and poverty situation, especially amongst communal farmers. Sustainable Agriculture and Rangeland Development Programme (SARDEP) was initiated in Grootberg area as well as in other parts of Namibia.<sup>148</sup> The programme was funded by the German government through the German Organisation for

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<sup>148</sup> SARDEP was established in 1991 under the then Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development. The programme was set up to develop and demonstrate rangeland management strategies and improve livestock production in pilot communal areas, including the Grootberg area.

Technical Cooperation or *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit* (GTZ) (Kruger et al. 2008).<sup>149</sup> Through SARDEP, Grootberg Breeding Station (GBS) was revived under a project name Grootberg Farmers Integrated Livestock Scheme (GFLIS). The Grootberg Farmers Association was the grassroot organisation identified to be in charge of the sustainability of the project. Like in the colonial time, the project maintained the previous objective of improving the breed and finally the productivity of livestock keeping as a major livelihood strategy for communities living in the area. However, this time it was limited to small stock only. The project brought in Afrikaner goats and rams to breed with the local Damara breeds. Farmers voluntarily gave their goats and sheep to the project on the promise and expectation of getting an improved crossbreed.<sup>150</sup> The project employed a herder, bought the feeds and other necessary inputs. Key infrastructural improvements including repairing the fences that had been brought down by elephants were made.<sup>151</sup>

SARDEP was implemented alongside other projects, most notably Namibia's Programme to Combat Desertification (NAPCOD), Communal Area Water Supply (CAWS) and the Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE).<sup>152</sup> To avoid duplication of resources and improve coordination, development organisations recommended an integrated approach dubbed Forum for Integrated Resource Management (FIRM) in 1996 (Kruger and Kambatuku 2003).<sup>153</sup> The FIRM would then emerge to be a platform where local activities under the different projects were planned, to enhance developmental impacts in Grootberg (Atkinson et al. 2006; Kruger and Kambatuku 2003; Kruger et al. 2008). Kruger and Kambatuku (2003) described the FIRM as an approach that was aimed at ensuring that rural farmers living in communally managed farmlands were in charge of their own development. When FIRM was established in Grootberg area, the farmers association was identified as the organisation to provide local institutional infrastructure. This way, the implementation of FIRM would not reinvent the institutional wheel. At the Grootberg locale, the farmers association decided where

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<sup>149</sup> The German Organisation for Technical Cooperation or *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit* (GTZ) later changed its name to German Society for International Cooperation or *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (GIZ).

<sup>150</sup> Interviews with Linus, an agricultural extension officer in the area and a male informant in Anker on 22.05.2015. The extension officer was a key figure in FIRM and conservancy establishment. With the support of project funds, Linus travelled outside Namibia in the late 1990s to make presentations about the implementation of FIRM in Grootberg area.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> The Namibia Programme to Combat Desertification (NAPCOD) was a donor funded government programme that also outsourced the implementation of some of its activities in Grootberg area to Desert Research Foundation of Namibia (DRFN), which is a local research-based NGO in Namibia. USAID began funding community-based conservation in Namibia in 1993 through the Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE) Project. The project's goal was to support existing government and NGO initiatives to devolve rights over wildlife and tourism to local communities to promote sustainable natural resource management on communal land.

<sup>153</sup> Although (Jones 2006b) reports that FIRM was an initiative of the Directorate of Environmental Affairs in the Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

FIRM related meetings would take place. In addition, its official chaired FIRM's meetings to emphasise that it was driven by resource users whose development was at stake.

The association would draft a common action plan for the year and invite government agencies and NGOs to identify areas where they would offer support and propose necessary adjustment (Kruger and Kambatuku 2003). One of the very first work plans drawn by FIRM allocated more funding for activities that would improve livestock production (*Ibid.*), thus, indicating how skewed development interest leaned towards livestock farming as a local livelihood practice. The FIRM approach became popular, making the farmers association stronger and appealing to its members as well as development partners.<sup>154</sup> As a result, FIRM emerged as a leading approach in rural development in the area, especially in livestock production. It created an institutional interface at which development discourses travelling through donor funded projects (Schnegg and Linke 2016) would encounter local production systems, experiences and aspirations with potential impacts of uncertain magnitude and direction (Long 1989a). The farmers association would later become Grootberg Farmers Union – a union of other farmers associations around the Grootberg area.

### *The conservancy programme shifted development priorities*

Whilst FIRM was just beginning to take shape as the development fashion in Grootberg, the Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE) project was underway. Through the LIFE project, WWF-Namibia and Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF) received funding from USAID to support the development of community conservation in the country. LIFE activities partly led to the enactment of the Nature Conservation Amendment Act which provides the legal framework to set up communal conservancies. Consultants working for the LIFE project made contact with Grootberg Farmers Association, most likely during the first socioecological studies to be undertaken in the region (Jones and Weaver 2009; Sullivan 2002).

LIFE became a founding member of FIRM represented by the two NGOs (WWF-Namibia and Namibia Nature Foundation – NNF), with a focus on wildlife management. Their presence, agenda and flow of resources would lead to a revolution of the institutional landscape for development in Grootberg area. It led to the emergence of another institutional idea –the conservancy–that progressively promoted conservation of wildlife as a possible land use practice that would complement livestock keeping. The 'new' idea hinged on 'diversification of livelihoods', a popular lexicon in development cooperation and research in the late 1990s and at the turn of the 21st century (Bryceson 1999; Ellis 2000a). Wildlife was identified and promoted as a natural capital that can be invested in so as to diversify and secure rural

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<sup>154</sup> Interview with Linus in Anker on 22.05.2015.

livelihoods for communal farmers (Ashley 2000; Farrington et al. 1999; Lepper and Schroenn 2010; Long 2004a). To this end, FIRM provided the interface to negotiate the new idea, and the farmers association became a ready-made local organisation to link LIFE to the farmers. For this reason, farmers association became very instrumental in the establishment of the conservancy (Jones 2006b).<sup>155</sup> However, this happened at a time when funding for SARDEP was coming to an end. This would mean a reduced financial support to the farmers union to run essential activities of the livestock breeding project, including: paying the herder, buying feeds and supplements as well as medication for the goats. The conservancy idea appeared a strategic move to welcome new financial support, but also a new institutional arrangement with new priorities as a respondent expressed in the vignette below:

We saw that the conservancy was a good idea because it could generate money for the community. Even GFILIS programme could also benefit from the conservancy. We saw that we could get help from the conservancy to pay the workers and buy the medicine for the goats in the GFLIS programme.<sup>156</sup>

Indeed, support to GFILIS project was listed as one of the ways through which the conservancy would benefit the community by offering financial assistance. However, as I show later in Chapter 12, the support did not last long because the conservancy did not make enough money to support its operation as well as financing community benefits. The GFILIS project is presently dead, or perhaps 'breathing her last breath'. However, the introduction of the conservancy in the area relied on the institutional landscape of the day as strategies to create a local niche for itself, a discussion that I turn to in the following sections.

### *Strategies for establishing the conservancy*

#### i. Using Grootberg Farmers Association as a local institutional springboard

A number of written accounts ranging from websites (prominently NACSO), brochures, newsletters and other publicity materials as well as consultancy work, indicate that the formation of †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy was initiated by the Grootberg Farmers Association.<sup>157</sup> These accounts have attempted to establish that the conservancy was a conservation/development idea from down to top, from local to national and from resource users to policy formulators. However, narratives from local pastoral farmers, who have lived

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<sup>155</sup> Also in interview with Gabriel Goagoseb in Anker on 22.05.2015.

<sup>156</sup> Interview with Titus, a male informant who is in his 70s and former committee member of the farmers association. He is one of the farmers who gave their goats for breeding in the GFILIS project at Grootberg breeding station. Interview was conducted on 22.05.2015 in Mooiplaas village.

<sup>157</sup> See NACSO website (NACSO 2017). See also remarks of Hilga †Gawises –the conservancy manager in her interview with a carnivore conservationist –Gail Portgieter, in The Namibian newspaper (Portgieter 2014).

in the area since pre-conservancy time, point to the work of the CBNRM support agencies (MET, NGO, consultants and donors), as Titus would remember in the following quote:

The establishment of the conservancy started from the Farmers Association when the white people [conservation NGO staff and consultants] came and told us that there were wild animals here. They said we needed to form a conservancy that would protect the wild animals. The white people [tourists] would then come and see the animals and bring benefit to the Farmers Association. That idea was good for us and so we agreed with the white people [conservation NGO staff and consultants] and started the process of forming the conservancy. And I was among the founding members of the conservancy. We were told that when tourists come and see the animals, they will bring money for development. I was living here and I participated in all the meetings.<sup>158</sup>

From the vignette above, the assertion that #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy was formed through an independent request from communal farmers to the Minister of Environment and Tourism for gazettelement becomes questionable. That assertion obscures the role of external influence in the emergence of FIRM as an interface where one discourse encountered the other, hence shaping local development course (Long 1989a). Under the framework of FIRM, the farmers association organised the meetings that the LIFE project (WWF-Namibia, NNF and MET) used to introduce the conservancy idea, whose popularity with the development partners, practitioners and grassroots was rising by the day. Thus, national and international conservation and development actors, although represented to have remained as facilitators of a noble idea generated by the farmers, very much influenced the processes preceding the decision to register the conservancy, as observes Titus in the vignette above. Titus' recollection of the events that led to the establishment of the conservancy illustrates that, rather than being facilitators, external players were indeed initiators of the conservancy idea in the area, through their eloquence in community conservation-poverty reduction nexus. The latter was and still is a prominent post-colonial agenda. Grootberg Farmers Association existed as a membership based organisation that had a significant degree of rapport with communal farmers in the area. It therefore offered an easier organisational solution through which community wildlife conservation would enter the area, but obviously not its initiators.

As a result, there was very limited need to develop the organisational proficiency for community conservation. Hence, those who formed the first management committee of the conservancy were largely drawn from the Farmers Association committee. This is because they were seen by communal farmers as their leaders and were already familiar with the conservancy idea through their association with the CBNRM support organisation within FIRM framework. It became very elusive for communal farmers themselves to distinguish between the two 'local' organisations – Farmers Association and the conservancy. In addition, because part of conservancy management committee reflected the face of the farmers association committee, farmers often referred to the conservancy as 'a child' of the association.

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<sup>158</sup> Interview with Titus in Mooiplaas village on 22.05.2005.

This analogous relation would later on be used by communal farmers to contest inadequate support from the conservancy to activities of the farmers association.<sup>159</sup> For example, during a meeting that I attended in April 2015 at the conservancy meeting hall in Grootberg, where farmers were called to discuss the future of GFILIS project and revitalise the forgotten FIRM approach, an old farmer (Haraseb) protested:

We all know the history of the conservancy. We know that the conservancy is a child of the farmers union. Let us not lie to ourselves. Now the child has grown big and has money. The parent is old and weak. He has forgotten his parent. He doesn't want to give money to support our GFILIS programme. What is the use of that child to the parent? He is a cursed child. Let the conservancy know that as the parent has grown old, he will also grow old and weak in future time.<sup>160</sup>

About two and half weeks later, after the audio recording of the meeting was interpreted to me by my research assistant, I visited Haraseb in his home and asked him to explain to me the meaning of 'parent-child relationship' that he used to express his protest to the conservancy. In his response, he referred to the fact that the former committee of the farmers association formed the first committee of the conservancy, hence the birth of the latter (see an elaboration on the parent-child imagery in Chapter 12). In addition, he explained how the farmers association committee members helped in mobilising farmers to register as members of the conservancy to allow for registration. His explanation points to the fact that the farmers association provided an institutional advantage that was necessary for the conservancy idea to germinate, rather than being the initiator of the idea as Jones (2006b) asserts. Soon, the conservancy would be at the centre of FIRM approach and later on, with more focus and funding on conservation, the farmers union gave in to the progressive dominance of the conservancy. The conservancy finally replaced farmers association as the grassroots organisation through which FIRM approach would proceed, albeit with gradual decline in activeness and popularity. Consequently, conservation agenda gradually replaced rangeland management for livestock productivity as a priority focus of FIRM in Grootberg area. It is therefore not surprising that in their contribution to a symposium organised by Africa Institute of South Africa in 2008 on Land and Water Management in Southern Africa, Kruger and his colleagues at the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia, did not even list Grootberg Farmers Association as an active partner in FIRM by that year. Only #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy was listed as the local organisation (Kruger et al. 2008).

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<sup>159</sup> See Jones (2006b) for a different interpretation.

<sup>160</sup> Comment from an elderly farmer, Haraseb, during a meeting in April 2015 at Grootberg meeting hall. The meeting was organised by the Ministry of Agriculture office, Division of Extension and Engineering Services (DEES), in Anker and Erwee.



ii. Eliciting expectation for socioeconomic development

In convincing pastoralists to consider community conservation as a complementary land use practice, CBNRM support organisation elicited expectations in a manner that borders Leonard Savage's *subjective expected utility* concept in normative decision making theory (Savage 1971). Savage argued that in calculating what he termed *subjective expected utility*, the decision maker's expectation is guided by the attractiveness of an economic opportunity as perceived in the presence of risks. In the following vignette, Titus recalls how the expectation of the communities of †Khoadi †Hôas was elicited through potential streams of benefits that they stood to gain.

They said we will get a lot of things. For example, if water pump breaks down then the conservancy would repair it, if there was a funeral then the conservancy would provide game meat for us. They said the conservancy would provide our needs. That is why we liked the conservancy idea. We were told and got convinced that if the conservancy is able to do all these for us in this area, then it is good to have wild animals with us. We saw that it was good to have a conservancy and everyone was happy and interested. So we agreed and started the conservancy.<sup>161</sup>

According to Titus' recollection in the excerpt above, which reflects those of many other adults living in the area, the origin of †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy was partly influenced by the manner in which external actors placed the outcome of community conservation as a contribution to solving local problems, and raised community's expectation. Though pastoralists had fears, especially for dangerous wild animals, the benefits of conservation, it was argued by CBNRM support organisations, would be invested to reduce the vulnerability of community members to those risks. These promises echoed CBNRM as an incentive-based conservation model (Fabricius 2004; Jones 2001; Jones and Weaver 2009). An array of incentives were proposed following the needs that people presented to the facilitators during the socioecological surveys and subsequent community need analysis (Jones 2001). They included incentives that support pastoralism, which people living in the area consider to be the centre of their livelihoods as discussed in Chapter 7. These are: support to water supply and maintenance; support to the livestock breeding programme that was already going on by 1998; and social support to address problems such as funerals expenses, education and provision of employment opportunities as well as distribution of game meat. Although sometimes CBNRM support agencies consider that communities exaggerate these expectations, it is important to remember and emphasise that they were elicited by the very key promoters of the concept during formation stages. The potential benefits streams did not only convince the Grootberg Farmers Association committee to support a conservancy idea. It also raised people's expectations about the benefits of living with wildlife. It echoed the expectation that had been created from the booming tourism industry from conservancies in the freehold farms (Ashley and Barnes 1996; Barnes and De Jager 1996; Lindsey et al. 2013). Of course communal farmers in general raised questions

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<sup>161</sup> Interview with Titus in Mooiplaas village on 22.05.2015.

about the dangers of living with wild-predators and elephants which would cause destruction to their livestock keeping practice. But at that time, the incentives were magnified well enough to obscure the real dangers that would face pastoralism in the wake of community conservation. The risks were lowered by the potential benefits of community conservation. To help convince the local farmers, local elites and government employees were used in a number of outreach missions.

iii. The use of local elites and government workers as opinion leaders

In his seminal work on transfer of knowledge and ideas, Rogers (1995) elucidates empirically how the characteristics of opinion leaders become significant. In a review of his work, Feder and Savastano (2006:1288) note that opinion leaders have ‘the status, expertise, links to external sources of knowledge [and to local networks], or experience that enable them to provide information and advice about innovation to others within a community’.<sup>162</sup> In southern Kunene, opinion leaders may include traditional leaders, government workers from the area or people who are employed with regular income but also keep livestock in communal areas, usually for the reason of belonging (Schnegg et al. 2013). In order for the CBNRM support organisations to diffuse this conservation/development innovation, the role of opinion leaders was a necessary tool (Rogers 1995; Feder and Savastano 2006). I am cognisant that, especially spanning over two decades after decentralisation and community driven development discourse hit the academic headlines, a good collection of scholarship has conceptualised local opinion leaders (branded local elites) as impediments to development projects through an ‘*elite capture*’ phenomenon (Bebbington et al. 2006; Crook 2003; Dasgupta and Beard 2007; German et al. 2013; Fritzen 2007; Platteau 2004). During my fieldwork, I met Leonadus who comes from Grootberg area and worked for the government department in charge of Agriculture as an extension officer in the 1990s until after 2000. He was very instrumental in supporting the farmers association to coordinate projects that promoted productivity of communal farming in the area. In tracing his involvement in the establishment of the conservancy, Leonadus recalls:

When we first started, it was very difficult. Farmers did not understand the conservancy idea. They kept saying, ‘We don’t want to see elephants and lions around us because they are killing our livestock’. That time, I was working for the government and advising Farmers Association on how to improve livestock farming for their members. Then a call came from my seniors at work telling us to support the conservancy idea. I remember that I attended the meeting at Brackwater, near Windhoek, where the conservancy was introduced and explained to us, for the first time. Then we went to the meeting again. It was not an easy task. I told them [communal farmers] that there would be benefits, but it would only come through hard work. In the end, they accepted

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<sup>162</sup> Notice my emphasis in parentheses.

to form a conservancy. Election for committee members was done and overseen by the farmers union [committee].<sup>163</sup>

Around 1997, Leonadus received a request from his senior officials that he was required to attend a meeting on community conservation in Windhoek. Whilst his expertise was on agricultural extension, he was asked by his superiors at work to support the LIFE project and support the establishment of the conservancy, which was a government policy. He was one of the many government workers from the 'local' who attended the initial national meetings in Windhoek organised by a consortium of conservation actors working through the LIFE project. In the vignette above, Leonadus recollects that community conservation proponents did not have a smooth sail as communal farmers in Grootberg area contested the idea. He places these contestations on the consideration that farmers feared that community conservation might be a competitive land use practice to pastoralism rather than an obvious complementary one. Farmers worried about the destruction from elephants and loss of livestock to predators as well as their safety. The networks and experience of Leonadus in working with local farmers would then be an asset for CBNRM support organisations to convince the farmers otherwise, but the fears never died for ever. It is therefore not surprising that these very concerns of communal farmers shape ongoing covert contestation of community conservation by pastoralists in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy, as I will show later on in Chapter 11 and Chapter 12.

Being a Damara from Grootberg and a government employee working with farmer association in the area, Leonadus had reputation and wielded influence of significant proportion over local residents. As an extension worker, he was also experienced in communicating complex policy and project knowledge to communal farmers in a manner that may help them to welcome a new conservation/development dispensation (Feder and Savastano 2006; Rogers 1995). This was a new role that was added into his assignments – to ensure that community conservation emerged as a reality in Grootberg area. He would work to convince the farmers association to accept conservancy programme and capitalise on the benefits in order to overcome the costs of living with wildlife. It was therefore not surprising that, when the conservancy was registered, Leonadus became a founding member of the conservancy management committee and served for two consecutive terms. He was just amongst other local elites who also became power brokers for the conservancy idea, one example being Linus.

At the initial stages of establishing #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy, Linus, from farm Sebraplaas in Grootberg area, was working for government's Sustainable Animal and Rangeland Development Programme (SARDEP) in the area. He played a key role in implementing Forum for Integrated Resource Management (FIRM) approach, which LIFE was a founding partner. Linus made several travels both within and outside Namibia to learn and

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<sup>163</sup> Interview with Leonadus in Erwee on 20.02.2015 in Grootberg.

share his experiences of FIRM. Through his experience with government work, he demonstrated influence on local pastoralists in Grootberg area. When the conservancy was registered, Linus was appointed as the technical advisor for the conservancy. He held this position until around 2003 when he returned to work for the government after funding for his position in the conservancy dried up as that phase of LIFE project was wound up. Although, hitherto, Linus has never been elected a member of the conservancy management committee, his involvement in its establishment helped to convey an 'innovative' idea to the local lay and justified the conservancy as a local idea. With the growth of the conservancy, and especially after it started realising proceeds from tourism and trophy hunting, other local opinion leaders became more interested in holding committee positions. For example, key positions like the chairperson, vice chairperson, secretary and the treasurer have been held by local elites such as teachers and former government employees. Many people complain that it is nearly impossible for non-elite to successfully campaign for such influential positions of the conservancy. Moreover, there are cases where non-elite former committee members complain that their opinions were not considered useful in decision making. Such findings mirror the 'elite capture' phenomenon that has been extensively written about in community development and decentralisation literature of which Bebbington et al. (2006) and Dasgupta and Beard (2007) are some key examples.

#### *The governance and management of #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy*

Being a member of #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy is voluntary and free of charge. One has to be at least eighteen years old and be residing within the conservancy area for at least two consecutive years. The conservancy has a current membership of 2,005 individuals. However, the total number of people who live within the conservancy and thus affected by community conservation is estimated to be some 4,308. For administrative purposes, the conservancy is divided into eight leagues, namely: Hobatere, Nica, Erwee, Rodeon, Estorff, Suider Kruis, Engelbrect and Anker. It has a management committee comprising sixteen members (twelve males and four females) headed by a chairman. All committee members come from within the conservancy area. Some individuals holding key positions are very well educated with stable employment and regular income (for example teachers). The election of conservancy management committee members is an open but competitive process thereby involving a lot of lobbying. In this regard, people complained that the elites who reside in Erwee and Anker settlements, which are more populous, have higher chances of being elected into key positions because they have stronger political support base from those areas compared to the more rural areas which are less populated. The manager, who is an employee of the conservancy, also sits

in the management committee meetings, in order to give progress reports about conservancy activities and get directions from the committee.

According to the constitution of the conservancy, its highest decision making organ is the Annual General Meeting (AGM) which usually takes place every June to review annual report and proposed plans of the coming financial year. The AGM, in theory, provides a platform for which participation of the members could be ensured. The other members of the community affected by the conservancy who are not members of the conservancy are allowed to attend the meetings but their opinions are not essential for decision making through voting. Every member is asked to bring along their membership cards to the AGM in order to control contribution of ideas for decision making and to demonstrate to people why it is important to register as a member. For example, during the AGM in June 2015, a communal farmer from the area contested that the amount of money allocated for compensating elephants' damages was little and suggested an increase. The farmer was asked to show his membership card before his point could be debated, a condition which he failed to fulfil. The members are also represented in the committee through their league representatives to bolster their participation. Other social categories, such as women and youth, have their representatives in the management committee through women and youth desk respectively. The management committee is only responsible for the general governance of the conservancy. The committee meets every month to deliberate on policies including recruiting staff, approving tenders and contracts and approving budgets. Three top officials of the conservancy management committee are also members of the Board of Directors of Grootberg PTY, a subsidiary company of the conservancy, which owns its tourism enterprise.

Members of the management committee are not employed by the conservancy but receive an allowance for every meeting they attend. Committee members who have their private cars may use them and receive fuel cost reimbursement, something that is covertly contested by residents of the conservancy and other members of the management committee who claim that they benefit more than others. The chairman of the conservancy is assigned a car to use, which is another source of covert protest from a section of members of the community. The management committee members also get portions of game meat if available (which was usually the case), most times they hold meetings. These privileges combined, provide a stronger motivation for members of the management committee to participate in conservancy affairs. In addition, being a top official of the conservancy may also popularise an individual, thus providing leverage to join regional politics. For example, the chairman and the vice chairman of the conservancy, who are both senior teachers in local schools, unsuccessfully ran for the Sesfontein constituency councillor seat in 2015 as independent political candidates.

The day-to-day running of activities of the conservancy is the responsibility of staff members who are employed by the conservancy. By the time of my fieldwork, there were eleven people employed by the conservancy consisting of a manager, liaison officer, book keeper and environmental shepherds. Environmental shepherds are very instrumental in implementing wildlife management plans. They are allocated specific leagues and areas of the conservancy to take care of. They make patrols to monitor and report illegal activities in the area including illegal hunting, attend to cases of depredation and damages from elephants. They capture all these information in what is called an 'event book', a monitoring system that is developed by supporting NGOs for monitoring and reporting of CBNRM activities in Namibia (Stuart-Hill et al. 2005, 2006). Three main challenges constrain the work of environmental shepherds. One, they rely on donkey carts as a means of transport that is flexible but unfortunately slow and some times unreliable. One has to look for donkeys, which may be grazing far from homesteads, especially during drought. Two, they do not have means of demobilising poachers who are in most cases armed. That is, the shepherds are only trained to report to the conservancy on illegal hunting activities. The voice of a female environmental shepherd quoted below helps to elucidate this challenge.

I am trained on how to handle poachers. If I see them, I must make sure that they do not see me first. Then I have to look for a place with cell phone network reception whilst hiding. Then I call for reinforcement. Nature conservation people [government game rangers] or police will come in their car and with guns. I have the police cell phone number. But if the poachers see me first, I have to negotiate with them to leave me unharmed. You know, Richard, you must talk nicely with those people, so that you are not killed. If I try to run away from them, they will shoot at me and the worst can happen.<sup>164</sup>

In addition to being unarmed with a means of demobilising the poacher, the environmental shepherd, in the foregoing interview excerpt, raises the third challenge which they face. Their means of communication is sometimes constrained because the area lacks good cell phone network coverage or reception. This may delay action on urgent matters such as poaching incidence, and any danger that might befall them while at work in the bushes.

### *Land-use planning in the conservancy*

Having set the organisational structure for governance, another step towards the implementation of CBNRM in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy was land use planning. This is a requirement by CBNRM supporting organisations as a sign of a well-functioning conservancy (Ashley 2000). However, land use planning is an expensive project that requires not only financial input but also technical expertise, especially in representing the plan on a map. To this end, †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy has been supported by donor funded NGOs (WWF-

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<sup>164</sup> Interview with a female environmental shepherd in Erwee on 20.02.2015.

Namibia, for example). The latest land use plan (also called wildlife management plan or zonation plan) for the conservancy (Figure 18) was developed with technical and financial support through Natural Resource Working Group of NACSO and WWF-Namibia. As a wildlife management strategy, the objective of the conservancy zonation plan is identified as ‘to prevent conflicts in land use interests’ by proposing two major zones, namely: ‘Farming Zone where farming and its associated activities are a priority and Exclusive Wildlife Zone where wildlife and wildlife-based activities are priorities’. The two major zones are further subdivided to give a total of five subzones.

*Sub zone 1: Settlement and cropping area*

This is the core settlement area within the conservancy area where majority of people live. It includes two large settlements, namely: Erwee and Anker where other social services such as schools, clinics, local government offices and traditional authority offices are also located. Within the more rural areas in the zone are villages where people settle around communal water points and herd their livestock in the open fields.

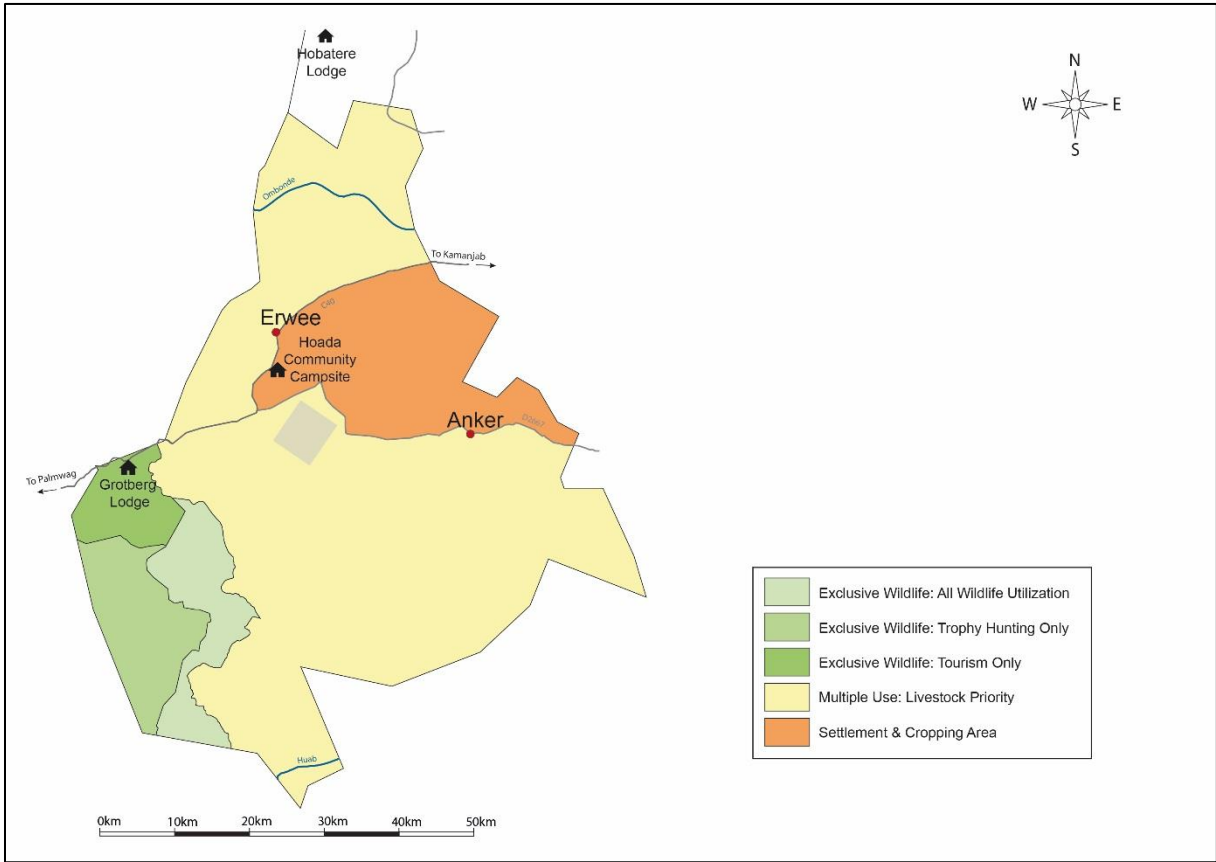


Figure 18: Map of #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy showing the different land use zones

The management plan stipulates that this sub-zone should be free from dangerous wild animals in order to ensure the safety of the conservancy residents. At the same time, tourism activities are also restricted in these areas because ‘tourists (including trophy hunters) want to see wildlife in areas where there are no human settlement’, as is inscribed in the wildlife management plan of the conservancy. Hence, if tour operators take their tourists into this area, then it is their responsibility to inform the tourists of the concept of the conservancy, as a place where people live with wildlife.

*Sub-zone 2: Area for multiple use where livestock keeping is a priority*

This is the largest of all the zones meant to support livestock keeping and herding as the main economic activity of residents of the conservancy area. Conservation of wildlife that are compatible with livestock keeping is encouraged in this zone whilst wild animals that keep on causing problems and great damage are not allowed in the area. Unfortunately, this area harbours most of the problems caused by elephants and predator animals as I discuss later in Chapter 11. It is the conflicts between pastoralists’ activities and conservation in this area that erodes the benefits of community conservation.

*Sub-zone 3: Area for exclusive wildlife conservation for tourism only*

This is the area set aside for wildlife conservation, strictly for tourism activities. There are no farming activities or human settlements allowed in this zone, except settlements for Grootberg Lodge workers. In addition, any form of hunting in the area is prohibited, except where the hunter is following a wounded animal, of which the permission of the conservancy must be sought for first. In essence, this area is set aside for tourists so that they can enjoy seeing wildlife in a ‘peaceful and undisturbed state’, as is written in the wildlife management plan of the conservancy.

*Sub-zone 4: Area for exclusive wildlife conservation for trophy hunting and tourism*

The priority in this area is trophy hunting though tourism activities may take place where the tour operator has the responsibility of informing the tourists of the conservation benefits of hunting. Trophy hunting is one of the major income sources for the conservancy and employs some locals, for example as skimmers of the hunted game. The aim of the conservancy is to allow hunting in a manner that has limited disturbance to wildlife. However, this is a temporary zone whose existence is based on the evaluation of the benefits drawn from trophy hunting.



### *Sub-zone 5: The area for all forms of wildlife utilisation*

This zone is delineated for all forms of wildlife utilisation including shooting to get meat for sale, shooting to get meat for conservancy functions, for example during management committee meetings, AGM and other meetings. Tourism and trophy hunting are also allowed in the zone. However, in case of conflicts with tourism, hunting activities take priority. It is important to note that hunting within the conservancy is controlled and monitored by MET through quota setting. That is, the conservancy can only allow hunting within the limits of the quota set by MET.

### *Chapter conclusion*

To conclude this chapter, #Khoadi ||Hôas is not only one of the first communal conservancies to be established in Namibia but also considered to be amongst the few stable ones. Its stability is rooted both in the governance and natural resource outcomes. In terms of governance, the organisation of the conservancy has a stable management committee as well as a secretariat of employees who ensure the operation of the conservancy is sustained. In terms of natural resource outcomes, the conservancy has a well-defined land use plan that indicates the five different land use zones. In addition, the surveillance by environmental shepherds and the presence of government nature conservation officials has enhanced wildlife policing in the area. Reporting of wildlife data has been appreciated through the event book system managed by the conservancy environmental shepherds. There has also been a reintroduction of wildlife to the conservancy. See for example Ndlovu et al. (2014) for a case of reintroducing rhinos into #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy. Moreover, the partnership between the conservancy, conservation NGOs and MET is evident. Thus, in general community-based conservation in #Khoadi ||Hôas has accompanied an increase in wildlife population. In particular, elephants and predators numbers have gone up in the last 25 years going by reports from both community and CBNRM support NGOs. Altogether, these efforts have led to improved conservation of biodiversity as a national and international policy agenda. The conservancy, therefore, is a success story in terms of resource governance and ecological sustainability. Nevertheless, the analyses in the remaining chapters show that this success is not the whole story of CBNRM in #Khoadi ||Hôas.



## Chapter 10

### Who gets the benefits of community conservation?

Community conservation builds on the framework which asserts that revenues from consumptive and non-consumptive use of wildlife will enhance the diversification of sources of income for local communities (Ashley and Barnes 1996; Fabricius 2004; Jones 2001). Hence, income diversification for local communities will reduce the vulnerabilities that they face as a result of relying on livestock production (for the case of communities of #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy) and thus improve their quality of life. In return, this will offer an incentive for the communities to participate in biodiversity conservation (Fabricius 2004; Silva and Khatiwada 2014). In this chapter, I discuss how community conservation in #Khoadi #Hôas generates socioeconomic benefits and analyse how the benefits are distributed.

#### *Generating incomes from trophy hunting*

Trophy hunting is one of the major sources of income for #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy. It is based on the hunting quota set by Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) based on a complex process that depends on the estimated number of individual animals of a species in the area (Naidoo et al. 2011; Naidoo et al. 2016a; Nuding 2002). Estimation of number of species is done using data from the event book maintained by the conservancy and annual game count organised by MET. Once MET has set the quota for a hunting season, it is communicated to the conservancy detailing the number of animals per species that can be hunted for by the conservancy, and for the approved reason. The conservancy then uses this quota to invite bidders for trophy hunting concessions through a competitive process, both locally and internationally with the help of supporting NGOs. Although, in most cases, the tenders are awarded to foreign companies. #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy made its first entry into the trophy hunting market in 1998/1999 shortly after its registration (Nuding 2002; Roe et al. 2001). However, the conservancy by that time did not have a hunting policy in place. It was approached by a South African trophy hunting company –Terra Africana Safaris (TAS). According to Roe et al. (2001), the company took advantage of the fact the conservancy was still new in the industry and drafted a contract that was hurriedly signed, and which did not protect the conservancy against exploitation. This was, however, blamed on the gullibility of the conservancy officials rather than lack of timely advice from partner NGOs within the LIFE project. As reported by Roe et al. (2001), a major weakness that was exploited by TAS was the lack of obligation to pay its fees to the conservancy before commencing the hunting. This led

to the loss of potential revenue for the conservancy because the company did not fully utilise its allocation by the end of the season. They only paid the conservancy for the number of animals that they hunted. As a reactive measure, the LIFE project helped the conservancy to terminate the trophy hunting contract and identified potential room for improvement (Jones 2006a). The LIFE project organised activities for institutional strengthening, including the development of trophy hunting policy and invited the Legal Assistance Centre to assist the conservancy management committee to draw up a trophy hunting contract. The points that were considered for the development of the trophy hunting policy, as outlined by Roe et al. (2001:23-24), included the following:

1. The contract should be drawn by legal experts and should last two years with a possibility of extending it.
2. A proportion of the quota should be paid upon signing the contract and the remainder paid before the end of the hunting season.
3. The hunting fees are charged in USD but paid to the conservancy in Namibian dollars at the exchange rate at the time of signing the contract and the application fees passed on the conservancy.
4. The hunting camp can be put up within the wildlife areas and must be guided by land use plans.
5. A representative of the conservancy must accompany the hunter in all the hunting exercises.
6. The conservancy has a right (with justifiable reasons) to suspend the operations of the hunter.
7. The hunter is obliged to transport the meat of the hunted game to the office of the conservancy at Grootberg Breeding Station.
8. Wherever possible, the local people will be employed by the hunter as staff who must then be trained by the hunter.

Following these policy guidelines, the conservancy advertised trophy hunting tender and received 3 bidders. African Safari Trail was finally awarded the tender and is the only professional trophy hunter for the conservancy. The company presents a financial offer to the conservancy that is then discussed by the conservancy management committee with a degree of advisory support from WWF -Namibia. The hunter then, within the hunting season, harvests trophy game within the limits of the quota. The fee is paid to the conservancy whether or not the hunting took place. Until the time of my fieldwork, trophy hunting concession remained an open process for the conservancy. Table 21 shows the quota that was allocated for the conservancy for three years (2014 -2016). As shown in the table, the quota allocation for elephant, one of the species with the highest value (Naidoo et al. 2011; Naidoo et al. 2016a), is limited. Jones (2006a:10) notes that, although the number of elephants have increased in northwest Namibia, environmental factors which condition their migration will always limit their general number, which in turn affects the quota allocated on them. The outcome is a limitation on the conservancy's ability to generate higher income from trophy hunting. In the financial year 2014/2015, trophy hunting generated a total of N\$122,567 representing 14.6% of the total revenues for the conservancy (Table 22). This income was expected to rise to N\$160,000 in the following financial year. Furthermore, game meat from trophy hunting is

utilised by the conservancy to feed people during its meetings and occasionally distributed to households as I discuss later in this chapter.

*Table 21: MET Approved hunting quota for #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy from 2014-2016*

<b>Species</b>	<b>Total quota</b>	<b>Trophy</b>	<b>Consumption</b>	<b>Others</b>	<b>Conditions</b>
Gemsbok	30	10	18	2	-
Giraffe	7	3	4	-	-
Hartmann's Zebra	40	10	30	-	-
Kudu	25	10	13	2	-
Ostrich	10	4	6	-	-
Springbok	60	12	48	-	-
Steenbok	5	5	-	-	-
Warthog	1	1	-	-	-
Baboon	5	5	-	-	-
Black-faced Impala	15	3	12	-	Live sales only
Eland	2	2	-	-	-
Elephant	1	1	-	-	One in three years
Hartbeest	2	2	-	-	-
Klipspringer	2	2	-	-	-
Hyena	1	1	-	-	-
Jackal	5	5	-	-	-
Lion	2	2	-	-	Two in three years
Cheetah	2	2	-	-	-
Leopard	1	1	-	-	-
Guinea fowl	50	-	50	-	-
Sand Grouse	100	-	100	-	-

### *Incomes from other forms of hunting*

Within the quota that is allocated, the conservancy also shoots game for sale. The single largest market for the conservancy's game meat are its two lodges belonging to the conservancy. In the financial year 2014/2015, shoot-to-sell generated a total of N\$103,000 representing 12.5% of the total revenues for the conservancy (Table 22). Game meat is also needed during conservancy meetings, annual general meetings and conservancy committee meetings. To this end, the conservancy may hunt a kudu or gemsbok, as guided by the approved quota (Table 21). Unfortunately, the monetary value of meat generated from shoot-for-own use was not available for my consideration. In total, cash income from hunting quota for the year 2014/2015 for the conservancy was N\$225,567.62 representing a total of 26.9% of all the revenues (Table 22). This represents 67% percent increase from trophy hunting earnings in the years 1999 and 2000 (Nuding 2002:206).<sup>165</sup>

<sup>165</sup> One may need to consider the foreign exchange fluctuation and inflation rate in interpreting the implication of the deviation.

### *Incomes from accommodation and safari tourism*

In order to boost the income from hunting quotas, the conservancy was guided by the LIFE project to develop accommodation and safari tourism enterprise. In 2004, through the Namibia Tourism Development Programme (NTDP), the European Union (EU) gave a grant of approximately N\$4.5 million towards the building and establishment of Grootberg Lodge and Hoda Campsite, to be fully owned by the conservancy (Jones et al. 2015; Lapeyre 2011). However, because tourism industry requires good managerial skills and experience, the conservancy was advised by WWF-Namibia to consider having a joint venture with a tour operator –a concept that had already been introduced in some communal conservancies in the country (Jones et al. 2015). Again, with the support from NGOs (NNF and WWF-Namibia), the conservancy placed a public advertisement requesting experienced tour operators to express their interest in managing the lodge on its behalf. But ‘a number of private companies which expressed their interest later withdrew from the bid citing that running a lodge in the proposed site would not be cost-effective’.<sup>166</sup> However, towards the end of 2004, EcoLodgistix Company approached the conservancy to discuss a proposal toward managing the lodge. The proposal included a business plan, environmental management plan, forecast running costs and a management cost offer (Lapeyre 2011). An agreement was reached and signed between the conservancy and EcoLodgistix. Meanwhile, the construction of the lodge went on to be completed in mid-2005 when the lodge and the campsite were opened.

The arrangement was that EcoLodgistix would manage and operate the lodge for a period of five years with the possibility of extension. Upon the expiry of the contract, EcoLodgistix would transfer back the lodge together with all physical improvements to the conservancy (Jones et al. 2015; Lapeyre 2011). Therefore, the conservancy owned the assets whereas the operator owned the business. This arrangement would see the conservancy getting 15% of the net turnover as rent. EcoLodgistix would also get a management fee of 15% of the net turn over. In case profit was realised after tax, EcoLodgistix would get 20% profit. 80% of the profit would go to contingency budget for refurbishing the lodge (Lapeyre 2011). In addition, to reflect the empowerment image of community-based conservation, EcoLodgistix was also required to employ lodge staff from the local community and train them so that they could take over the management of the lodge in the future. The lodge management was also required to procure services and goods from the local community including local crafts and assist families to grow vegetables for sale to the lodge (Jones 2006a). The conservancy on the other side had the duty of ensuring that conservation of wildlife is sustained and to restrict other tour operators from the core areas (Lapeyre 2011). The agreement, in general leaned towards achieving the promises of community conservation in the area and thus raised the

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<sup>166</sup> Interview with a former staff of the conservancy in Anker on 12.05.2015.

expectation of the conservancy management committee that needed the money to cover its running costs, including paying conservancy staff and supporting projects for the community that hoped for direct and indirect benefits elicited during conservancy formation stage.

In 2006, tourism in the conservancy got a boost when the MET relocated black rhinos to the area (Ndlovu et al. 2014). Hence, EcoLodgistix began organizing rhino tracking as part of its tourism products. However, two years later, Grootberg Lodge generated income that remained insufficient to leave surplus for development objectives (Lapeyre 2011). The conservancy began to receive complaints from a section of members of the community demanding benefits beyond the employment of a few. In the financial year 2007/2008, the lodge generated insufficient net turnover that EcoLodgistix was unable to pay the 15% rent to the conservancy. Furthermore, the conservancy management committee did not understand how the calculations were done by their partner and so they cried foul. Together, the two factors generated a disagreement between the conservancy management committee and EcoLodgistix (*Ibid.*). At the same time, there was pressure on the conservancy to pay its staff from its income since donors had stopped paying salaries for conservancy staff. After an intervention from WWF-Namibia and a lawyer, an out-of-contract deal was negotiated with EcoLodgistix to pay a fixed amount of money to the conservancy which the conservancy invested in some community social development activities (*Ibid.*).

More recently, the conservancy received a grant from Millennium Challenge Account, funded by the US government, to improve its tourism enterprise including renovating the lodge (Jones et al. 2015). This upgrading has placed the capacity of lodge at 35, but can stretch to 40 guests on full capacity.<sup>167</sup> The Hoada Campsite was also expanded to a full capacity of 22 guests. Meanwhile, a tourism business development consultant was hired through WWF-Namibia to advise on a business model that could be more economically viable for the conservancy. Consequently, a new business model was negotiated, drawn and adopted since 2012. In this model, the conservancy assumes 100% ownership of the lodge as well as the business, bearing all its operating costs.<sup>168</sup> The management of the business is outsourced to a managing operator– Journeys Namibia–which is paid a monthly service fee.<sup>169</sup> The conservancy has also registered Grootberg PTY as a subsidiary company that would own the business according to private sector business principles (Jones et al. 2015). The Board of Directors of the Grootberg PTY include the conservancy’s chairperson, vice chairperson and treasurer, a lawyer and tourism expert. Furthermore, a joint management committee was formed, comprising

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<sup>167</sup> Interview with a senior staff of Grootberg Lodge in 20.06.2015.

<sup>168</sup> The new model was a product of technical advice from tourism business expert from the US attached to WWF-Namibia.

<sup>169</sup> Some of the owners of EcoLodgistix were not happy with the economic viability of the new model and opted not engage in the new contract. Two of the directors formed a new company – Journeys Namibia – that signed the contract with the conservancy.

representatives of the conservancy management committee and lodge management in order to improve communication and transparency between the conservancy and managing operator. Conservancy officials report that income to #Khoadi ||Hôas from the lodge business has gone up. Meanwhile, in 2008, #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy was awarded concessionary rights over the Hobatere conservation area that buffers the conservancy and Etosha National Park. This area was designated for conservation by the Damara administration shortly before independence. With the enactment of the Nature Conservation Amendment Act, that provided a legal framework for communal conservancies, the government agreed that financial proceeds from tourism in the Hobatere concession should go to #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy (Nuding 2002:207; Thouless et al. 2014). The decision to transfer the concessionary rights to the conservancy took over a decade to be finalised. By 2008, when the concessionary rights were finally granted, tourism industry was negatively affected by global credit crunch such that the tour operator in the area hardly made any improvement to Hobatere Lodge (Thouless et al. 2014).<sup>170</sup> The conservancy later gained the permission from the |Gaiodaman traditional authority, MET and Ministry of Land and Resettlement (MLR) to develop the lodge which was opened in June 2015 with a full capacity of 32 guests. To build the lodge, the conservancy successfully applied for a loan.<sup>171</sup> The lodge, is thus owned by the conservancy whilst the management and marketing, like for other enterprises of the conservancy, is outsourced to Journeys Namibia. It is considered by the conservancy officials as a major achievement that during the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Grootberg Lodge in May 2015, the chairman of the conservancy highlighted in his speech before the Deputy Minister for Environment and Tourism that:

Mr. Deputy Minister Sir, we have recently opened a new lodge which our community owns 100%. Hobatere Lodge has been built with money from our conservancy. We are now owners of a tourism business. The lodge will add extra income to the conservancy to continue benefiting the community and supporting conservation. We have a credible conservancy that was able to take a loan from banks to invest into the Hobatere Lodge.<sup>172</sup>

The chairman's remarks present two points that are important in the analysis in this chapter in specific and thesis in general. First, they resonate the popular representation of #Khoadi ||Hôas as being financially stable and self-sufficient which is rare with most communal conservancies in Namibia (Lapeyre 2011). Tourism business in the conservancy is growing and the conservancy has attained a credibility built on their financial flow and asset ownership, which allows them to be granted a loan by an investment bank. This would help to boost income to the conservancy to support conservation. Indeed, with the improvements that have been made in its tourism enterprise, conservancy officials report that income to #Khoadi ||Hôas from

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<sup>170</sup> Although locally, people think that it was a mere sabotage by the operator to destroy the facility as a way of expressing frustration that it was granted to the conservancy.

<sup>171</sup> Interview with Asser Njetezeua in Anker on 06.08. 2015. Asser is the chairperson for #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy.

<sup>172</sup> Asser Njetezeua, during the 10 anniversary of Grootberg Lodge in June 2015.



the tourism has multiplied. In 2014/2015 financial year, the conservancy earned some N\$30,000 from the campsite (Table 22) and expected that the figure would be more than double in the coming year. Earnings from Grootberg Lodge, was the most significant at N\$466,648 in 2015 (Table 22) and was expected to rise to over one million Namibian dollars in 2016.

*Table 22: Sources of income for #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy in financial year 2014/2015*

<b>Source of income to the conservancy</b>	<b>Amount (N\$)</b>	<b>Percentage of total</b>
Grootberg Lodge (rent)	466,648.32	55.6
Dividend from Grootberg Lodge	100,000.00	11.9
Hoadas Campsite	30,000.00	3.6
Trophy hunting	122,567.62	14.6
Shoot and sell	103,000.00	12.3
Others	16876.47	2.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>839,092.41</b>	<b>100.0</b>

During the 2015 Annual General Meeting for the conservancy held at Grootberg, the conservancy listed that Hobatere Lodge would contribute up to N\$187,689 to its budget for the next financial year. Indeed, for the conservancy management committee, expanding income streams means expanding the capability to finance the costs of natural resource management in the conservancy, including costs of vehicles for surveillance, staff salaries and other running costs. They also hope, as the chairman asserts in his remarks to the Deputy Minister above, that this additional income will increase benefits for the community members. That leads to the second implication of the remarks, where the chairman links the financial stability and self-sufficiency to improved wildlife conservation. The conservancy programme builds on the assumption that the benefits (including financial incomes) will act as incentives to the community to conserve wildlife (Ashley and Barnes 1996; Boudreaux and Nelson 2011; Jones 2010; Mufune 2015). Here, wildlife is thus seen as a collective property whose usufruct rights are devolved to communities living in #Khoadi //Hôas. That is, the assumption that these communities will see wildlife more as a resource that supports their livelihoods needs than nuisance to their wellbeing (Jones and Weaver 2009). This in turn should help to meet the poverty alleviation aim of CBNRM (Elliott and Sumba 2013; Jones et al. 2012; Manwa and Manwa 2014; Mufune 2015; Ngwira et al. 2013)<sup>173</sup>. Furthermore, it is when community conservation provides the incentive of poverty alleviation that communities can be motivated to participate in conservation. However, this will depend on how the incomes are turned in

<sup>173</sup> Though Bunnefeld and Milner-Gulland (2016:95) caution that interventions in Southern Africa about the contribution of trophy hunting to poverty alleviation are not linked to a scientific programme, thus do not get scientifically evaluated for their socioeconomic or ecological sustainability and poverty reduction. They add that the results of those studies are usually published in grey literature.

benefits and how the benefits are thereafter distributed amongst the community members, which is the concern of the remaining section of this chapter.

### *Sharing conservancy incomes with local communities*

Writing specifically about #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy in 2002, Markus Nuding asserted:

Everybody, even the poorest farmer who [does] not own cattle or goats, profits from the communally organized utilization of game. Poachers turn into thieves of common property; farmers with a lot of livestock are seen as wasting land which could be utilized better through wildlife management. In this respect it is important that the direct connection between the protection of wildlife from exploitation and the profits from wildlife management is seen (Nuding 2002:204-205).

Nuding's observation and apparent conclusion were rather untimely since he analysed incomes from trophy hunting that had just started to develop in the conservancy. In addition, his emphasis that every local resident of the conservancy benefited from the proceeds of conservation (financial incomes from trophy hunting) obscures the distributional patterns that characterised the benefits. For example, the analysis of the development of trophy hunting in the conservancy presented in the previous section reveals that the initial contract between TAS and the conservancy favoured the hunter more than the conservancy, leading to marginal gains for the latter (Jones 2006a; Roe et al. 2001). As I have shown already, the economic incentives in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy are largely drawn from the financial and other economic benefits that are derived from tourism and trophy hunting enterprises (Table 22). The three avenues through which incomes translate into community benefits include employment, training and support to community welfare programmes. These local benefits mirror national reports on the contribution of the community conservation to the economy (NACSO 2015). Below, I present an analysis of how these benefits are distributed and how local people view outcomes as unfair.

#### Benefits through employment of community members

By 2007, Celine completed grade 10 which is the last grade in junior secondary school in Namibia. Her academic performance was so low that she did not qualify for direct admission into a senior secondary school from where she could advance to a university or other institutions of higher learning in the country. She lived with the grandmother in her village helping with domestic chores. She became part of the many jobless young people who struggled to survive in #Khoadi ||Hôas with little opportunities for generating cash income. Already, she had a child who she needed to care for. Unfortunately, she did not have her own source of income to do so. Like many young mothers in the area, Celine depended on the state pension that her grandmother earned every month for their survival. She was a 'farm girl', as many in #Khoadi ||Hôas would refer to an unemployed young lady with little education living in the rural area. The 'farm girl' label is associated with vulnerability to underage pregnancy and low aspirations in life. When the conservancy advertised the recruitment of environmental game

guards, Celine applied for the job and was amongst the 8 successful candidates out of a pool of over 30 applicants. She credits her success to the fact that she had a grade 10 education. Since then, she has worked for the conservancy and receives a salary of N\$800 after statutory deduction. Although she says that the salary is little and is not sufficient for her family needs, she is proud that she is no longer entirely dependent on her grandmother's pension but can provide some basic needs such as food for the household. Employed with Celine, are ten other staff members that bring the total number of people employed by the conservancy to eleven. A vast majority of them earn nearly the same salary as Celine. In addition to their salaries, the conservancy offers various other benefits, including accommodation for some of the staff and most exciting is the transport to Outjo or Kamanjab towns where they can buy their groceries at the end of the month when they are paid.

The tourism enterprise of the conservancy offers even more job opportunities to the locals as workers in various departments and positions at Grootberg Lodge, Hobatere Lodge and Hoada Campsite. A total of 56 people are employed in these facilities, a vast majority of whom are from the local area. To employ the staff, the conservancy management committee advertises vacant positions locally by putting up notices at the conservancy notice boards, within government offices in Anker and Erwee and on the doors of local shops. In addition, the conservancy makes an announcement on radio in the Khoekhoegowab language. Applications are received by the conservancy manager and shortlisting is done by the conservancy management committee, based on specific administrative criteria, namely: membership to the conservancy; whether or not the applicant has lived within the conservancy for at least two consecutive years; and the applicant's regular attendance to conservancy meetings and participation in its activities. Interviews are then conducted for the shortlisted candidates by Journeys Namibia (for the lodges and campsite positions) and conservancy management (for the conservancy positions).

Fortunately, my fieldwork coincided with a recruitment process for the newly opened Hobatere Lodge. The recruitment was initiated at the beginning of 2015 when job advertisement was put in the shops within the area inviting members of the conservancy to apply for different positions in the Hobatere Lodge that would soon open in May the same year. 35 people were needed for the various positions ranging from chefs, to front office managers and to manual workers. This was a large number of people to be employed at once by a conservancy enterprise. Many unemployed young adults who come from the area applied for the jobs. Although the advert did not require the applicants to specify which departments one wished to work in, some formal education was needed with a minimum requirement of grade 10 qualification. The conservancy management committee verified that all qualifying applicants were members of the community and conservancy. Interviews were done by Journeys Namibia in the presence of other joint management committee members. However,

because it took so long before the decision on successful candidates was made by the conservancy management committee, disquiet began to simmer within the community, evident through gossip and careful allegations. People alleged that there were some malpractice in the recruitment process. For example, a young woman who was one of the applicants said to me during an informal conversation whilst we were travelling on a donkey cart to Erwee settlement:

They [members of the conservancy management committee] are delaying the process in order to favour applicants that were related to them. But don't tell them I said that, it is between me and you. But that is what people are saying here.<sup>174</sup>

Nevertheless, I was unable to verify these claims as there was no obvious proof that any lobbying for specific candidates took place. This does not rule out the allegations as false anyway. In May 2015, 35 young people aged between 21 and 35 were finally recruited. They reported to work the following month.

I observed the lifestyle of some of them between July and September 2015. They work and live in shared workers' houses in shifts for some 5-6 weeks, after which they get a week's leave to be with their families or children in the village. During the leave, they bring home collections of groceries to the household that they belong to. These include: 2.5kg of sugar, 4kg of maize flour, boxes of tea bags, 750ml of cooking oil, laundry bar soap and candles. Those who are not on leave give their groceries packages to their colleagues going home to deliver for them to their families. The driver of the lodge transports them in a lodge's car to Kamanjab town where they prefer to do some shopping, especially in the 'PEP store' –a shop selling household non-food items at lower costs than most other chain stores. Some of them buy clothes whilst others acquire cell phones and other consumer goods. From PEP store, they go to 'OK store' to buy household food items and finally some alcoholic drinks at 'OK bottle store' for entertainment or, in their language, 'to chill with' when they reach their villages in the late afternoon. In the evening, as Erwee and Anker settlements burst into urban life, most of them gather around pubs and shops to entertain themselves with drinks, music and gambling (locally known as *jackpot*), which they missed whilst residing and working at the lodge. They share their earnings with friends by offering them drinks. Besides, they use the moment to tell stories about life at the lodge and their aspirations to their friends who listen with evident interest but occasionally get jealous or doubt the truth in them. For example, a male employee of the lodge narrated to us whilst we gathered in front of a pub in Erwee to celebrate the leave of some them who had become my friends:

The work is large like an elephant but the pay is small like a rabbit. I am trying to save N\$50 per month because I want buy a goat but I am not sure if I will manage. Last

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<sup>174</sup> Remarks made by a young woman in Erwee on 22.03.2015.

month I sent most of my groceries to my grandmother and mother and they were very happy.<sup>175</sup>

The other interrupted and gossiped about his colleagues saying:

Salome bought a cell phone from PEP store for N\$300. She thought she could buy a touch-screen [smart phone], but it was too expensive for her. She realised she needed some powdered soup for her child [laughter]. And Mike paid N\$500 to the white shop because his girlfriend took things on credit when she did not have food. He is already broke [all laughing].<sup>176</sup>

These chitchats, though particular to some workers of Hobatere Lodge, did not only point to the excitement of the employment, but also to the contribution that it makes to the livelihoods of households. All the 35 employees from both lodges and campsite (20 from Grootberg Lodge and 10 from Hobatere Lodge and 5 from Hoada Campsite) who I interviewed support their families in Erwee, Anker and the more rural villages. Most of them share almost half of the groceries and send to their families almost every month, thus contributing to household daily needs. Some also send money for buying diesel for pumping water when required and contribute to reward a relative who takes care of their livestock. However, a vast majority of employees I interviewed said that, from the salaries they earn, it is not easy to save money to invest in farming, for example buying goats, because the salaries were too low or ‘small as rabbit’, to put it in the language of the one whose voice is quoted above. The wages from these employment opportunities range from N\$800 to N\$4,000, and stood much lower compared to, for example, school teachers who earned between N\$8,000 – N\$12,000 per month. The average wage was N\$1,962 per month including food rations. This is higher than the non-contributory pension paid by the state to those who have attained the age of 60. It was slightly higher than the wages of farm workers but lower than the median wage for other nonskilled work which was, by 2015, N\$2,500 per month.<sup>177</sup> The employees themselves are aware of these disparities and complain as illustrated in the following remarks from an interview with a senior staff member of the conservancy:

I do a lot of work. People, including our partners like WWF and NACSO, see me as the engine of the conservancy. The conservancy is growing. The lodges are working, trophy hunting is taking place, and we have activities for the youth like the ball games. I mean, this conservancy is a good example, is it not? When visitors from other countries come to Windhoek and they want to see what is going on with conservancies, they [NGOs] bring them here. Because we are stable and successful. Tourists come and enjoy the good work we have done. I have been interviewed by many researchers and newspaper people. I work a lot. Sometimes I work extra hours. People call from the farms asking this and that. Then I get peanuts as salaries. It is not fair. But what can we do? That is what we have and I have to live with it till that time I will move to places with better pay.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Comments from an employee A of Hobatere Lodge at Erwee on 19.08.2015.

<sup>176</sup> Comments from an employee B of Hobetere Lodge at Erwee on 19.08.2015.

<sup>177</sup> Namibian Economist 2015. Even though this was the official figure, workers often got less or got food rations instead of money.

<sup>178</sup> Interview with a senior employee of the conservancy on 13.07.2015 at the conservancy office.

The senior conservancy officer makes a comparison between the much publicised success stories and financial stability of the conservancy to the benefits he draws from common property. He laments over what he calls unfair share of the benefits represented in low wages compared to benefits that he sees other actors draw from the community conservation. The cry over low wages from conservancy and lodge staff is widespread. For many employees, they were unable to use their wages to accumulate productive household assets, like livestock that are significant in determining wealth status of households. Those who invested in farming by buying livestock or livestock feed supplements earned between N\$2,000 –N\$4,000. Notwithstanding this, they still could not match the investments made into livestock economy by, for example, teachers whose monthly salaries are much higher as already mentioned. Since livestock keeping is a major determinant of socioeconomic categorisation, low incomes from lodge and conservancy employment hardly make a significant contribution to upward mobility of households as the incomes support the daily survival of members of the households. However, the incomes cannot be underestimated in terms of reducing vulnerability to shocks, such as food insecurity, for those households. For example, the opportunity to purchase household food supplies on credit as illustrated by one of the lodge employees in his gossip about the other in the quote above.

The qualitative data therefore reveal two things about the distribution of employment benefits within the conservancy. Firstly, the limited employment opportunity is, for pragmatic reasons, favouring the young and semi-educated members of the communities. Often, the jobs require a minimum of grade 10 education level and ability to communicate in English. These qualifications are more likely to be found amongst the young adults than the older people who were largely deprived of education opportunities in the colonial administration. This is an observation that many of my respondents were conscious about. The following interview excerpt provides an example to illustrate the point:

**Richard:** Are you happy that the conservancy has created jobs for people in this area?

**Piet:** It is a good thing that the conservancy has employed people in the lodges. But only the children [young adults] get the jobs. They are the ones who can speak English with white people [tourists] and have education. What about their parents like me? I can't work in those lodges. What am I getting from the conservancy? You know the children get the money and they come to Erwee here or Anker and just spend their money at the shops and get drunk. They also bring food to their parents.<sup>179</sup>

The old man whose voice is quoted above, like many other older respondents in the conservancy, does not dispute the widely observed and reported reality that community conservation has created employment that comes with benefits to the employees. Employment generates regular cash and noncash incomes for their employees and furtherance to their households. It also helps to shield households from shocks of daily livelihoods needs, especially

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<sup>179</sup> Interview with a male respondent aged 65 who lives in Erwee but owns livestock in Blauplaas village. Interview conducted on 23.08.2015.

food consumption. Thus, incomes from conservancy related employment are important for the survival of households whose members are employed by the conservancy and its enterprises. To the old man, this is rather obvious. However, his concerns point to the distributional patterns of the benefits that, for pragmatic reasons, is positively skewed towards young and educated adults. My observation was that the majority of those who were employed in the enterprises ranged from 21-40 years of age.

Secondly, remarks in the quote reveal the need to interrogate the financial benefits that communities really gain in terms of employment vis-à-vis other actors. This is analysed based on the observation that the most important of all the benefits of community-based conservation to the welfare of local people is employment creation. For example, in 2015 NACSO praised community conservation for its contribution to local economy by creating 6,000 jobs to local people, which would account for 3.2% of the total population of the people living within communal conservancies (NACSO 2015). In #Khoadi ||Hôas, the total number of jobs that have been created is 67. This is about 3.4% of the adult population and about 1.5% of the total population of the area which is below the national average reported by NACSO. But the realities faced by most of these employees become vivid when employment figures are disaggregated to per capita earnings. That is, as the employee of Grootberg Lodge puts it, 'the work is large like elephant but the pay is small like a rabbit'. This little pay is not seen by the respondents in its absolute amount but rather relative to the work effort put in conservation, that yields ecological success and financial stability that in turn finances conservation. However, it is argued that financial benefits to employees are not the only benefit they get from the employment. Other benefits are also reported, key of which is training that is part of the conservancy's local empowerment programme.

#### Benefits through on-the-job training

I met Hilga who is described as the engine of the conservancy by her staff and members of the conservancy management committee. In the late 1990s, Hilga had completed her secondary school studies and lived in a village in #Khoadi ||Hôas. Like Celine, Hilga described herself as a former 'farm girl'. Regardless of being a 'farm girl', Hilga participated in the meetings that led to the establishment of the conservancy where she was elected by the community as the vice treasurer of the conservancy. She was appointed to be part of the team that helped two Fulbright scholars who came to identify and map out the boundaries of the conservancy. She later received basic computer training from the scholars after which she was recruited as the volunteer liaison officer for the conservancy where she provided the link between the community and the conservancy. Hilga went through a number of trainings mostly offered by NGOs on community conservation and management. She later became the conservancy

manager where she served until 2016 and moved to a better paying job. When I asked her how her story in community conservation should read, she replied whilst pointing to a newspaper article (Picture 8) that had published her achievements and almost reciting the title verbatim: ‘I have gone through a lot of training whilst working for the conservancy. I can say my story should read “from a farm girl to a leading woman in conservation”’.



Picture 8: Newspaper article about success story of #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy manager.<sup>180</sup>

On the part of lodge management, I met Memory, a young lady from the local area, who is an assistant manager at Grootberg Lodge. She joined the lodge in 2008 to babysit for the managers of the lodge. When the managers left the lodge, she was posted to work as a waitress in the restaurant department after some training. Later, she became the head of the restaurant department. She was then promoted to be the head of food and beverage department whilst also working in the front office to check in guests. In 2013, Memory was granted a scholarship to study management of small and medium enterprises at a certificate level in Bloomfontein, South Africa. Upon completing her studies, she was promoted to be the assistant manager for the lodge. By 2015, Memory worked under the lodge’s general manager to be trained so as to take over the management of the lodge soon. As an assistant manager, Memory participates in the Joint Management Committee (JMC) where the lodge management meets with the conservancy management committee to exchange information on the management of the lodge. When I asked her how she felt about her life history with the lodge, she said, ‘Richard, My story should read, “from a babysitter to a tourist lodge manager”’. Even if I leave the lodge today, I am employable elsewhere to manage a tourist lodge’.

<sup>180</sup> See (Portgieter 2014).



In addition to the regular wages paid to the employees, they also get training whilst working to improve their skills for the job for which they are employed. This forms part of the objective of community empowerment that CBNRM is imbued with. The stories of Hilga and Memory are epitomes of empowerment through on-the-job training. That they are rural women, widely socially constructed as weak and dominated, is a strategic illustration that helps to make the point here. The conservancy benefit distribution plan provides for deliberate efforts to improve the skills of the employees of the conservancy and the lodges as a people who were formerly disadvantaged by apartheid policies. NGOs such as WWF-Namibia, NNF and IRDNC have provided training for the conservancy staff as part of their major role in various aspects including: natural resource monitoring and reporting through event book keeping for environmental shepherds; financial management to ensure self-sufficiency; rhino tracking; as well as human-wildlife conflict resolution (Taye 2006). These skills are integral for the operation of the conservancy through organisational development and institutional strengthening in natural resource management. The idea was that eventually the conservancy would depend less on donor funding not only in terms of financing but also human resource and technical capacity. Hence, from the many years of on-the-job training, Hilga emerged a manager of the conservancy whilst Memory as an assistant manager at Grootberg Lodge. Hilga participated in more than one hundred training sessions throughout her 15 years of career at #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy. This was evident from the collection of certificates she had been awarded having completed sessions of workshops. The aim is to ensure that employees from the local community are trained adequately so that they can take up the responsibility of managing the business in the future. Many other employees of the conservancy and the two lodges have gone through some kind of training as well. For example, when Hobatere Lodge was opened, a South African expert in tourism and hospitality management was contracted by Journeys Namibia to manage the lodge and undertake on-the-job training for the newly recruited young people in various departments. In most cases, the young recruits did not have any experience in working for a tourist lodge. The tourism and hospitality expert at Hobatere emphasized in an interview:

I have the task of training the young people recruited here in various aspects of lodge operation. When they came here, most of them did not have education beyond grade 10 and neither did they have any experience working in a tourist lodge. So I train them not only in the specific work they do, but also on the general behaviour required in the industry like etiquette, discipline, cleanliness and neatness. The idea is that one day they will be able to operate the lodge on their own.<sup>181</sup>

On-the-job training is therefore considered to be a way of building human resource for community based tourism. In addition, it is seen as a way of improving the employability of those who are offered the opportunity to work for the lodges. Nevertheless, this benefit

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<sup>181</sup> Interview with Jacobus at Hobatere Lodge on 14.09.2015.

significantly remains with the individual employees and their households and thus not enjoyed by all. For those employed, community-based conservation gives an opportunity to improve their skills and employability. Memory and Hilga, for example, see progress in their place of work as a result of on-the-job training and other opportunities for skill development that raised their position from a 'farm girl' or babysitter to managers. Already, the training has paid off for Hilga as she leaves the conservancy for a better paying job in Erongo region. Whereas the staff of the conservancies and the lodges receive training and capacity development, ordinary members of the conservancy receive none of such training. Where they did get some training, interview data show that such capacity development were not perceived by the people to be of economic value in the same strength as the ones the staff receive. For example, some members of the conservancy have been trained on how to understand the behaviour of the elephant in order to reduce human-elephant conflict. I interviewed one such member of the community who contrasted the differential benefits of the training he got and that of the staff:

We were taught many things about elephant. They said that if we want to live with the elephant we have to learn their behaviours. They said you should know wind direction and many of such things. Some I have forgotten. They said that we are not enemies but we are just using the same place and water. So I learnt many things about the elephant. But what did I get? You see, if you want to be a good farmer, you will need to learn how you may increase your livestock and feed your children. Those working in the conservancy are being trained in their work and they become better people. The people in the lodge learn and become better cooks or better waiters or better managers and that means better pay. But as for me, just knowing how the wind takes my smell to the elephant, finish. We are different. Finish.<sup>182</sup>

The comparison above refers to the economic benefits associated with the outcomes of the training. Whereas the training received by those employed in the lodges and the conservancy improves the skills of the employees hence increased employability, the training given to the ordinary members of the conservancy targets social and political benefits. That is, they may include the training on the rights of the conservancy members, knowing their environment and how to live 'peacefully' with wild animals. This does not downplay the significance of these social and political benefits in the livelihoods of the people. However, it reveals and emphasises how economic aspiration and upward mobility is important for local people for negotiating the distribution of the benefits of community conservation. Training, for the community member whose voice is quoted above, should not only be useful for knowing where you live and make peace with the elephant hence their conservation. It should also, according to him, go beyond social and political outcomes to avail skills that make people economically useful for themselves.

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<sup>182</sup> Interview with Francois in Rooiplaas village on 24.06.2015.

## Benefits through community welfare programmes

In 2015 annual general meeting that took place at Grootberg meeting hall, where the conservancy office is located, the conservancy chairman in his address to the members present emphasised on the contribution of the conservancy programme to the wider community. He asserted to an audience half the hall:

We have a benefit sharing plan which we are still revising. We organise soup kitchen for pensioners when they go to collect their pay. We also have an education fund where we give bursaries to students from the area to study in the tertiary institutions and we also give money to the traditional authority that is responsible for the area. Most important, dear members, we allocate N\$10,000 per year to each league for their own development initiative. I mean this is N\$80,000 per year for all 8 leagues. Tell me, which conservancy does that if not #Khoadi ||Hôas? Finally, we give diesel to compensate those farms where elephants drink water. #Khoadi ||Hôas is moving forward.<sup>183</sup>

Unfortunately, the chairman's assertion was met with some jeers rather than cheers, which intensified at his remark on the elephants. Later in my conversations with those who attended the meeting, I learnt that a significant section of the members present were very uneasy with community benefits that the chairman enumerated. The most irritating part of his remarks, to some members, was his emphasis on the provision of diesel to compensate for water consumed by elephants. This is because they felt that the money allocated for it is less than a fair share. I return to this analysis in Chapter 12 and Chapter 13. From the conversations I had with a number of members who attended the meeting, people do not have a problem with the nature of benefits that community conservation brings to them. Rather, they are uneasy with insufficiency and inconsistency of financial benefits. Regarding insufficiency, there is a general feeling that little money is allocated to community welfare programmes which thus limits the extent to which members can benefit besides the few employment opportunities. This was evident when Sakeus, a middle aged man, complained to me after the meeting saying:

They first make sure that they get their pay [salaries] and pay for petrol for their vehicles. Then they give us small things to *zula* [struggle to survive] with. We have an idea in NICA league to construct a Damara cultural village. But the money they allocated to us is small. Why should they take tourists to Himba village, when we can have our own Damara village?<sup>184</sup>

The complaint in the vignette above was in relation to the distribution of the income for conservancy for the financial year 2014/2015 that the chairman had just presented to members. As Sakeus emphasises, there is prioritisation of benefit allocation. That is, how the conservancy income is spent. Core operation of the conservancy which directly sustains conservation is given priority over community benefits, which in his perception comes as an afterthought. The report that the chairman presented to the members shows that the

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<sup>183</sup> Remarks made by Asser during the conservancy's annual general meeting held in June 2015.

<sup>184</sup> Remarks from Sakeus, a man who attended the annual general meeting on June 2015.

conservancy spent slightly less than one million Namibian dollars in the 2014/2015 financial year (Table 23). 83.7% of the income was used to ensure the sustainability of the conservancy office and its operation. Salaries and wages for staff has the largest allocation of 29.5%, followed by travel to meetings (including workshops) at 24.9% and field costs at 22.8%. Only 7.9% went to benefits for the entire community. This included money spent by the conservancy to buy diesel to compensate for the water drunk by elephants from communal water points (Table 23).

Table 23: Expenditure for #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy in 2014/2015 financial year.<sup>185</sup>

<b>Conservancy expenses</b>	<b>Amount (Namibian dollars - N\$)</b>	<b>Percentage (%) of total</b>
Salaries and wages	282,633.73	29.5
Travel and meetings	239,147.72	24.9
Field running costs	218,334.73	22.8
Office costs	62,561.94	6.5
Community benefits operation	64,199.17	6.7
Benefits to leagues	12,000	1.3
Hobatere expenses	80,045.55	8.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>958,922.84</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Although provision of diesel to compensate for water consumed by the elephants was reported by the chairman as benefits to the community, the community does not perceive it as a benefit. Instead, people see it as an obligation of the conservancy. The following remarks of an elderly man during an interview in Kleinplaas village helps to illustrate the point:

If your child comes and steals my cattle or goats, then I complain to you and you offer to give me something in return or bring back my things that I lost, have you benefited me? You have just brought back what your child took. I can't say giving us diesel is any benefit. It is not. That is what they are supposed to do.<sup>186</sup>

The idea to allocate money for the leagues as a direct financial investment in community project was appreciated amongst many. However, the amount (N\$80,000 or N\$10,000 per league) was disputed by many respondents to be too little to facilitate their ideas as illustrated by Sakeus' remarks in the previous vignette. But the conservancy can only allocate that much if they are to remain with enough money for priority expenses –conservancy's operating costs. Notwithstanding this, in actual expenditure, only N\$12,000 was spent on the projects since it was established. This was only about 1.3% of the total expenditure. The rest was not claimed because most leagues had not decided on which projects they wanted to undertake whilst others were realising challenges with their proposals. Only Hobatere league has made a successful claim of their allocation. They bought cooking pots and plates to hire out to households during funerals and weddings. However, the materials were rarely hired and little

<sup>185</sup> Raw data from the financial report approved by the conservancy management committee and presented to the members during the 2015 AGM.

<sup>186</sup>Interview with a man in Rooiplaas on 20.07.2015.

income had been realised, causing some discomfort amongst members whereas others become disinterested because the incomes fall far below their expectation. However, the culture village project proposed by Nica league, failed to pick up as it became difficult for the project committee to mobilise farmers to come to meetings and make the plans. Similar activities are usually rewarded with food incentives by the conservancies, but Nica league has to pull through without immediate incentives. Coming up with and agreeing on projects, also require members of the community to have numerous meetings that end up demoralising many communal farmers, especially when their expectations are not met. But a major frustration amongst many members of Nica league who closely followed the idea was that the money is insufficient to pay for planning, mobilisation and eventually for putting up a Damara cultural village. Nica had only claimed N\$2,000 which they used to buy food for those who helped to clear the proposed project site. They worried that if they claimed more of the money before they were ready to build the cultural village, then they may exhaust the money without realising their goal.

Insufficiency was also evident in the number of bursary awards that could be granted. By the time of fieldwork, only two had been granted bursaries. Though drawing enormous expectation from conservancy members, distribution of game meat to households is one of the harshly and openly criticized programmes of the conservancy by the local communities. Game meat is hardly distributed to households and when it is finally distributed, the quantity is hardly more than 5 kg per household per year. At the same time, community members were aware and complained to me that the conservancy saved game meat from trophy hunting to feed people during meetings, give to the conservancy management committee members as well as conservancy staff. Although they did not vilify or antagonise giving food in meetings, their expectation since the formation of the conservancy was that meat would be distributed to households regularly. This is not the case and was described as unfair especially when they know that conservancy staff and committee members get the meat on top of the financial benefits they get through meeting allowances. Inconsistent distribution was also blamed in the provision of soup kitchen organised for the pensioners.

## *Chapter Conclusion*

I have shown in this chapter that community conservation generates financial incomes for the conservancy through its tourism and trophy hunting enterprises. These incomes are turned into economic incentives for pastoral communities living in the conservancy through employment, training and community welfare programmes. Employment and training are the major benefits to communities. Nationally, employment is seen as the most significant contribution of CBNRM to socioeconomic development (NACSO 2015). However, some authors like Humavindu and Stage (2015), Lapeyre (2015) and Sullivan (2002) have cautioned on interpreting national data to represent the conservancies because of unequal distribution of opportunities for employment. Be that as it may, incomes from employment are safety nets for a few households. Employment generates monthly incomes worth an average N\$1,962 for those employed at the lodges and conservancy, some of whom, in addition, receive groceries supplies. The incomes are essential for the daily survival of the employees and their families, for example, by ensuring food supplies. However, the data show that very few people invest their earnings in livestock keeping, which is not only the dominant livelihood strategy but also the primary measure of wealth (Chapter 7). This is because most of the employees feel the wages are too low to support their daily needs and invest in buying livestock at the same time. Hence, whilst employment within the conservancy and lodges shields households from severe food insecurity by availing regular income and supplies of groceries, it hardly leads to upward mobility of most households.

It is evident that there is very little money left to be allocated for community projects (See also Lapeyre 2011). To allocate the incomes, priority is given to costs that will ensure the operation of the conservancy is sustained and hence improved natural resource conservation. Indeed, if the conservancy does not meet its core operations like paying the salaries of the environmental shepherds, patrols and monitoring, and organising meetings; then it will be as good as dead. Amidst this financial resource scarcity, allocation of incomes to community welfare is a lesser priority. Thus, only 8% of the cash income to the conservancy is allocated for community welfare programmes. The emphasis is not on the percentage, but the value that the allocation translates into livelihood needs of the communities, vis-à-vis their expectations. Although there are anecdotal reports indicating that these expectations are unrealistic as they are exaggerated by the communities, it is important to note that the expectations are generated out of the ceaseless efforts by national and global conservation communities to reproduce a positive reading of the contribution of communal conservancies to development, empowerment and wellbeing of communities. Therefore, victimising the communities for harbouring the so-called 'unrealistic' expectations obscures a necessary understanding of the process that produces the expectations.

The analysis shows further that the benefits are not only insufficient but also unequally distributed within the communities. Similar findings have been reported elsewhere much earlier but even in recent works, for example, Bandyopadhyay et al. (2004), Suich (2013a) and Suich (2013b) respectively. For instance, despite the fact that the recruitment process of the employees is elaborate and transparent, there are inherent resentment about unequal distribution of employment benefits within the communities. Only 68 individuals (3.4% of conservancy members) and their immediate families directly benefit from employment and training. This leaves out a larger population of members and residents of the conservancy who also feel they have a right to benefit in equal measure. Younger people who have some education have higher chances of employment and subsequently being trained than their older counterparts. Thus, overall, communities in †Khoadi †Hôas agree that the benefits that conservation brings are appropriate and helpful but only available to a small section and certain kinds of people in the communities.

The analysis of the benefits to community welfare programmes reveals another perspective of distribution. That is, the distribution of benefits between the community and those who profit from conservation and tourism. As the data show, conservation on the one hand consumes 75% of the conservancy incomes thus leaving insufficient funds to allocate to community welfare programmes. On the other hand, conservation directly supports tourism and trophy hunting, where the big players are tourists and tour operators as well as other associated service providers. Especially for the last two players, the conservancy programme, has opened up the common property (wildlife in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy) for private investment and capital accumulation (Brockington and Duffy 2010; Corson 2010). Many locals of †Khoadi †Hôas speak of these disparities, and their complaints are made more vivid when they compare the benefits of conservation to its costs. The analysis of the latter is the gist of the next chapter.





## Chapter 11

### Who pays the cost of community conservation?

Naidoo and colleagues have pointed out that evaluation of economic outcomes of CBNRM ought to consider both its benefits and costs to the communities (Naidoo et al. 2016a). In the foregoing chapter, I have analysed some key economic benefits to the community of †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy, how they are produced and distributed. In addition, I looked at some of the justice concerns that emanate from the distribution. In this chapter, I analyse the costs of community conservation in †Khoadi †Hôas. I consider costs that emanate from human-wildlife conflicts, particularly conflicts with elephants at the water points and predators. I consider these conflicts because they were the ones that the communities were mostly concerned about and discussed nearly every day during my fieldwork. I therefore answer the following questions in this chapter: What costs are associated with living with wild animals? How are the costs produced and distributed? And, how do communities perceive the distribution in light of justice concerns?

#### *Human-elephant conflicts at communal water points*

On the night of 24<sup>th</sup> May, 2015, I was sitting outside a hut, in one of the villages of †Khoadi †Hôas. I was talking with Paulus– the head of the household, about the drought relief food that had been distributed in the village the previous week. Suddenly, a loud rumbling sound came from the direction of the water point that was some 120 meters away. Then another sound and a third one. Dogs started barking, rushing towards the water point with precise caution. Paulus, looked at my scared face and told me, ‘Richard! The elephants are here again’. His emphasis – ‘again’ –was not an incorrect usage of the word, for elephants had previously come to the village for two consecutive weeks and drunk water from the communal water point. The children and I ran into the hut terrified, whilst Paulus’ wife took an empty old steel pot and started hitting it. She gave me another one and I started hitting it too, though from inside the house. Although I had participated in many of such practices of scaring away the elephants, the fear of the potential danger that elephants posed still lived with me. People from other households joined too and the village broke its silence, once again after just a few days of silent nights. Paulus went and took his old car tire, used to make donkey carts, and set it on fire using some kerosene. He rolled it towards the water point. All these efforts were meant to scare away the elephants. After a while, the village returned to silence, and the only light within the darkness came from the last yellow flame on the burning tyre. Inside the hut, Paulus, who was

responsible for pumping water, lamented as he showed me an empty container where he had stored diesel saying: ‘Look there is nothing [to mean no diesel left]. The elephants have drunk the water. They cannot leave anything, just like always. And I don’t have money to buy diesel again. What will our cattle drink?’

The following morning, we all gathered at the water point one after the other. We followed the tracks of the elephants, counting them to know how many they had been. Some said they were eight, others said they were seven with a calf. We looked into the concrete water dam, it was almost empty. Like the others, I could not imagine how thirsty the elephants had been, but I could be sure of how thirsty the livestock would be. Luckily, they had not destroyed the infrastructure. But there was no diesel to pump water for cattle in case the concrete dam would run dry.

My first-hand encounter above is a relevant starting point into the analysis of the consequences that emerge at the intersection of water management and elephants’ conservation in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy. Before providing a reflection on the episode, some general information about the local ambience that makes the presence of elephants in the area significant in the analysis is in order. As already mentioned in Chapter 3, #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy is located on an elephant migratory corridor from Etosha National Park through the Hobatere Concession to ||Huab and Torra conservancies in the west. This ecological characteristic is also embodied in its name ‘#Khoadi ||Hôas’ that translates to ‘corner for many elephants’. It is therefore not surprising to find that people’s encounter with elephants in the area is frequent. Throughout my fieldwork, stories about elephants formed a good part of everyday talk of farmers. Unfortunately, these stories were not about the spectacular scenery of a herd of elephants during a *sundowner* experience or baby elephant crossing the road betwixt *mom* and *dad* that so commonly characterise some of the diaries of western tourists as they create the idyll of desert elephants. Neither were they about statistics of *Loxodonta africana* killed by poachers nor kilogrammes of desert elephant tusks sold in the black market that are common with conservationists as they represent the elephant as a big but helpless terrestrial mammal who falls victim to a small but armed man. On the contrary, farmers spoke of real danger posed to them by elephants that have been documented significantly in Namibia and beyond (Khumalo and Yung 2015; Okello et al. 2016; Sitienei et al. 2014). If it was not about a phone call from a neighbouring farm warning people to watch out for elephants heading their direction, then it was about one informing people about a family who narrowly escaped death when a bull elephant charged at the donkey cart they were travelling on. The climax of the problem caused by elephants to communal farmers within the conservancy displays itself at the water points where they drink good amount of water meant for livestock and sometimes break and damage water infrastructure. The ethnographic encounter above represents many of such incidences in the conservancy.

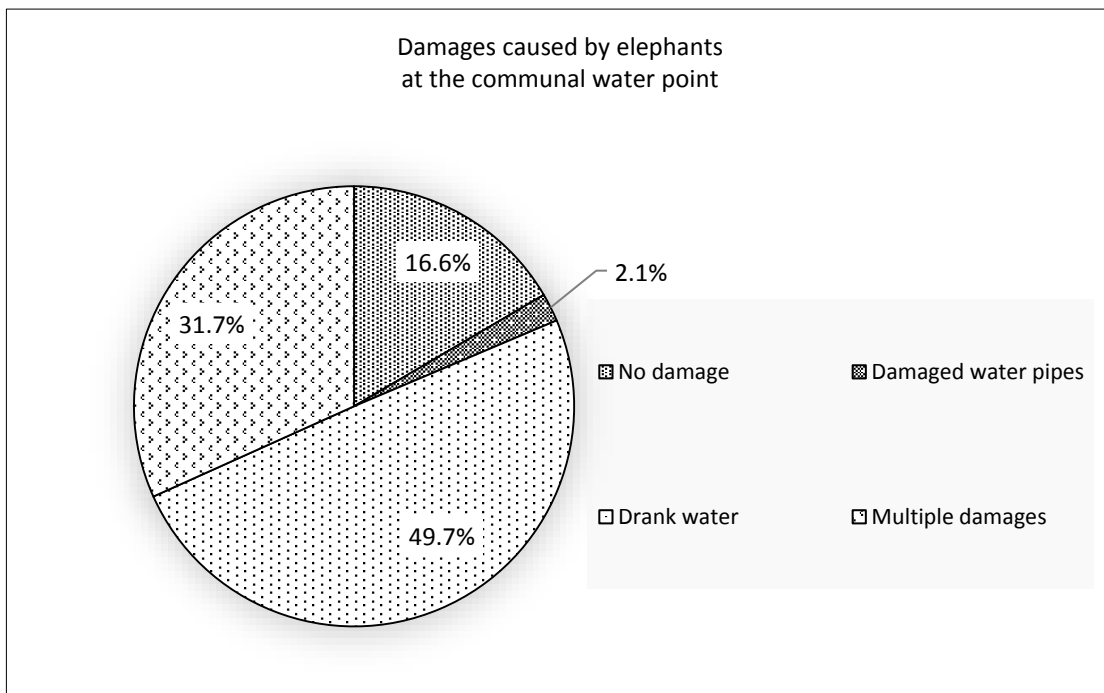
Although the case is particular to one of the villages in #Khoadi ||Hôas, it points to a larger picture that emerges in the conservancy with significant consequences –the cost of elephants’ water consumption. Two arguments emerge from the case that are of relevance to the analysis in this chapter. Firstly, whereas the conservation of elephants in the conservancy brings direct and indirect benefits through tourism and trophy hunting as well as biodiversity gains, living with these animals produces costs which need to be taken into consideration in the analysis of an incentive based community conservation (Sullivan 2002). The costs not only emerge in the water they consume, but also the damage they may cause to the infrastructure. Secondly, it reveals an ensuing local discussion of unfair distribution of the costs of water consumed by elephants. Elephants are seen by locals to be produced by the conservancy as part of a conservation project and owned by the state. Here, the conservancy as a conservation project includes the actors making up both local and global conservation community, such as the conservancy as an organisation, conservation NGOs, donors and nature-based tourism enterprises. To the pastoral communities, the conservancy and the state are responsible for the presence of elephants in the area and hence for their water consumption cost. But when it comes to paying for the costs, the conservancy and state ‘run away from the costs’ leaving the communities to pay what they are not responsible for.<sup>187</sup> This perception invites an analysis of how water consumption of the elephants (for conservation and tourism) configures the problematic conceptualisation of fairness in cost sharing of water in communal conservancies. It represents the overall dissatisfaction about an imbalanced manner in which the conservancy compensates for costs of water drunk by elephants. Furthermore, the analysis of the distribution of cost of water consumed by elephants must be placed within decentralisation framework where the government transferred costs of supplying water to communities (See Chapter 7 of this thesis; Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg and Bollig 2016). I begin with the analysis on the cost that the intersection of rural water governance and elephant conservation produces, their nature and how they occur. Thereafter, I will analyse how the costs are distributed and how the distribution is perceived by the communities to be unjust.

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<sup>187</sup> For the communities of #Khoadi ||Hôas, the conservancy is not only seen as the community-based organisation and the geographical space where its rights to manage and benefit from wildlife is ascribed. It also means, to them, the support structure including conservation NGOs, donors and the state that underlie CBNRM. In light of this framing, the conservancy is an inseparable integral part of the local and global conservation community. Stamm (2017), has demonstrated the intertwining nature of communal conservancy as a community-based organisation and conservation community through linkages with conservation NGOs and donors. In Chapter 9, I also demonstrated that the communal conservancy programme is not a purely community-driven agenda, but a concept whose framing nuances on the objectives of global conservation community. Thus when communities refer to the conservancy to be ‘running away’ from its responsibilities, they refer both to the conservancy as producer of wildlife, as well as the conservation community that wants wildlife to be conserved in their natural habitat.

### *Nature and scope of costs produced by elephants at the water points*

Elephants come to the communal water points in pursuit of their water needs. When they come to the water points, they leave a trail of damages ranging from drinking large amounts of water from the concrete dams that is meant for livestock to breaking or pulling out water pipes to find water. They may also break water tanks to enable their calves to drink water if they cannot reach the water with their young and short trunks. In addition, they break fences as they force themselves into the water point area. Between July and December 2015, 49.7% of heads of households ( $n=81$ ) from 19 communities reported that drinking large quantities of water was the main damage caused by elephants (Figure 19). Multiple damages, that include also drinking water, was mentioned by 31.7% of the respondents, whilst 16.6% indicated instances where elephants damage pipes. There were hardly any instances when elephants came to the water points and caused no damage, only being reported by 2.1% of the respondents.



*Figure 19: Damages caused by elephants at the communal water points*

Conflicts with elephants at the water points vary with seasons. During rainy seasons, water is collected in most of the ephemeral rivers. Water thus becomes available for the elephants in the fields and hence they do not need to come to the communal water points. The situation changes in the dry seasons when there are no pools of water in the fields and the rivers are dry. At such times, elephants have to drink from communal water points, causing various damages. Thus, the intensity of the elephant damages at communal water points increases between the months of July and January.

On average, 46.6% of respondents reported that elephants came to the communal water points (Table 24). Although, the response is less than half the sample, it cannot be interpreted at face value because the response may be influenced by a number of factors namely: one, elephants mostly come to the water points at night and it is only by seeing their tracks and the damages they cause that people can tell that they were around; two, heads of households may be absent from the village when elephants come to the water points; and three, the survey was based on a monthly recall exercise which may be biased depending on the memory of informants. Nevertheless, the data shows that there is a significant chance that elephants would come to the communal water points within the conservancy area between July and January. The proportion of informants affirming that elephants came to the communal water points increases towards December (Figure 20) when the drought intensifies, pasture is severely degraded. That is, more than half of the respondents could remember that elephants came to the water points in October (56.5%), November (54.3%) and December (58.6%). This confirms my observation of the frequency of incidences of human-elephants conflicts, that the drier it gets, the more likely that elephants would come to the communal water points and the more likely that they would cause damage in the village. Furthermore, it is during these drier months that communal farmers in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy lose their livestock to drought, hence their livelihoods is intensely stressed and the complaints about elephants partly nuances on the frustrations of livestock loss and overall deprivation.

*Table 24: Percent of respondents affirming elephants came to water points in 2015*

<b>Months in 2015</b>	<b>Percent of sample where elephants came to the water points</b>
July (n=53)	34.0
August (n=39)	33.3
September (n= 47)	42.6
October (n= 53)	56.6
November (n= 35)	54.3
December (n= 58)	58.6
<b>Average</b>	<b>46.6</b>

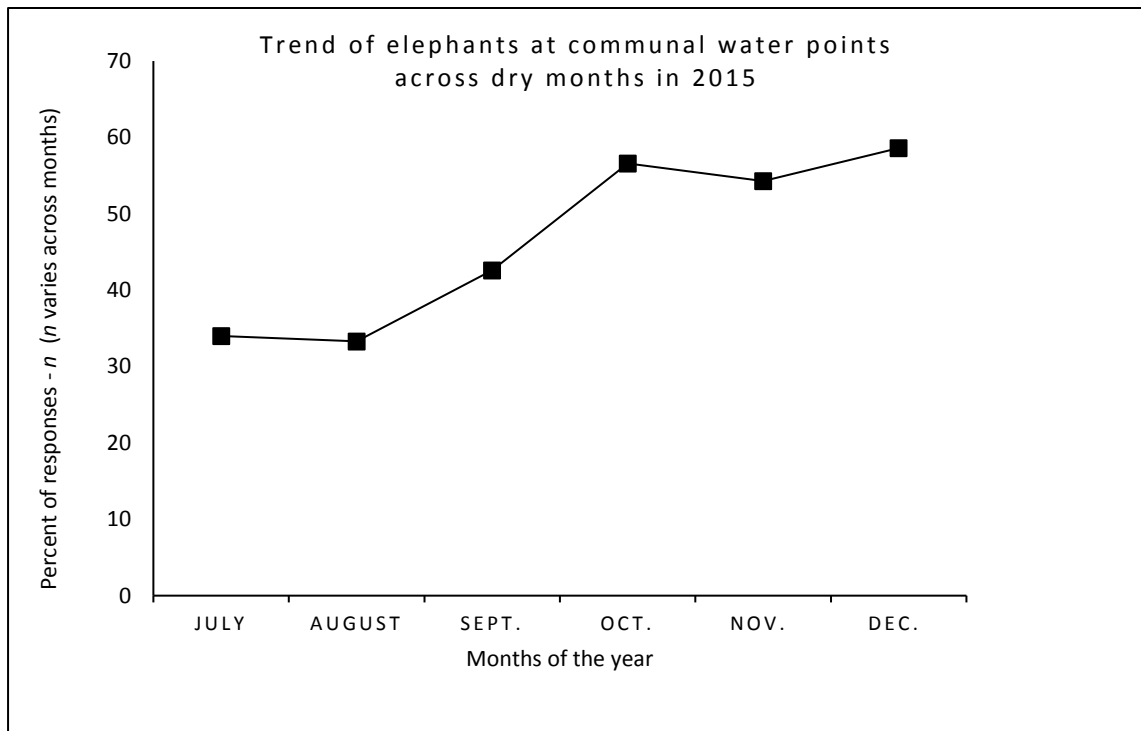


Figure 20: Trend of elephants coming to communal water points in drier months

### *Who bears the cost of elephants' water consumption and damages?*

#Khoadi #Hôas conservancy has a strategy of mitigating human-elephant conflict in its wildlife management plan, revised in 2015. In the management plan, the conservancy suggests to undertake the following in order for communities to live in harmony with elephants:

- a) Achieve a better understanding of elephant behaviour, movement patterns and water needs.
- b) Reduce conflict with elephants by establishing protective walls around communal water points and provide alternative water for the elephants.
- c) Increase the benefits from elephants through increased quotas.
- d) Establish and implement an elephant damage self-reliance compensation scheme.

Indeed, all the environmental shepherds of the conservancy have been trained on elephant behaviour. These training exercises have been organised by conservation NGOs including Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF) and Elephant Human Relation Aid (EHRA). With funding from USAID, four elephant-proof water points with protective walls around them have been constructed in #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy. DWSSC has also recently started to construct elephant-proof water points. Every year, #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy budgets for diesel to compensate for the water that elephants drink from communal water points under its Self-Reliance Scheme (SRS). In 2014/2015 financial year, about N\$15,000 was budgeted for diesel for the SRS, by the conservancy, but some N\$18,000 was spent on the cause. From this budget, the conservancy buys 400 litres of diesel every three months. To gain from the scheme, farmers are required to report incidences of elephants coming to communal water points to the

conservancy. They must describe how many the elephants were, if possible, and how many times they came to the water point as well as the damage they caused. This process is known as 'registering a complaint'. The complaint is then entered into the 'Event Book' that is maintained by the conservancy as a monitoring tool. From the summarized records in the Event Book that I had access to, it is not easy to delineate the different kinds of damages caused by elephants at the communal water points. For example, the conservancy recorded an average of 40 incidences annually between 2011 and 2015, but it was not possible to tell from the complaints recorded which damages they caused. NNF estimated that each single incident of human-wildlife conflict costs an average of N\$1,753 (Brown 2011). Therefore, the average cost of elephant damage is at least N\$70,120 a year ( $40 * N\$1,753$ ). It is obvious that the amount (N\$18,000) allocated for SRS, is much too little to compensate for the costs which occur at the communal water points as a result of elephant damages. Therefore, it is not surprising that many people are not compensated and perceive this situation to be unfair. For example, in one of the many incidences, I asked a pumper, if he would report the case to the conservancy office and seek diesel compensation. His verbal and nonverbal response was loaded with grief and despair, as he said:

They say we should live with elephants because they are good for tourist to see. But they just run away from taking care of their water needs and leave them to us. So there is no need to report. I can't waste my time because they will do nothing. I stopped reporting to them long time ago.<sup>188</sup>

However, failure to report also eliminates chances for being recognised in the compensation, if any. That is, in case there will be any compensation of the diesel for pumping water for communal farmers, the conservancy will only consider those farmers who registered a complaint. This does not apply to the four villages where there are elephant-proof water points built with funding from USAID. These four farms which include Rhodeon *pos*, Warmbak, Moria *pos* and Perseaner *pos*, are given diesel by the conservancy irrespective of whether or not they registered complaints about elephants. This is because their water points were constructed with donor money with a direct objective of enabling the elephants to drink water without causing financial stress to communal farmers. For the remaining villages, a complaint has to be registered and the conservancy has to check if they have the diesel or not. If there is diesel in the stock, the farmers through their water point committee leader will be invited to collect 10 litres for one incidence a week or 20 litres for more than one incidence per week. However, because of limited budget for the SRS, the conservancy is unable to compensate all the reported incidences as a senior conservancy officer informed me in the following quote:

Like I told you, we buy two of the 200 litres drums full of diesel every quarter. It is not that the conservancy doesn't want to compensate the people. We also come from these

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<sup>188</sup> Response from a communal water pumper in Springbokplaas village on 12.08.2015.

farms. But we can only give what we have. May be one day we will have more money and buy more diesel to give the people.<sup>189</sup>

The remarks from the officer confirm the claims from farmers that registering a complaint does not guarantee that the cost incurred by pastoral farmers when elephant drink water will be compensated for by the conservancy. Compensation will depend on the availability of diesel which in turn depends on how much money is allocated to the compensation scheme by the conservancy. Because the conservancy has to meet its running costs as a priority amidst scarcity of financial resources, only small amount of money (N\$18,000 per year) is then allocated for diesel compensation. Yet on average, the share of the conservancy's water cost for elephants is at least N\$70,120 per annum. Thus, until the conservancy allocates enough money to incur costs of elephant damages at the water point, the cost will have to be shouldered by the farmer. This is what, for example, a pumper whose voice I have quoted earlier means when he said 'the conservancy is running away from its responsibility'. Even when the compensation comes, it is often much later than always expected. This further generates mistrust and loss of interest. Moreover, other damages such as damaged pipes are not compensated for, even though they significantly add cost to the farmers. When big damages occur, for example broken tanks, the conservancy, MET and DWSSC are often in a constant debate on who should take the responsibilities of repairing damages (Brown 2011). The pastoralists however do not have the alternative of waiting for delayed solutions, they usually 'make a plan' to cover the costs which is to dig deeper into their already constrained financial resources (See Chapter 7) putting a further strain on their livelihoods.

### *Effects elephants' damages on livelihoods*

In September 2015, I witnessed another incidence where elephants came to Blauplaas village and left the communal water dam almost empty. Two days later, the dam was completely dry as the little water that the elephant left had been consumed by livestock. The 25 litres of diesel that had been contributed by the household that was responsible for diesel supply that month had been all used up too. Moreover, because the month had not ended, the next household to contribute their 25 litres of diesel for pumping water could not bring their diesel. This was often a struggle that arose whenever communities tried to cover a deficit of diesel before the end of the month. As a result, there was no water in the village for both livestock and domestic consumption. Livestock moved to the water point for the next village in pursuit of water. As the one responsible for pumping water in the village, Paulus, the water pumper, had to 'make a plan' as he put it, in order to provide diesel to pump water. He rang his brother who worked and lived in a coastal city and asked for money but his effort was not fruitful. He again rang a

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<sup>189</sup> Interview with a senior officer of #Khoadi #Hôas Conservancy in 06.01.2016.



wealthy part-time farmer in the village who owns over 50 heads of cattle and worked in Windhoek to ask for money. But the part-time farmer bitterly asked him to inform the conservancy and ask for diesel compensation. In the meantime, the part-time farmer's workers moved their cattle to the water point of the next village. Paulus decided to move from household to household soliciting as little money as he could get. This was challenging for him as most people genuinely did not have money. He finally raised some N\$55 which was enough to buy 5 litres of diesel that could pump water enough for a week. However, Paulus still needed N\$50 for fare to travel for about 60km to Kamanjab town, the nearest place where he could buy the diesel. Meanwhile, for the three days when he struggled to 'make a plan', the village did not have water even for domestic use, except for those who had saved some water in their private tanks within their compounds.

The case above illustrates how communities deal with the unfair cost of elephant water consumption that has been shifted to them through conservation. Thus, through decentralisation, the government did not only shift the costs of supplying water to livestock and for domestic use to the communities, but it also did so to the costs of water consumed by elephants and associated damages. This brings into the analysis the institutional context of water management with which elephant conservation intersects. Elephants drink water that requires diesel to pump which costs money to buy. The water point committees do not have savings from where they can draw money and quickly meet these extra costs. Cash incomes to households are also hard to come by and when it does happen, it is quickly allocated to pressing household needs such as food. As was discussed in Chapter 8, every household sharing a water point is required to contribute towards diesel in an ad hoc and flexible flat rate regime. In most villages of †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy, each household is given a month to contribute 25 litres of diesel. So, when elephants drink water, a deficit is created that leaves an extra cost on the farmers. Not only does this extra cost put an unfair strain on the budgets of the households as discussed above, but the cost is also spread or shared equally amongst the households in an ad hoc manner. This is what happens when, for example, Paulus goes around the villages asking household heads to contribute as little as they could irrespective of their wealth status. Whilst there was always an attempt to contact the wealthy households to assist, there was no guarantee that they would cover the cost as illustrated through their responses in the episode above.

Another distributional concern that arises relates to the differential ability to adapt to the consequences of elephants damages. When elephants come to the water points and cause damage, it is not the financial cost that has to be shared but also the consequence of not having water for some days, especially when there is delayed action to repair the damages or to buy

diesel. As illustrated in the episode, wealthier households have more financial resources, compared to poorer households, to invest into strategies that reduce their vulnerability to the consequences. For example, they invest in large private water tanks, which they place in their compounds. They pump water into these tanks from the community borehole. When the communal water reservoir goes dry, like in the case described in the case above, they use the water stored in their private tanks for domestic use as well as for goats, sheep and calves. In addition, they have employed workers who help to move their livestock to the next water point. These coping strategies are not available for or accessible to poorer households. The outcome is that the burden of elephant destruction at the communal water point is, in relative terms, left to the poorer households who have little financial resources to invest in alternative means or immediate solutions. In the long run the relative costs accruing from elephant damage is borne by poorer households, further constraining their upward mobility making community conservation to contradict its objective of poverty alleviation.

### *Conflicts between pastoral communities and predators*

In November 2015, my attention was drawn to a household in Mooiplaas village whose livestock had been attacked by lions. Although I had heard of many experiences where pastoral farmers from different villages complained about predator animals as one of the major demerits of community conservation, attacks on livestock by lions hadn't been so much mentioned. In Mooiplaas, I met Rosemary, a woman in her fifties who kept at least seventy heads of cattle and over fifty goats. She had a herdsman who took care of her livestock. The village is about three kilometres from the exclusive wildlife conservation area and just a kilometre from a trophy hunting hideout established by the conservancy. People living in Mooiplaas constantly see tourists and trophy hunters crisscross the area giving them a contrasting picture of how others benefit from wildlife vis-à-vis the cost they incur whilst living with the wild animals. Rosemary and her herder narrated to me how lions came into people's kraals and attacked livestock on repeated occasions. She remembered:

This month on 4<sup>th</sup>, lions attacked seven goats in our kraal. Two weeks later, lions attacked our cattle and killed two cows. One was eaten into half and the other was not eaten. The bull was not killed but had scratches on the body. When we went to the place where the animals were attacked, we saw the lions running away. It happened in the field at day time. The goats are eaten up in the kraal in the night. We usually experience problems with hyenas and not lions. We have started to experience it with lions. I think it is because of the drought. Animals like kudu and springbok are looking for grazing where our livestock also graze and the lions follow them. The lions get the smell of the cattle and follow them to attack them, and they cannot run away from the lions like kudus do.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Interview with Rosemary in Mooiplaas village on 21.11.2015.

Problems of predator animals injuring, killing or eating up livestock, like in Mooiplaas' example, is widespread in the conservancy area but rampant in other areas, especially in places that are closer to the exclusive wildlife zone. Furthermore, the problem intensifies in drier months. From July to December 2015, I asked household heads whether they had lost livestock to a wild animal. The number of households (*n*) responding to the question varied in each month but with a cumulative total of 285. Responses were collected over the six months period. Although, on average, a higher percentage (60%) of respondents reported that they did not lose their livestock to predator animals, still a significant 40% reported having lost either small stock or large stock.

Predator animals, in the conservancy area, include large predators like lions, hyenas, cheetahs and leopards; and small predators like jackals, red cat and caracal. Whilst large predators, especially lions, hyenas and leopards, attack large stock, the smaller ones go for small stock. Jackals, in particular hunt young goats and sheep, hence constraining their reproduction. The attacks occur in different places with significant implications on compensation. Livestock may be attacked in the fields when they graze as was in the case with Rosemary's cattle in the vignette above. When the drought intensifies, cattle move further away from the villages in search of pasture. In areas which are closer to the conservation zone like Mooiplaas, livestock is more likely to be hunted down by large predators. This is because, as Rosemary and many others including conservancy officials explain, the wild prey for the predators including zebras, kudu and springbok come out of the conservation area into the farming area. The predators then follow them and finally come into contact with the livestock which are not adapted to escape. Sometimes when it is so dry, livestock are driven against the conservancy rules into Klip Rivier, formerly a dry season grazing area but currently reserved for conservation, where they fall prey to the large predators. Large livestock are vulnerable to these attacks because they are usually not herded and they graze, in most cases, in the night. According to the conservancy annual audit for the year 2015, nocturnal lions and hyenas were leading cases of depredation in the conservancy.<sup>191</sup>

As mentioned already, small stock is common prey to jackals which constitutes frequent complaints from the farmers. As illustrated in the case of Rosemary, small stock is also attacked in the kraals in the night by leopards and red cat. Most farmers make kraals that are about a metre and half tall with wooden poles connected with plain wires (see picture to the left in Picture 9). This can hardly prevent a leopard or red cat from hopping into the kraal, killing several goats and sheep and taking away just one to feed on. Many examples abound of such incidences where farmers woke up in the morning to find four or five goats killed and one or

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<sup>191</sup> See NACSO website <http://www.nacso.org.na> accessed on 03.03.2017.

two dragged away by a predator to feed on. Wealthier farmers are able to build stronger and higher kraals (see picture to the right in Picture 9). They also can employ a herder to care for the small stock in the day hence reducing the risk of jackals attacking the younger goats and sheep. Moreover, as illustrated by the incidence at Mooiplaas, Rosemary's employed herder moved to the scene where lions attacked her cattle together with other neighbours and prevented major damage on their stock. Hence, the vulnerability of depredation is higher on the poorer households compared to the wealthier households.



Picture 9: Pictures of livestock kraals for poor (left) and rich (right) households

### *Who bears the cost of depredation?*

As part of the National Policy on Human Wildlife Conflict Management (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2009), the MET has established a Predator Fund which is used to minimally compensate communal farmers for the loss of their livestock to predators. Like other communal conservancies in Namibia, #Khoadi ǀHôas receives N\$60,000 per year from the MET to compensate affected farmers in the conservancy. It is important to note that MET does not treat the money as compensation but rather a boost to farmers' resilience to depredation. Though a number of households have been considered by the conservancy and benefited from the Predator Fund, it is far from changing the perception of the community from viewing conservation as a liability rather than an asset. My interviews with two farmers in the area present useful basis for this argument. In the first vignette is an interview with Beltine, a middle-aged woman who owns 11 goats and whose household was categorised as poor in Rooiplaas village:

**Richard:** So when your son went to the field and found the goat half eaten by the jackals, what did you do?

**Beltine:** My son went to Jacobus' [her brother] house and reported to him. He took the carcass after showing me. We went together to Jacobus. I was very annoyed. Jacobus then called a conservancy staff and reported [...].

**Richard:** What did the conservancy do?

**Beltine:** Sofia [an environmental shepherd for the conservancy] came the following day and asked us where the carcass was. But we had cooked it. We could not wait for them. The meat would go bad. We showed the skin and the head to her. But she said we should have not removed the carcass from where the jackals killed it. But I told her: 'Ousie [sister], how can you say that to me? What if the jackals finished it?' But Jacobus was our witness. Sofia took notes and went.

**Richard:** So did you receive any money from the conservancy for your goat?

**Beltine:** I kept asking the conservancy manager about my money. They used to say the money is not yet there. Every time I saw them, I would ask for the money. After more than one year they called me [.....] and gave me N\$200. I told them it is not enough and they said that is what is paid out. So I took it. I went to Erwee and paid my debt in the shop and bought maize meal and sugar.<sup>192</sup>

The second vignette, is an excerpt from my interview with an old man who lives in Springbokplaas village and owns 84 heads of cattle and over 50 goats. By all definition of the locals, he belongs to a wealthy household.

**Richard:** When your small bull was eaten by the leopard, did you report to the conservancy?

**Japheth:** Yes. I bought airtime and phoned the conservancy manager and reported. A conservancy officer came with the driver and saw the carcass. We could not take it to eat it because it was now rotting. We could get the bad smell.

**Richard:** You mean it took you some time before you realised that it was eaten by leopard?

**Japheth:** The bull did not come to drink water for two days then we started looking for it. We moved in the field and finally got a bad smell from the direction of that hill over there. When we went there we found its head and fleshless limbs left. It was a leopard because leopards do not finish the meat. They eat and leave something for hyenas.

**Richard:** So what did the conservancy officer do?

**Japheth:** They asked me questions and took notes. Then they said I cannot be paid because the cattle were not having a herder in the field. They also said I reported late. I was very annoyed and I said to myself, 'I will never report again'.<sup>193</sup>

From the vignettes above, administering self-reliance scheme to boost the resilience of the farmers emerges as a complex process with significant implications: one, conditions do not consider local realities; two, the amounts paid do not necessarily support the resilience of the livestock economy; and time taken for the claim to materialise is long. I further elaborate these conditions below.

i. Conditions do not reflect local realities

The conservancy uses the guidelines provided by the National Policy on Human Wildlife Conflict Management (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2009) to implement its self-reliance scheme. The policy clarifies that a farmer is qualified to put a claim for damages to the livestock attacked by wild animals if the farmer had taken adequate measure to prevent the attack. This condition aims to prevent a scenario where communal farmers take advantage of the payment and fail to look after their livestock properly (Naughton-Treves et al. 2003). This

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<sup>192</sup> Interview with Beltine on 22.03.2015 in Rooiplaas.

<sup>193</sup> Interview with Japheth 25.03.2015 in Springbokplaas.

would mean that the livestock would be herded and secured in the kraals at night. The Kraal is also required to be of reasonable height, the size of game proof fence. In contrast to these guidelines, farmers in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy do not herd their large stock. Cattle mostly graze in the night and roam the drought stricken area in order to increase their nutrient intake and survive (see Chapter 7). In addition, it reduces the need to employ a herder which would put a strain on expenditure of most households. The example of Japheth in the second vignette above describes how grazing patterns come into conflict with the policy guidelines for the self-reliance scheme. Like many other pastoral farmers in the conservancy, Japheth's cattle were not herded when a 'leopard' attacked, killed and ate his young bull. He is thus described, according to the National Policy on Human Wildlife Conflict Management, to have failed to make adequate measures to prevent the attack and hence does not qualify to be 'paid'. Building a strong kraal of a secure height will require large investment of labour and money. In #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy, where most farmers do not have regular and significant income to invest in elaborate livestock protection, most kraals are either too weak or short to prevent nocturnal predator animals.

Furthermore, in order to benefit from Predator Fund, there must be evidence proven by the conservancy game guards that the livestock was killed by a wild animal. This means that the scene of the incidence must be preserved by the farmer who is reporting the incidence. To this end, a farmer must report the incidence not later than twenty four hours after it happened. It means that the farmer will come across the incidence when it is happening or soon after it has happened. This is usually not possible considering that cattle are not herded and may roam further away from the villages, especially during drought. The farmer only gets alarmed when they notice that part of the herd did not return to the water point. This prompts a search, like in the case of Japheth's loss, which takes time and may go beyond the twenty four-hour time limit. Preserving the evidence indeed helps to curb on abuse of the scheme through false claims. At the same time, it is also dependent on how quick the response will be from the conservancy. In some cases, the response from the conservancy takes longer and it might not be possible that the scene of incidence will be preserved for verification. For example, when the incidence is in the field, like in the case of Beltine's goat, the remaining carcass, if possible, will be collected and most likely eaten, if it is in good condition for a meal.

ii. The amounts paid are not commensurate to the loss

The assumption of the self-reliance scheme is that the amount paid for the damage will boost the resilience of the farmer to recover from the loss. Furthermore, the amount does not compensate the real cost of the livestock lost, but that the farmer may add more money to it in order to restock. On the contrary, pastoral farmers perceive the payments as unfair compensation for their loss. For example, Beltine in the first vignette compared the amount given to her to the market value of a goat and protested that it was not enough. In general, the amounts that are paid are hardly half of the market price for the lost livestock (see Table 25 for comparison). Therefore, whilst the government and conservancy see the scheme as a way of boosting the resilience of the farmers, it hardly does so given that the compensation is far below the real cost of depredation. Moreover, it is likely that the amounts paid out will not be reinvested in the stock. Most of the monies paid end up in meeting pressing household expenditures, as illustrated by the example of Beltine who quickly paid off her debts and bought food items with the N\$200 paid to her. As I observed earlier (Chapter 7), financial resources are hard to come by for households in #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy, especially amongst the poorer households. Cash incomes are quickly allocated to pressing household needs, especially food stuff. Wealthier households are however, less likely to have this problem and may restock their herd. Hence, the payments, taking the example of Beltine, do not guarantee a boost in resilience of the poor farmers who have lost their livestock to predator animals.

Table 25: Official rates for compensating livestock lost to predator wild animals by 2015

<b>Livestock type</b>	<b>Amount payable on loss to depredation <sup>194</sup></b>	<b>Average market prices in 2015<sup>195</sup></b>
Cattle (cow or bull)	N\$1500	N\$4000-6000
Goat	N\$200	N\$550 - 800
Sheep	N\$250	N\$550 - 800
Horse	N\$500	N\$900 - 1,500
Donkey	N\$250	N\$900 - 1,500
Pig	N\$250	Not available

<sup>194</sup> I adopted these figures from the National Policy on Human Wildlife Conflict Management (Government of the Republic of Namibia 2009).

<sup>195</sup> I made these calculations from prices arrived at during public auctions organised by AGRA in Loskop in the year 2015.

iii. Waiting discourages reporting and participation

In the interview with Beltine in the excerpt above, she describes how she had to wait for a whole year to be paid N\$200 for her goat that she lost to a jackal. In my interview with the conservancy manager, regarding the delays in paying out the ‘compensations’, she acknowledged that:

We would like to compensate the farmers as soon as they report the complaints and we are able to verify. But this is not possible because we have to wait for the money from MET. You know the government procedure is long because it depends on many factors. So the delay in paying out farmers for the lost livestock eaten or bitten by predators is not in our hands to change. We are still making payments for cases reported in 2013 up to this year [2015]. Farmers think that the conservancy is making a lot of money. Yes, we make money, but it is not enough to do all the things. Also the N\$60,000 we receive from MET to compensate the farmers is not enough to pay out all claims. So we must keep some claims for the next financial year.<sup>196</sup>

It emerges from the interview excerpt above that until the conservancy is able to make enough income that can offset costs incurred by farmers due to depredation, the money to pay for the loss will continue to come from government. This means that the response of the conservancy to the claims made by farmers will be dependent on the availability of the funds, which in turn depends on the government financial procedures. As a consequence, the farmers who have reported the incidences of predator attack on their herds will have to wait for long time, with a further consequence of losing interest in reporting the incidences. It is thus not surprising that more than half of my informants who reported having lost livestock to depredation did not report to the conservancy. Rust and Marker (2013) in their study on attitudes of farmers’ towards predators and conservancies in Namibia, have also reported that many communal farmers living within communal conservancies withdraw from reporting cases of depredation to the conservancies because they do not think they would get any help. This withdrawal from reporting depredation incidences implies that they are less likely to benefit in the self-reliance scheme. The long term consequence, which is already evident in #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy, will be that farmers will have very little interest in conserving predator wild animals in specific, and withdraw from participating in the conservancy programme in general (see Chapter 12 of this thesis). This observation is in line with Rust’s and Marker’s conclusion that, ‘if predators are perceived as costly to the person financially via livestock depredation and if they are not offered support for this, people are unlikely to value either predators or conservancies’ (Rust and Marker 2013:467).

The data therefore show that whilst conservation leads to increased number of predator wildlife, increased incidences of depredation also occur especially during dry periods. Recalling

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<sup>196</sup> Interview with Ms. Hilga |Gawises on 26.02.2015 at Grootberg.



that livestock is the wealth reserve for the households (Chapter 7), depredation therefore imposes a direct cost on the livelihood stability. Unequal distribution of this cost emerges at two levels. On the first level, there is maldistribution between those who profit from conservation (MET, conservancy, tour operators, tourists and trophy hunters) on the one hand and farmers who have to live with those animals on the other. Whilst farmers see the conservancy (including its support agencies such as NGOs and donors) and MET as responsible for the presence of wildlife in the area, the amount of financial compensation put up for Predator Fund is far below what the farmers expect to be a fair compensation. Furthermore, the conditions for compensation do not consider local realities, making the farmer to miss out on real compensation. The process for compensation also takes too long which demoralises the farmers from reporting furtherance making their right for compensation to be unrecognised. The second level of maldistribution occurs between socioeconomic categories as shaped by their varied vulnerabilities to risks. The wealthier households have more financial resources than the poor households to invest in strategies that reduce their vulnerabilities to depredation. For example, they are able to build better and stronger kraals that can prevent nocturnal predators. They also hire herders who take care of small stock in the field reducing their vulnerability to jackals and other animals that prey on small stock.

### *Chapter Conclusion*

Wildlife conservation in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy is an undoubtedly an ecological success, going by reports that animal species diversity and population have increased.<sup>197</sup> However, it has created a field of tension for local pastoral farmers. The data show that increased population of elephants and predator animals produces costs locally, which stand on sharp conflict with local livestock economy. Elephants cause high cost at the water points due to consumption and destruction whilst predators endanger local herds and hence compromising local livestock economy and wealth reserve of many households. This contributes to reduced wealth stability, constrained upward mobility, and frustrates poverty alleviation efforts. In sum, wildlife resource management contributes to conflicts between conservation and livestock-based economy in the area. Here, the ones who bear the increasing costs of conservation are in most cases not the ones who also benefit from it. In general, two levels of maldistribution of costs emerge; a vertical maldistribution that pits those who profit more from

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<sup>197</sup> Combining pastoralism with wildlife conservation in communal conservancies is also blamed for overgrazing leading to degraded pastures as well as competition over water resources. However, here I make reference to the ecological gains pertaining to reported increase in diversity and population of wild animals.

conservation (the state, local and global conservation community and tourism industry) on the one hand and the pastoral communities whose livelihoods suffer loss on the other. The data show that whilst the former group of actors benefit more from ecological success of community-based conservation, they bear the least of the cost. In contrast, pastoral farmers who receive insufficient benefits from ecological success, pay the largest cost in terms of depredation and destruction at water points. At a second level is a horizontal maldistribution, which takes place within pastoral communities with reference to ability to cope with costs of ecological success. Socioeconomic stratification in #Khoadi #Hôas implies that wealthier households have higher leverage of resources that they can deploy to their livestock economy to improve their coping strategies to depredation and elephant damages. Examples of such include: building stronger livestock enclosures, hiring workers and installing private water tanks. In contrast, poor and marginalised households have less of these resources to equivalently fortify their coping strategies. The outcome is that, in relative terms, the economically marginalized households suffer the most from increasing cost on water and loss of livestock caused by elephants and predators respectively. In the next chapter, I turn my analysis to how communities contest the maldistribution of the costs and benefits through passive forms of resistance.

## Chapter 12

### Negotiating justice through passive resistance

Human actors deploy their agency in order to transform the intervening socioeconomic and political milieu (Giddens 1979, 1991). Following this line of thought, pastoralists in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy deploy their agency in order to renegotiate distributional outcomes of community conservation. Agency in environmental justice is often conceptualised as organised collective action, confrontational, and expressed through visible forms such as riots, mass protests or judicial processes. In †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy, pastoralists contest and assert their claims to justice through ongoing prosaic passive aggression, or what James Scott called ‘weapons of the weak’ (Scott 1985). In this chapter, I identify and analyse four of such forms of passive resistance in the conservancy namely: (i). Withdrawal from participation. (ii). Withdrawal from ownership. (iii). Passive aggressive imagery. (iv). Verbal conflicts.

#### *Withdrawal from participation*

Members’ meetings are very important for †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy because, theoretically, they form part of the highest decision making organ –the members’ assembly. Of these meetings is the annual general meeting (AGM), which provides members with an opportunity to participate in reviewing the conservancy’s reports of the activities undertaken in the previous year, including the financial report. Equally important during the AGM is the presentation of the budget for the coming year which members are supposed to discuss and approve. Similar to other conservancy meetings, members who attend AGM are provided with a meal of game meat and pasta, which is paid for by the conservancy. I attended the 2015 AGM that was held at Grootberg, in the conservancy’s meeting hall. Given the significance of an AGM and that it happens only once a year, I had expected a higher turnout compared to the other meetings that I had attended in the course of fieldwork. Nevertheless, the number of participants was hardly 300 out of a total membership of over 2,000 individuals. A vast majority of those who had attended were young people or the ‘youth’ in the local language. Many older people did not attend the meeting, one of whom was Gariseb, an elderly man in his sixties living in Kleinplaas village. Gariseb had severally and consistently complained to me of the problems of depredation and elephant damages in the conservancy. During one of my visitation to his home, I found him with a carcass of one of his goats which he claimed had been attacked and killed by a predator animal in the field. He was lucky to find a piece of it which they later made into a meal for his household. Despite his ardent displeasure and

dissatisfaction with the conservancy, Gariseb did not attend the AGM and therefore failed to participate in the decision making for the future of the conservancy. Two days later, I visited him in order to have a conversation over his absence from such an important meeting that offered people a space for political engagement with the conservancy. Somewhere in the middle of our conversation, Gariseb engaged us in a lengthy monologue to explain his absence as captured in the following vignette.

Who will listen to me when I give my opinion about our problems with the elephants and lions and jackals? Look, the conservancy did not start yesterday. [...]. This conservancy was started in 1990s. When it was being introduced, we refused to have dangerous elephants here. We told them we accept kudu and springbok because they are just like our cattle and goats. But not elephants. They promised many good things but I have not seen them. I used to attend the meetings at Grootberg, those days when I was easily fooled. I would say my mind. Others would say their minds about elephants and jackals and hyenas. The people would say 'Yes! Yes!' But later nothing happens. [...] We told them to give us diesel to pump the water, not for our cattle but for their elephants. They said money is not enough. [...] Then I said that I don't have anything to do in those meetings. If we cannot decide about what is killing us, then why should we meet? We have become slaves of the conservancy and as slaves we have to free ourselves. I am not saying the conservancy is all bad. I am saying the dangerous animals must be removed. [...]. In the past the meeting hall would be full of people, both young and pensioners. Today, not many attend. Go and ask them why they did not attend. They will tell you 'I was busy. I was sick. I travelled'. No, they just don't want to tell you that they are tired of suffering and being lied to. May be one day no one will attend the meetings and they will listen.<sup>198</sup>

In his angry monologue, Gariseb sees no advantage in participating in conservancy affairs because the needs that are directly related to his livelihoods—livestock economy— for which he has complained many times have not been recognised and addressed. Gariseb further explains that a good number of people fail to do so because they are dissatisfied with the manner in which costs from depredation and elephant damages are unfairly discussed, compensated for and eventually left to the farmers. What is clear from the monologue is a withdrawal from participating in conservancy affairs, or more specifically, decision making. Yet community participation is a fundamental aspect of CBNRM (Blackstock 2005; Boudreaux and Nelson 2011; Fabricius 2004). Meetings are considered socio-political spaces where people are, arguably, supposed to negotiate outcomes of decisions regarding community conservation (Magome and Fabricius 2004; Shackleton et al. 2002; Silva and Mosimane 2014). These decisions would include: how representatives are elected, allocations of budgets and general progress of the community conservation. Participation in CBNRM is thus imbued with notions of democracy that create space for every voice of social categories. In addition, it is also a space where the decisions are contested by the members including expression of displeasure through failure to attend, which is so evident in #Khoadi //Hôas, and particularly so in Gariseb's remarks. Gariseb's angry monologue shows a sign of protest or resistance to an institutional order that he feels inflicts loss to their livelihood strategy but is incapable of redeeming that loss through fair compensation. For Gariseb says that the communities refused to live with 'dangerous' wild

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<sup>198</sup> Interview with Gariseb at Kleinplaas village on 03.08.2015.

animals that would cost them their livelihood, but eventually the conservancy programme emerged triumphant. His remark that ‘may be one day no one will attend the meetings and they [the conservancy management, conservation community and state] will listen’, reveals that the absence or failure to attend meetings in particular or withdrawal from participating in conservancy affairs in general is not only a conscious decision of many, but also a strategic tool used to possibly influence positive transformation— hearing their voices and acting accordingly to address maldistribution. That is, when actors in conservation will realise that business is not as usual, then they will recognise the need to engage pastoralists in a way that is meaningful in pastoralists’ own expectation.

In its broad sense and premised on the context of the monologue, listening to farmers or communities, according to Gariseb, implies fair compensation of damages or finding a solution to dangerous animals. To put it more generally, it would mean prioritising livestock economy that is the symbol of wealth stability in the area and a pillar for other nonmaterial values (Chapter 7). Until then, nonparticipation shall prevail as a form of sabotage or an indirect attack on, what is in their judgment, unfair condition. As mentioned above, attendance in meetings is often lower than the expected number. Whilst there can be many reasons for not attending meetings, as Gariseb puts it, being fed up with unfulfilled expectation and overwhelmed with rage over uncompensated human-wildlife conflict incidences is a primary cause. Many of those who still come to meetings, according to an elderly woman in Blauplaas village, mostly do so because they ‘appreciate the free meal that the conservancy provides’.<sup>199</sup> Withdrawal from participation in meetings, I argue, is therefore used as a way of (re)negotiating pastoralist’s positions within CBNRM. It represents a struggle against unjust practices, which in the eyes of pastoral farmers, result in maldistribution of costs and benefits of community conservation. Failure to attend meetings becomes even more vivid especially when there is no incentive such as free meals. For example, in one of the leagues in the conservancy, meetings to discuss and plan for the Damara cultural village project was significantly affected by poor attendance characterised with low and inconsistent turnout.<sup>200</sup> In two of the meetings that I attended, the turnout was less than 20 people whilst over 100 people were expected. The result was a stagnation of decision making and lack of progress in planning for the project.

People do not only withdraw from attending meetings or decision making spaces, but also from participating in various other aspects of the community-based conservation and water management. A few examples can be cited to illustrate the argument further. Community-based conservation requires that members and residents of the conservancy

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<sup>199</sup> Interview with Katrina at Blauplaas village on 04.08.2015.

<sup>200</sup> Interview with a leader of the committee that was elected to coordinate the planning of the Damara cultural village. Interview conducted on 21.06.2015 at Kleinplaas village.

participate effectively in wildlife management through close collaboration with the environmental shepherds to monitor and report incidences that undermine conservation. These usually include: poaching, illegal hunting and human-wildlife conflicts. During my stay in #Khoadi #Hôas experiencing everyday life, I learnt that the interest and participation of communities in these aspects of natural resource management was significantly low. For example, many incidences where elephants drank water at communal water points went unreported, an observation that was also made in a report for the Namibia Nature Foundation (Brown 2011). In 19 villages (almost half the number of villages in the conservancy), we recorded a total of 26 incidences of elephants coming at communal water points and causing damages between July and December 2015. Out of these incidences, only 12 were reported to the conservancy for appropriate action. The remaining 14 were not reported. The reasons for not reporting the incidences varied but were collated around farmers' lack of trust and interest in the process used by the conservancy to compensate them with diesel. A community water pumper in Kleinplaas village, put it in no uncertain terms:

'I don't report to the conservancy because they will do nothing about it. If they hear from other people and they come to take notes from me, I don't talk to anyone. If they bring diesel for their elephants, I talk to them. But if they don't bring the diesel I just greet them. Finish'.<sup>201</sup>

His response clearly illustrates that failure to sustain the expected communication between pastoralists and the conservancy is a conscious decision that is meant to send a message of dissatisfaction with the process of compensation in particular and elephant conservation in the area in general. That is, there is no business as usual if their right to fair compensation, in their eyes, remains abrogated. Failure to report incidences, in order to expresses displeasure with unfair conditions, thus sabotages participation in natural resource management, which is a critical aspect of CBNRM.

Similar findings emerge from cases of depredation. For example, one evening in the month of July 2015, as I was heading back to our village, I saw Markus, a middle-aged man, carrying a dead jackal and walking towards his house in Springbokplaas *pos*. When he noticed my car, Markus hastened his strides and hastily entered his house most likely to ensure that I did not see him. Unfortunately, he was late. I imagined that he may have hunted the animal but quickly dismissed my thoughts because I considered that Damara people could not eat jackal meat. Since I did not want to jeopardize my stay in the village, I decided not to ask Markus immediately about the incidence. After about two weeks, I went to a homestead in our village where people often gathered most afternoons to drink homemade alcohol known as *njambula*. Markus was there too, having a mug of *njambula*, which he offered me but I politely declined. He then started laughing and reaching me for a familiarity handshake. He said to me: 'The last week you catch me, man, with conservancy meat, man. You are of our people, man'

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<sup>201</sup> Interview with community pumper for Kleinplaas village on 23.09.2015.

(sic.).<sup>202</sup> What he meant was that, I had become like one of them in the village because I saw him with a dead jackal but I did not report him to the conservancy. He then whispered to my ear that he had gone to the field to look for a lost goat, then he saw the jackal that had been ‘finishing’ their goats. ‘If we tell the conservancy about our things [livestock] getting bitten [attacked by predators], we don’t get paid’, he said. ‘So I killed it, brought it home and ate the meat with my family and my neighbour’, he confirmed.

Markus’ incidence brings to the analysis a fracture in the self-policing philosophy in CBNRM –that communities become managers of the resource by policing the conservation area for illegal hunting (Fabricius 2004; Shackleton et al. 2002). In my further conversation with him, Markus mentioned to me that he agonised that I could report him to the conservancy and nature conservation officials who would then come and arrest him. In spite of his worry, he did not regret killing the jackal because of the loss that jackals inflict on their livestock economy, a feeling that resonated with a vast majority of my respondents. From my informal conversation with people who live in the conservancy, I learnt that people occasionally and secretly hunted rabbits, Damara *dikdik* (smaller antelopes), steenbok and sometimes springbok. In addition, some people agreed that hunting for them remained illegal but maintained that it was not such a bad thing for them to do, especially when people are not getting game meat as was promised to them whilst at the same time they lose their livestock to predators.

I further asked heads of households ( $n=81$ ) from 19 villages, if they would accept a portion of game meat offered by their neighbours, close friends or close relatives who may have hunted the game. Majority (81.5%) would accept the piece of meat without reporting to authorities whilst only 17.3% would decline the meat and report. The overwhelming reason for taking the meat and eating without reporting to the conservancy was again associated with people’s frustration and dissatisfaction with maldistribution of the costs and benefits of community-based conservation. Such was obviously evident in a remark by one elderly woman who said to me, ‘I don’t get meat from the conservancy as they promised. So when I get an opportunity to eat [game] meat, I will be foolish to leave it’.<sup>203</sup> The feeling and conduct expressed by the elderly woman stand in sharp contrast of what is expected of conservancy members. Members and residents of the conservancy are expected to be managers of wild animals through self-policing, not perpetrators of their degradation. They should participate in monitoring illegal hunting activities in the area and report to the conservancy through conservancy environmental shepherds. In contrast, Markus and others, in both feeling and deed, have turned to be the *illegal hunters* instead of the *police* of the conservation area or the

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<sup>202</sup> Conversation with Markus on 17.05.2015.

<sup>203</sup> Interview with an elderly lady at Sebraplaas village on 26.05.2015.

protector of wildlife, for which the justification is hope to (re)negotiate distributive justice—maldistribution of costs and benefits.

Returning to Gariseb's remark in a previous quote, a link to recognition dimension of justice is established. For Gariseb says:

Who will listen to me when I give my opinion about our problems with the elephants and lions and jackals? [.....]. We told them to give us diesel to pump the water, not for our cattle but for their elephants. They said money is not enough. [...]. Then I said that I don't have anything to do in those meetings. <sup>204</sup>

Other than unfair distribution of costs, Gariseb's reason for nonparticipation in conservancy meetings is that pastoralists' needs are not prioritised or given value equivalent to that of conservation during budgeting. As demonstrated in Chapter 10, conservancy incomes are insufficient to exhaustively cover its operating costs and at the same time deliver financial benefits to the members. To balance the distribution, conservancy operating costs take a premier value over pastoralists' perceived right to diesel compensation, an outcome that pastoralists, like Gariseb, find unfair and resort to nonparticipation to renegotiate justice in their favour. The link between wildlife management and participation is confirmed by Silva and Mosimane who found that opposition to wildlife conservation is one reason for not pursuing membership in a conservancy (Silva and Mosimane 2012). Equally, Mufune reports that participation of members is often comparably poor and that people feel that their inputs on decisions do not matter (Mufune 2015: 132). In general, reduced participation in conservancy affairs, either through absence in meetings or withdrawal from reporting incidences, communicates a widespread lack of interest amongst many pastoralists living in the conservancy. It is a tool of (re)negotiating fairness in distribution of costs and benefits, which can be interpreted with James Scott as a passive form of resistance— a weapon of the weak (Scott 1985).

### *Withdrawal from ownership*

Passive resistance to unfair distribution of costs and benefits of conservation is also expressed through denial of ownership. The implementation of CBNRM hinges on the devolution of restricted usufruct rights to communities (Fabricius 2004). This implies that communities own the process and the benefits of CBNRM. In public discourse, #Khoadi #Hôas communities are represented as the owners of the conservancy, the lodge and the tourism business. The two lodges, for example, are known to the public both within and outside Namibia as 100% owned by the communities. Locally, people often talk of the lodge to be belonging to themselves

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<sup>204</sup> See footnote 198.



especially when they want to assert a just claim to the benefits that they feel are not fairly distributed. However, in everyday talk amongst community members, especially when complaining about unfairness, for example with depredation or elephant water consumption, the local language changes in a manner that creates a dichotomy of ‘us’ and ‘them’. The following vignette shows remarks of an elderly man in Rooiplaas village that helps to illustrate the point:

The conservancy is ours and not ours at the same time. It is ours because this is our land, our traditional land for |Gaiodaman [traditional] authority. We have our chief, Max Haraseb. So it is our land. But the office in ||Kai-|uis [Grootberg] is not ours. It is for tourists and those who want elephants to be here and destroy our things. They don't listen to us however much we struggle to tell them our problems with elephants and lions that destroy and eat our things [livestock]. When you speak in meetings, they say ‘we will look into that’. But they don't do anything to help. I struggle to get little money which I add to my pension and then I use it to buy diesel. But then the elephants come to drink the water. Then the conservancy does not give diesel for that. And they know it is their elephants. Can I praise the conservancy? Let the tourists who come in cars to see the elephants praise them.<sup>205</sup>

In this vignette, the elderly man makes a distinction between the ‘conservancy’ as land or place to which people have a right of belonging and the ‘conservancy’ as a programme or policy for community conservation (CBNRM) symbolised by the conservancy office at ||Kai-|uis (Grootberg). Relating to the former, he emphasizes their relations to land through the traditional authority who is the custodian of communal land (Bollig 2016; Hinz and Gairiseb 2014). Therefore, the area declared as the conservancy is theirs because it falls within their communal land to which they have rights of belonging. During my conversation with pastoralists who are members of the conservancy, I asked them why they were members of the conservancy yet they complained about unjust distribution of costs and benefits. In their responses, they often referred to the significance of their rights to belong to their communal land rather than rights to wildlife and tourism benefits. A question like, ‘why are you a member of the conservancy?’ often generated responses such as: ‘I was born and I grew up in this area’, ‘this is our land and I belong here’, ‘I am farming in the area so I belong here’. Older people would even refer to the area belonging to them having been declared part of Damaraland by colonial administration. It is a feeling that pointed towards a sense of belonging to the land and community rather than ownership of the conservation agenda (See Silva and Mosimane (2014) for similar findings in case studies from north-western and north-eastern Namibia).

Relating to the latter– conservancy as a policy or programme for conservation– membership was often justified in the anticipation for future benefits rather than the motivation derived from current incentives or their interest in wildlife conservation. Such was more common amongst young people than their older counterparts. This can be directly

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<sup>205</sup> Interview with an elderly man in Rooiplaas village on 24.06.2015.

associated with the fact that younger people are more likely to benefit from employment and training than older members of the communities as already discussed in Chapter 10. Thus, the elderly man whose voice is quoted in the vignette above disentangles the community from the conservancy as a CBNRM programme, by othering the institution and CBNRM proponents. Withdrawal from ownership further runs through the voice of Paulus in Springbokplaas village when he says: 'They [the conservancy] just run away from taking care of their elephant water needs and leave it to us'.<sup>206</sup> More local voices point towards withdrawal from ownership as a form of resisting injustice as the following vignette illustrates:

The elephant is only useful to the white tourist and may be those who work in the lodge. May be they are happy and enjoy the benefits. For us, we suffer so that they can enjoy. We are a slave of the conservancy, our progress is held hostage in our land.<sup>207</sup>

According to the local voices I have so far quoted, conservation of wild animals that are destructive to livestock economy is not part of pastoralists' agenda and neither was it approved by them, especially when the conservancy leaves the burden of costs to the farmers. It is an agenda of and for 'others'— those who benefit from conservation. That is, players in tourism, including: conservancy office, lodge workers, conservationists, tours operators, tourists and the state. A dichotomy of 'us' and 'them'; 'ours' and 'theirs' is common in local narratives that contrasts and replaces the mantra or colloquial representation of 'our conservancy', '100% community owned lodge' and 'local ownership', which populate most reports about the state of communal conservancies in Namibia. Maldistribution of benefits and costs is the foundational factor behind this othering and withdrawal from ownership. As can be deduced from the vignettes, withdrawal from ownership is a conscious decision by individual members of the community to express their frustrations with the unfair costs they have to pay in order to live with what they refer to as 'dangerous animals'.

Hence, although restricted usufruct rights over wildlife are devolved through CBNRM to the communities (Boudreaux and Nelson 2011; Fabricius 2004), in the lifeworld of the pastoralists, the rights do not avail much if they do not recognise the priority of addressing challenges that community-based conservation pose to local livestock economy and local people. That is, they would not value the presence of dangerous game if their conservation would not prioritise pastoralists' livelihood (Rust and Marker 2013). Some members of the community even consider themselves slaves of the conservancy rather than its owners. Nevertheless, undervaluing the needs of their livestock economy, in their view, does not affect their membership in the conservancy. For their membership is largely founded on a different reason— a sense of belonging to the place or the communal land. As a tool for resistance, withdrawal from ownership affects participation in essential activities that qualifies a

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<sup>206</sup> Remarks by Paulus Springbokplaas village on 16.03.2015.

<sup>207</sup> Remarks from an elderly man in Witplaas village on 24.04.2015.

conservancy as a community driven conservation approach. That is, ‘community’ in CBNRM will only make sense if pastoralists are involved in, for example, reporting illegal hunting and incidences of human-wildlife conflicts to the conservancy. As I have shown already, disincentives in the form of unfair compensation of elephant water consumption and depredation invoke a feeling of misrecognition of priorities that eventually makes people to disentangle themselves from owning the process and programme.

### *Passive-aggressive imageries*

In April 2015, a meeting was called at the conservancy’s meeting hall by the local government office for agriculture to try to revive or discuss the future of Grootberg Farmers Integrated Livestock Improvement Scheme (GFILIS). As I showed in Chapter 9, GFILIS project began in the 1990s with funding primarily from GTZ and aimed at improving the productivity of small stock by crossbreeding local breeds with the ones of high market value. The project was located at the former Grootberg Breeding Station. After the end of donor funding, the project became financially unstable under the management of Grootberg Farmers Union. By 2015, GFILIS project was as good as dead, largely because of lack of funds for operating costs –purchasing livestock medication and paying wages for the herders. The April meeting was, therefore, called to discuss whether to officially wind up the project or find ways of financing it. In attendance was a junior conservancy staff, officials of the dormant farmers union, local agriculture extension officer, a representative of the traditional authority and a section of farmers, especially those who donated their goats to the GFILIS project. When the agenda was tabled by an agriculture extension officer, farmers levelled criticism and accusations against the conservancy for neglecting the project, even though it was the farmers union that was left by the donors to sustain the project. They criticised the conservancy for inconsistently supporting the project financially, leaving the farmers union to sell goats belonging to the project in order to raise money for operating cost. The climax of farmers’ frustration and displeasure was expressed in the remarks of one of them as illustrated in the following vignette:

I blame the conservancy for the death of a project that helps us. We all know that the farmers association is the mother of the conservancy. The conservancy is the child. When you have children and they grow and get jobs, and have money, you expect them to help you. Children must help their parents. Unless you have bad children. Now our child has grown and is rich with money, whilst the mother is old and weak. But the child cannot help. The conservancy is like a bad child. They only supported GFILIS programme in those years [past years]. Then they stopped. But it is the same animals from the conservancy, which make the conservancy rich that is finishing us. Elephants drink our water. Jackals are finishing our goats. But something that helps us they don’t want to support with money. What a bad child!<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Remarks by a male farmer participating in a meeting held at Grootberg in May, 2015.

Surprisingly, even the government officers who were present shared in the frustrations of the farmers, when they wondered why the conservancy only sent, to the meeting, a junior officer who could not make decision for the conservancy over the concerns from the farmers.

In the above vignette, the farmer expresses his frustration and dissatisfaction with maldistribution of benefits– insufficient and inconsistent financial support for the GFILIS project. It is a benefit that, in their perspective, they ought to get from the conservancy but which they don't get as expected and thus making them to feel that the conservancy does not value their welfare. He metaphorically refers to the conservancy as a child born from the farmers association. The use of this metaphor nuances on a local belief in which the efforts of bringing up a child is expected to eventually pay off when the child is grown up and has access to their own financial resources. Indeed, the historical development of the conservancy would fit this metaphor since the foundation of the conservancy depended significantly on the strength of the farmers union. As was mentioned earlier in Chapter 9, the founding committee of the conservancy largely drew its membership from the committee of the farmers union. Yet at the same time, the formation of the conservancy was imbued with expectation for benefits to the local communities. The personification of the conservancy as a 'bad child' not only conveys a rightful claim for financial assistance withheld by the conservancy, but is also meant to elicit guilt of irresponsibility from the officials, which is a constant struggle for influencing just distribution.

The use of such aggressive imageries as a passive way of arm-twisting the conservancy into just distribution occurred severally in my discussions with pastoralists. It was common to hear phrases describing the conservancy and the elephant in a negative way such as: 'We are a slave of the conservancy, our progress is held hostage in our land'. Other metaphors were used to describe the elephant and their conservation in the area. For example, as we drew to the close of our conversation with Apollo, a farmer in Blauplaas village, he described the elephant in the following manner:

He [the elephant] is a destroyer. He is death. He is bad luck for us and good luck for the conservancy. [...]. Will you like to live with a *//khaunab* [demon]? We told them that we can stay with other animals but not this enemy of progress.<sup>209</sup>

Again, another respondent in Kleinplaas said: 'The elephant is a devil and enemy of progress. He is a parasite who sucks our sweat. I pray to God to save us from elephants'. In these examples, pastoralists' displeasure and dissatisfaction with elephant conservation in the area is veiled yet at the same time amplified in imageries. These local narratives contrast initial studies that reported that conservancies contributed to a feeling of pride and ownership alongside a desire to enable one's children to see wild animals alive in the future (Jones 1999, 2001). If the initial studies correctly represented communities' feelings, then the narratives

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<sup>209</sup> Interview with Apollo in Blauplaas village on 26.02.2015.

here show that the situation in #Khoadi ||Hôas has drastically changed, leaving the reports to read like wishful and nostalgic thinking of the past. This is evidently so in the comment of the farmer at GFILIS meeting when he juxtaposes the claim to benefit against the cost they have to pay. A clear message is sent as would be resonated in a comment by one farmer in Rooiplaas village, 'we [pastoral farmers] are losing more than we are gaining from the conservancy and that is not fair'.<sup>210</sup> The voices quoted, on the one hand, communicate despair though in a less conflictive manner, but on the other hand, they contain imageries that should worry those who support community conservation to renegotiate an institutional outcome characterised with a just compensation to farmers.

### *Verbal conflicts*

At the annual general meeting in 2015, a sharp verbal conflict emerged between the chairman of the conservancy and a section of the farmers over budgetary allocation for diesel to compensate for elephant water consumption. One farmer, sitting at the back of the hall said, 'We will no longer accept to pump water for your elephants'. Another followed immediately shouting from a corner, 'Yes! It is true. Increase the money for diesel for your elephants. Or else don't call us here again for your meetings. Even if you will call us, I promise never to attend until you will stop your elephants from coming to drink water meant for our livestock'. A verbal exchange erupted between farmers and the chairperson, which almost brought the meeting to a halt, prompting an intervention from a senior councillor of the traditional authority who was also present.

The verbal attacks on the chairman of the conservancy are made to express claims for fair share of costs of elephant damages. The emphasis here again echoes the grievance that runs through voices quoted in this chapter. That is, conservation pays less than the cost it inflicts on the farmers. The outcome, in their perspective, is that farmers unfairly bear the burden that the conservation is responsible for. However, in such occasions, their frustrations are no more veiled in nonparticipation and illustrated only in imageries, they are well expressed through direct verbal conflicts and nonverbal gestures in relevant encounters with those involved in community conservation. The 'us' versus 'them' and 'ours' against 'theirs' is revealed through verbal agitation that are meant to elicit a sense of concern from conservancy officials and make them feel intimidated. The verbal conflict however, does not escalate to violence as the farmers retreat to rather passive resistance by promising non-cooperation and nonparticipation. In sum, criticism and negative feeling about the way in which costs and benefits emerging from community-based conservation in the area is widespread, though

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<sup>210</sup> Interview with a farmer in Rooiplaas village on 15.08 2015.

direct confrontation with conservancy staff or officials is rare. A few cases have been reported elsewhere in Namibia, for example by Pellis et al. (2011) and Sullivan (2002, 2003).

## Chapter 13

### Discussion – CBNRM and environmental injustice

#### *Benefits and costs of CBNRM to pastoral livelihoods*

CBNRM aims to link conservation and rural development by giving local communities restricted usufruct rights over wildlife and tourism. It is sustained by the philosophy that the sustainable use of natural resources can both enhance conservation efforts and provide economic benefits for local communities. In which case, tourism becomes a new land use in communal areas, providing alternative livelihood opportunities in rural areas and contributing to poverty reduction (Roe et al. 2001). Hence, the hypothesis that, for a community to manage its resource base sustainably, it must receive direct benefits arising from the use of the resources. The benefits must outweigh the costs and be secured over time (Novelli and Gebhardt 2007:452). Consequently, CBNRM in Namibia has two main objectives: (i). To foster ecological sustainability and (ii). To promote socioeconomic development of communities usually laced with the notion of poverty alleviation (Jones et al. 2012). The former is achieved when CBNRM offers incentives to communities to conserve and protect natural resources. For wildlife management, this can be assessed through observing increase in the population and diversity of wild animals.

Although data collection on the link between CBNRM and ecological sustainability was not the primary focus of this study, available literature on Namibia's CBNRM provide good background information to argue a case here. In Namibia, biodiversity conservation, especially on game, has generally improved, partly thanks to CBNRM, through the conservancy programme (Mufune 2015; Naidoo et al. 2016a; Nuulimba and Taylor 2015). For example, elephant population in Namibia is reported to have more than doubled within the first decade of the implementation of the programme. Although this number is largely composed of the elephant population in the north-eastern parts of the country (Nuulimba and Taylor 2015), local narratives in Kunene and especially #Khoadi #Hôas, indicate that the number and diversity of game has risen in communal areas in the northwest as well. This way, the conservancy programme is an ecological success, an observation that is also emphasised in scholarship on Namibia's CBNRM (Jones and Weaver 2009; Naidoo et al. 2011; Naidoo et al. 2016a, 2016b). However, whether or not this ecological success is driven by incentives derived by communities from conservation and tourism yields mixed analysis and conclusions.

Through the conservancy programme, restricted usufruct rights are legally devolved to the communities (Bollig 2016; Child 2003, 2009). What this means is that communities living

with wildlife in the communal conservancies obtain a right to benefit from both consumptive and non-consumptive use of those wildlife resources (Novelli and Gebhardt 2007). The intention is to promote natural resource- related development in rural areas by diversifying the economy to include tourism and commercial use of biodiversity (Ashley and Barnes 1996; Fabricius 2004). The implication here is that, wildlife will generate benefits for local people that will in turn provide incentives to them to participate in conserving wildlife. At the same time, actual and perceived costs of living with the wildlife are also expected to occur, which the benefits must outweigh (Fabricius 2004:19).

My findings paint a more heterogeneous picture of CBNRM characterised with both supportive and critical conclusions. On the supportive side, #Khoadi ǀHôas conservancy has developed a trophy and safari/accommodation tourism that generates income with varied benefits. Some local people benefit from these enterprises when they are employed and trained to acquire and improve various skills that improve their human resource capacity. The findings show that the financial incomes that they get from wages and salaries, albeit little, are important in meeting some essential needs of the households that they belong to. Indeed, narratives from those who had been employed by the conservancy and Grootberg Lodge as well as Hobatere Lodge indicate that they provide financial support for their families. Other studies on Namibia's conservancy programme have pointed to similar findings. For example, as early as 2007, Novelli and Gebhardt reported that communities within some conservancies in Kunene region indicated that their living standards had improved as a result of direct cash payments to households (Novelli and Gebhardt 2007). They further note that employment and training was singled out as a major contribution to people's household incomes. In their retrospective study of communal conservancies in the last 25 years, Nuulimba and Taylor elucidate that communal conservancies have made an economic contribution to the rural households including through cash earned from salaries and wages (Nuulimba and Taylor 2015). In a similar vein, Silva and Mosimane (2012) and Mufune (2015) suggest that conservancy membership brings some economic benefits to households, whilst Bandyopadhyay and colleagues have found that conservancies can have a lasting impact on household welfare (Bandyopadhyay et al. 2009). Equally, Naidoo and colleagues have demonstrated that tourism and hunting are the major income earners for conservancies' operating costs of which a greater chunk goes to paying wages and salaries of staff. This way, community-based conservation has a significant contribution to the economic welfare of local people (Naidoo et al. 2011; Naidoo et al. 2016a).

In #Khoadi ǀHôas, just like in other areas of southern Kunene, household wealth is stored in livestock. Livestock holding is a key factor that distinguishes the different socioeconomic categories within communities. Thus, upward mobility is largely determined by the ability of a household to deploy financial resources into the livestock economy. The same



is present in people's daily aspiration for larger herd size and more productive breeds as a sign of wealth and symbol of prosperity. Jones and Weaver (2009) and Nuulimba and Taylor (2015) have reported that with the conservancy programme, livestock numbers and economic prosperity increase. More specific to †Khoadi †Hôas, Lapeyre (2011) has reported that some employees of Grootberg Lodge invested their wages into buying livestock. My findings, however, point to the contrary, as the deployment of financial resources from wages and salaries from conservancy and lodge jobs to purchase livestock was hardly reported amongst employees with low wages, who were the majority. This implies that, in general, revenues from community conservation hardly propel people or households to higher wealth categories as this was largely determined by the amount of wealth one has in reserve— that is, in livestock. Nevertheless, this does not negate the contribution of these incomes to meeting essential daily household needs. Cash incomes from conservation also support, albeit intermittently and in low amounts, a few community welfare activities. All these indicate that CBNRM contribute to transfer of financial resources to marginalised communal areas of Namibia. Furthermore, the knowledge and skills that the employed members of the community acquire during on-the-job training lead to improved local capacity and human resource.

On the other hand, my findings provide a critical reflection about the contribution of CBNRM to local socioeconomic development in two instances. First, I find that local perception of actual benefits to the communities is that of unfulfilled promises or failed expectation and general lack of interest. That is, although nobody denies the appropriateness of the benefits to community needs, a vast majority considers the benefits insufficient to motivate even a simple majority to participate in conservation. Hellen Suich reports similar findings from her comparative study in north-eastern Namibia and Mozambique and concludes that economic benefits of CBNRM to households are appropriate but insufficient to be appreciated by many (Suich 2013a, 2013b). Subsequently, a section of the community would gain the benefits whilst the other section would not. In the case of †Khoadi †Hôas, where employment and training are the main benefits reported, younger and educated people have more opportunities to be employed and hence to directly benefit from conservation compared to other members of the communities. In addition, the analysis has shown that the benefits do not spread widely beyond the immediate households or families of those employed. The findings show that the ensuing distribution of these benefits is thus perceived to be unfair as a wider majority largely remains with no tangible economic benefits. At a global level, Calfucura (2018) has argued that equity in the distribution of costs and benefits is a significant challenge that erodes the gains in community-based conservation. More locally, Mosimane and Silva have shown, that many conservancies do not develop adequate benefit sharing mechanisms, which hinders their success (Mosimane and Silva 2015). In the case of †Khoadi †Hôas, the benefits sharing plan

exists, but the benefits are insufficient to meet the expectations of members and residents of the conservancy.

The second instance from where a critical analysis emerges concerns the costs associated with human-wildlife conflicts that accompany ecological success. By 2007, Novelli and Gebhardt cautioned that increased game population, especially the predators, would coincide with increase in livestock herds that would lead to human-wildlife conflicts with significant loss to the communities (Novelli and Gebhardt 2007). They emphasised that, if communities would perceive that the cost arising from loss as a result of human-wildlife conflicts are higher than the benefits they receive from conservation, then sustainable implementation of CBNRM would be put into disarray (*Ibid.*:475). More recently, some studies have reported increasing number of human-wildlife conflicts incidences within communal conservancies (Rust 2017; Rust and Marker 2013; Silva and Mosimane 2012). Where human-wildlife conflicts increased, the distributional effects are often perceived to be unfair (Silva and Mosimane 2012). Furthermore, where attempts are made to compensate for the loss, such as diesel for pumping water for elephants, it is usually captured as a benefit in conservancy reports (Naidoo et al. 2016a). On the contrary, locals do not perceive the compensation as a benefit, but a restoration of loss inflicted upon them by conservation and tourism. Moreover, the compensation is usually not enough in the first place. My findings echo the conclusion of Rust and Marker that as long as the people will continue to incur costs arising from human-wildlife conflict, they will not value the wildlife and conservancy programme in general (Rust and Marker 2013).

A major contribution of this thesis to CBNRM literature is its attention to the intersection between wildlife conservation and water management. The policies governing these resources are sectoral and isolated, whilst rural communities, especially pastoralists, relate to the resources, especially elephant conservation and water management, in a manner that intertwines, resulting into significant substantive implications. An exhaustive and true picture of the consequences of these policies on communities may therefore be missed if their analysis is isolated as is commonly so in the literature on Namibia's CBNRM. By looking at how elephants conservation intertwines with rural water management, the analyses reveal the net cost of water on communities that in turn helps in arriving at a critical evaluation of the success of the community-based wildlife management. Since the state and NGOs have pulled out of their active role of enforcing community-based water management (CBWM), flat rate institutional regime for managing water points that prevails in #Khoadi #Hôas, produces, in relative terms, a higher economic burden for the poor. Schnegg has recently made similar observation and conclusion in research done in similar ethnographic setting (Schnegg 2016b). Therefore, when elephants drink the water whose costs are paid for by pastoral farmers without fair compensation, the poor do not only subsidise water consumption of the better off farmers,

but also pay for water consumed by elephants and eventually tourism. At the same time, those pastoralists rarely profit from employment and direct financial transfers from tourism. Hence, if the prevailing conditions persist, the poor will remain poor to the advantage of the wealthier farmers as well as actors in conservation and tourism industry, a scenario in which CBNRM, at least partly leads to distributive injustice and contradicts its very vision.

### *CBNRM practices lead to distributive injustice*

Like Naidoo and colleagues have recommended (Naidoo et al. 2016a), this study makes a sufficient analysis of the net contribution of CBNRM to poverty eradication by bringing into the analysis the costs that communities have to pay by living with wild animals. As the analyses show, the water consumed by elephants constitutes the net cost of water for communities. Similarly, loss of livestock due to depredation constitutes a direct cost that communities bear as a result of conservation in the area. Thus, I would argue, a conclusion on the contribution of CBNRM to community welfare should be a comparison of the net benefits they receive to costs they pay. However, analysis should not concern itself only with the value of costs and benefits, but also delve into who bears them and why— that is, the pattern of and the reasons behind the distribution. By considering the distribution of benefits and costs and how it is shaped, the nexus between CBNRM and environmental justice is established (Schlosberg 2003, 2007; Walker 2012). In Rawlsian concept of justice, the loss of freedom for some is not made right by a greater good shared by others (Rawls 1971). Accordingly, my analyses show that although people living in #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy do agree that community-based conservation offers appropriate benefits to some people through, for example, cash incomes from employment and skill building through training, this does not justify the cost shouldered by pastoralists. As the analyses show, there is a disproportionate distribution of both the benefits and costs of conservation amongst the different actors. For the benefits, young and semi-educated members of the communities have more access to employment and subsequent training than other members of the communities.

Although tourism and trophy hunting bring financial resources to #Khoadi #Hôas, the portion of this resource that remains locally is primarily through wages and salaries from employment and community welfare programmes. The latter accounts for only less than 8% of the conservancy income. The rest of the financial resources leave the area to nonlocal actors through purchases of supplies to the lodges and conservancy, profits to tour operators and government taxes and levies. The data show that only about 20% of the overall financial resources gained through community conservation remain locally, and about 80% leave the area. This finding is closer to the national figure reported by NACSO, where only 16% of the total turnover from CBNRM remains within communities (Own calculation from NACSO

2015). It furthermore shows a skewed distribution of the benefits of community-based conservation that exist between local communities and external actors (service providers, tour operators and the government).

For costs, all members of the communities bear the burden, but the degree of exposure to the risks differ across socioeconomic categories. That is, wealthier households have more access to resources that they invest to reduce exposure of their livestock economy to damages from conservation. Struggle over costs is often between pastoralists on one side and proponents of conservation on the other. Claim making is done by the pastoralists who require the conservancy to take up their responsibility. It simulates the causal responsibility principle of claim-making, which simulates polluter pays principle (Walker 2012:47-8). Thus, whilst community-based conservation contributes to increased wildlife population and diversity and hence ecological sustainability, for the pastoralists, it brings a major loss to their livestock economy. Moreover, because the poor are more exposed to the risks, they bear more burden in relative terms. To this end, the findings here are in line with the literature that suggests that CBNRM has largely failed to meet its equity expectation and puts to doubt the contribution of community conservation to poverty alleviation (Mahanty et al. 2006). For example, Tan Nguyen found that community Forestry in Vietnam led to better reforest management, at the cost of sacrificing improvements to the livelihoods of the poorest (Nguyen 2006).

Local contestation about community-based conservation in #Khoadi #Hôas is largely shaped by people's quest for fairness in relation to distribution of costs and benefits of CBNRM. In terms of claim-making for benefits, the struggle is between those who benefit and those who do not benefit. The principle of all subjected (Fraser 2007a) emerges in claim making here. Local perception abounds that all those who are subjected to living with wild animals should benefit. It is, nevertheless, not on absolute equality, but rather that the benefits must be spread widely across the entire community (Walker 2012), and that those responsible for the cost must pay their fair share. How this is done is determined by the conditions that underlie decision making, which has to do with recognition of priorities whose aim is to achieve a trade-off between equitable distribution of benefits and costs, as I discuss in the following section.

### *Distributive injustice causes recognition injustice and vice versa*

The case of †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy demonstrates the mutual link between distribution and recognition dimensions of justice (Fraser 2007a; Schlosberg 2007; Walker 2012). That is, it shows how socioeconomic conditions that shape recognition affects the distribution of environmental benefits and costs (Schlosberg 2003, 2007). A decision has to be made in order to allocate the scarce financial incomes of the conservancy to various portfolios– operating costs, community benefits and compensation of costs of water consumed by elephants and livestock loss due to depredation. Hence, a trade-off must be achieved between more equitable distribution of the benefits as well as costs and better resource management. If the conservancy sufficiently distributes the financial benefits to a larger population; pays its fair share of the elephants' water consumption; and fully compensates pastoralists for their loss of livestock to predators, then essential operating costs of the conservancy may not be covered and its self-sufficiency will be compromised. This will further jeopardise the ecological sustainability and tourism development which is a primary policy objective of CBNRM.

Therefore, a constant struggle emerges between pastoral communities and resource managers (the conservancy office, conservation community and the state) to find appropriate balance between greater livelihood outcomes and improved resource management. Like Nguyen (2006) observed in his case of forest management in Vietnam, I find that in †Khoadi †Hôas, allocation of financial resources leans towards maximising ecological outcomes and the development of tourism industry. That is, wildlife management gains priority over greater livelihood outcomes for local communities. This is evident in the conservancy budgets and insufficient allocation from government's Predator Fund. Therefore, recognition of needs that leads to their prioritisation or value ranking shapes the resource allocation. Accordingly, Schlosberg (2007) and Walker (2012) argue that recognition helps in understanding the social context in which distribution takes place. Recognising the need to meet operating cost of the conservancy takes premier position over benefit allocation to communities and fair responsibility of costs emanating from conservation.

Following Schlosberg (2013), Sikor et al. (2014) and Martin et al. (2015), I argue that recognition of needs through prioritisation explains why more pastoralists in †Khoadi †Hôas are left out of benefit sharing and live with costs of conservation– elephants water consumption and depredation. Consequently, budget allocation to compensate elephant water consumption, for example, is hardly 25% of the actual cost. Similarly, the cost of depredation is unfairly compensated for by the conservancy or the state. The justification for this maldistribution lies in the scarcity of resources and the utility concerns that dominate conservation and tourism industry. That is, if the operating costs are not covered, then the conservancy will be as good as dead and the ecological success and growth of tourism will be

curtailed. For global conservation and tourism industry, wildlife conservation has a utility value. Nevertheless, pastoralists perceive this outcome to be unjust and unfair, hence echoing the argument opined by Rawls that ‘justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater good shared by others’ (Rawls 1971:3). The case of #Khoadi ||Hôas provides evidence that in CBNRM, conservation is an inevitable indicator of success whilst improved livelihood outcomes is a positive externality, although the two are conceptualised to be integrated. In practice, conservation is more valued than livelihoods outcomes. Yet for pastoralists, livestock economy is fundamental for their survival. Therefore, the manner in which needs are recognised and prioritised in the conservancy’s budget hinges on hierarchies of needs that are embedded in the structure of CBNRM. Conservation must be achieved as a first priority, then a positive externality that occurs in the name of employment, which is evidently insufficient in my case, is defined and distributed as benefit to the communities. This prioritisation is largely influenced by policy agenda of local and global conservation community (the Namibian state, conservation NGOs, multilateral conservation agencies and donors).

Following Young (1990, 1992), I argue that recognition of priorities of needs is thus the foundation of distribution or maldistribution of costs and benefits in #Khoadi ||Hôas. That is, as Fraser, Schlosberg and Walker would argue, when other people’s ways of life or of seeing the world is devalued, they most likely live with less social benefits but more costs (Fraser 2007b, 2007a; Schlosberg 2007, 2013; Walker 2012). In the case of #Khoadi ||Hôas, conservation and tourism evidently takes an advantageous position over pastoralism within the context of scarce financial resources. The latter is sometimes misunderstood as a livelihood strategy that wastes much land that could alternatively be put to viable economic use as was asserted by Nuding (2002). Such economic analyses only prioritise livestock keeping within the realm of economic rationality. Yet as my analysis shows, the keeping of livestock as a strategy, in #Khoadi ||Hôas, transcends material gain shaped by utility principles. The people of #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy rarely sell their livestock or slaughter them except when required to meet very pressing household needs or circumstances. Livestock keeping as a livelihood strategy gives wider meanings to the lifeworld of communities in #Khoadi ||Hôas including meeting non-material ends or aspects of wellbeing (Bebbington 1999). For example, livestock economy embodies non-material values which have been elaborately argued in literature including: affirming the significance of a person or household through status (De Haan and Zoomers 2005); ascribing belonging to a place, kin or group of people with a shared identity (Schnegg et al. 2013); claiming access to customary land (Greiner 2013; McCabe 2004); providing a medium through which social networks are enhanced in sharing of labour, milk, meat and water in order to reduce vulnerability (Schnegg 2016a, 2016b; Schnegg and Bollig 2016); distributing claims to resources (Ferguson 2013); and creating a sense of

connectivity to the past and influencing the future when livestock is bequeathed or inherited (Sullivan 2002). Although the rights of the communities to benefit from tourism and conservation is recognised in law, ongoing decision making that seeks to create a balance between improved ecological sustainability and greater livelihood outcomes is shaped by the recognition of those whose needs are graduated higher, and hence the maldistribution. This may partly be influenced by power relations that configure knowledge production and prioritisation, as Büscher has concluded that key players in conservation, notably NGOs, donors and multilateral conservation agencies or what he calls the 'epistemic community', produce knowledge that determines the value, objectives and flow of conservation projects (Büscher 2014).

*Distributive and recognition injustices cause procedural injustice and vice versa*

The link between distributive and procedural justice is evident in my case in the manner in which the distribution of costs and benefits affects and is affected by community participation. Participation is a key component of CBNRM that is emphasised in policy. It is seen as an important element of inclusive and democratic decision making (Fabricius 2004). Yet at the same time, inclusive and democratic decision making procedures are important tools and preconditions for achieving equitable distribution of environmental costs and benefits (Schlosberg 2007, 2013).

Participation is institutionalised in water point associations and the conservancy. For the water point associations, participation is realised through cost sharing rules and decision making procedures in meetings. For wildlife conservation, the conservancy offers the space for participation through conservancy meetings, monitoring and reporting of illegal hunting incidences and cases of human-wildlife conflicts. In both cases, participation has been compromised as a result of people's quest for distributive justice. That is, maldistribution of benefits and costs resulting from community water and wildlife management has led to disinterestedness of a significant number of people to participate in the respective institutional framework. For example, micro politics of water management led to the collapse of the proportionate rule for cost sharing leading to unfair flat rate rule (Schnegg 2016b). The consequence is an increasing trend of wealthier farmers buying their private water tanks where they store water that shields them from participating in collective action during water shortages in the communal water reservoir. For wildlife conservation, a number of people are withdrawing from participating in conservancy affairs because their expectations have been frustrated by the protracted maldistribution of cost and benefits of community conservation.

A recent study by Rust and Marker has also shown that the cost left on pastoralists by human-carnivore conflict significantly reduces their interest on conservation and leads to a

negative perception about predators (Rust and Marker 2013). Thus maldistribution of benefits and costs emanating from conservation negatively affect people's participation in CBNRM in #Khoadi #Hôas conservancy. At the same time, when pastoralists withdraw from conservancy affairs, for example by not reporting incidences of human-wildlife conflict, they almost have no chance of sharing from the conservancy's self-reliance scheme and government's Predator Fund. Only when farmers report the incidence, for example, can there be a chance for them to be compensated. Thus, following Walker (2012), I argue that if pastoralists withdraw from participating in conservancy processes, their chance of influencing distribution of conservancy resources further diminishes resulting into more maldistribution, furtherance making some members of the community to think that they are 'slaves of the conservancy'.

Furthermore, the analyses show that when people's concern about the need to compensate their loss to elephants' damages and depredation are not recognised as a priority need, then they also lose the interest to participate in meetings and enforcing self-policing. Since their concerns, for example compensating elephant water costs and loss to depredation, are never prioritised and exhaustively or satisfactorily addressed, increasing number of pastoralists sees no need to attend meetings and contribute to decision making. Schlosberg argues that conflicts over management of environmental resources emerge over perceived injustices characterised with lack of opportunities to be heard (Schlosberg 2007). As the case of #Khoadi #Hôas shows, pastoralists struggle in vain through meetings to influence the conservancy, conservation community and the state to prioritise their need for a just compensation for the costs of water consumed by elephants and livestock killed or eaten by predators. In terms of benefits, the power with which the employment of 3% of the adult population is considered and reported as a success by the state, tourism industry and conservation community, downplays local perceptions that these gains are insufficient and unfairly distributed.

In addition, as the analysis shows in Chapter 9, local elites who live in populous urban settlements of Erwee and Anker have higher chances of being elected as conservancy leaders than pastoralists from rural areas or farms. Consequently, the pastoralists hardly have a chance to be elected into influential conservancy positions, further constraining their power to shape decisions that could recognise their priority needs and renegotiate a just distribution of costs and benefits. With these avenues to renegotiate justice seemingly blocked, pastoralists resolve to withdraw from participating in essential conservancy activities and meetings. Therefore, misrecognition of pastoralists' needs influences their nonparticipation in conservancy affairs, which in turn leads to maldistribution of benefits and costs to their disadvantage. An integral part of the analysis and a significant contribution of this thesis is the place of human agency in theorising justice. That is, pastoralists do not lie low like envelopes for the hegemony of conservation and tourism industry to have its way. Instead, they deploy their agency in order



to (re)negotiate a fair share of benefits and costs, a discussion that I turn to in the following section.

*Passive resistance is an outcome of environmental injustice*

As already alluded to in the foregoing section, pastoralists do not just conform to the unjust distribution of conservation costs and benefits. They deploy their agency to contest or resist the maldistribution (Giddens 1979, 1984). Their aim is to transform constraints deriving from conservation and tourism. As the analyses show, pastoralists use passive forms of resistance that can be interpreted with James Scott's 'weapons of the weak' (Scott 1985). Majority of the residents and members of the conservancy are Damara people, who were traditionally an egalitarian society (Barnard 1992). Although violence within groups and families in Damara communities is a common way of solving conflicts, intergroup conflicts are commonly addressed in nonviolent manner. This was evident through passive resistance with which they related to the colonial administrations compared to other Namibian communities (Barnard 1992; Henrichsen 2008; Rohde et al. 1999). My analyses show that the perception that the conservancy programme is a separate outsider entity is significant amongst many local people. They distinguish conservancy as a place where they belong to and the conservancy as a conservation policy from where comes their misery with the wild animals they consider dangerous. People associate the latter with the operations of government's nature conservation officials, tourists and tourism industry of which they are not wholly part and which have the control over the incomes from conservation (trophy hunting and tourism).

To express their dissatisfaction with what they consider to be unfair practices of community conservation, pastoralists deploy their agency by withdrawing from participation, withdrawing from ownership attachment, use of aggressive imagery and direct verbal conflicts. Whereas the first two forms of resistance are meant to sabotage the programme, the last two ridicule and intimidate community conservation and its proponents, demonstrating typical characteristics of weapons of the weak (Scott 1985). Unlike the collective action social revolt that dominates much of environmental justice literature (Higgins 1993; Novotny 2000; Pellow 2007; Pettit 2004; Schlosberg 2004), in #Khoadi ǀHôas the defiance is largely at an individual level. Even verbal conflicts that emerge during meetings are as a result of individual response to an agenda of discussion. Failing to attend meetings, report cases of human-wildlife conflict and illegal hunting are unorganised individual decisions. For this reason, pastoralists' resistance to community conservation in #Khoadi ǀHôas largely goes unnoticed by CBNRM proponents, neither is their threat to the implementation of the programme seen to be serious. It is only when one engages closely with the everyday life of pastoralists, in which these forms of resistance are embedded, can one discern them as acts of defiance and reflect on how

potentially detrimental their objective is to CBNRM, hence depicting a scenario that occurs in *outcome 2* in Figure 2 on page 31.

Currently, the success of the resistance is marginal. For example, though their withdrawal from participation is compromising the accurate recording of human-wildlife conflict incidences in the conservancy's Event Book, the claims to justice with regards to fair compensation of damages by elephants and predators have not been successfully addressed. In addition, pastoralists face another blow because withdrawal from participation reproduces the same injustices that they contest. For example, failure to report human-wildlife incidence removes the possibility of ever being compensated for the loss. Likewise, absence from meetings minimises the opportunity to be recognised and to influence any decision to change the status quo. To this end, the deployment of agency through passive resistance stabilises injustice rather than transforming them, hence depicting a scenario that occurs in *outcome 1* in Figure 2. That is, I would argue, passive resistance, in #Khoadi #Hôas, currently is a stabilising capacity (Loyal 2003) instead of a transformative capacity (Giddens 1979). Notwithstanding, I can hypothesise that if the situation remains the same, then in the long run CBNRM in the conservancy will lose community support and face an eventual collapse or transform the way in which benefits and costs are shared to reflect fairness, a scenario that will confirm *outcome 2* in Figure 2.

## Chapter 14

### Conclusion

#### *Recap of research objective and questions*

Namibia's CBNRM was framed in policy partly to respond to the need to address socioeconomic inequalities, in rural areas, that were largely rooted in a dualistic land tenure and separate development policies of the colonial administration. Devolution of rights to resource users were therefore seen as a way of empowering the communities to make use of the resources and benefit from their sound management whilst at the same time improving ecological benefits for the environment (Jones 2010; Jones and Weaver 2009). For community-based water management (CBWM), it is about sharing the costs whilst for the communal conservancy, the emphasis is on sharing the benefits mostly from tourism and trophy hunting. Communal conservancy on the one hand has been successfully implemented through well-established regulatory framework and NGO as well as donor support (Stamm 2017). CBWM on the other hand, has faced tremendous capacity challenges, characterised with significant withdrawal of government and NGO support that has constrained its successful implementation (Schneegg 2016b).

The objective of this thesis was to understand the socioeconomic consequences of CBNRM on pastoral communities in northwest Namibia. The research setting was †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy, which was gazetted in 1998 and thus present a good case study for an evaluation of socioeconomic transformation parallel to the development of CBNRM. The study, focused on the two forms of CBNRM – CBWM and communal conservancy programmes. This is because they concern the management of resources (water and wildlife) that are salient to the livelihoods of pastoral communities in †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy. In addition, the management of the two resources intersect resulting into various implications on both theory and policy. I applied environmental justice concept as an analytical framework in this thesis, with an emphasis on the interweaving of the three dimensions of justice – distribution, recognition and procedure (Martin et al. 2016; Schlosberg 2007). However, the entry point has largely been distributive justice that has focused on the distribution of benefits and costs of CBNRM. A general question that guided the research was: 'Who gets what benefits and who has to live with what costs?' To analyse the consequences, the thesis in particular sought to answer three specific questions namely: (i). What economic benefits emerge from community-

based water and wildlife management and how are they distributed? (ii). What economic costs emerge from community based water and wildlife management and how are they distributed? (iii). How do pastoral communities perceive, contest and negotiate the distribution in terms of fairness or justice?

This concluding chapter provides a synthesis of the findings, theoretical reflections as well as some recommendations. First, I provide a summary of the findings to show how the research questions were systematically addressed and how they relate to the underlying bigger picture of environmental justice. Thereafter, I offer some recommendations for policy considerations.

### *Summary of findings*

i. Unequal vulnerabilities emerge due to socioeconomic stratification in #Khoadi ||Hôas

Livestock keeping is the main livelihood strategy in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy. Livestock is primarily a wealth reserve for households, but also provides milk that is needed for household consumption. This partly explains why pastoralists in #Khoadi ||Hôas rarely sell their livestock unless under urgent need for money or pressure to incur large household expenses. In addition, livestock keeping serves other symbolic functions such as a sign of belonging to the community and customary land as well as a social investment when bequeathed to family members to grow their wealth. Livestock holding, especially cattle, is therefore a key factor that determines the socioeconomic categorisation of households. Households with larger livestock holding are considered to be wealthier and of higher socioeconomic category than those with smaller livestock holding. Locally, people categorise households into three main socioeconomic groups namely: poor (owning < 10 heads of cattle), middle category (owning between 10-50 heads of cattle) and wealthy households (owning >40 heads of cattle). Thus, 41%, 44% and 15% of the households in the area were considered to belong to poor, middle and wealthy categories respectively.

Here, the thesis emphasises that wealth stability in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy is a result of: (i). The ability of households to expand their livestock asset over time. The point here is that the stable ownership of livelihood assets leads to a successful accumulation path or upward mobility, which sometimes results from substituting some livelihood assets (especially financial resources) to increase livestock holding. Such opportunity for substituting assets in order to widen the scope of livelihoods development is limited amongst poorer households. (ii). Diversification of incomes increases the viability of livelihoods of poor households,

including dependence on social networks. The poorer the household, the more diversified its livelihoods strategies are. Nevertheless, the various options pursued by the households require little capital investment but also yield little incomes.

In addition, since households' resources are also deployed in order to curtail vulnerability to livelihood risks, the poor are invariably characterised with insufficient ability to sustain vulnerabilities such as drought, depredation and breakdown of water supply. In particular, expenditures on water remain almost the same across the socioeconomic strata, but are generally higher compared to some domains, for example, education. The relative distribution of water costs across the socioeconomic strata and its socioeconomic consequences becomes clearer when understood within the existing institutional solution for managing costs of water and its intersection with elephant conservation. Vulnerability disparities across socioeconomic strata is also evident in relation to depredation, a consequence of conservation. A significant observation is that, although the contribution of community conservation to the reduction of economic poverty was highly promised, expected and reported, the outcome is perceived by communities to be barely achieved. On the contrary, communities in #Khoadi ||Hôas consider conservation in the area to have immensely increased the vulnerability of their livestock economy to the dangers of elephants and predator wild animals.

ii. Flexible, *ad hoc* and disproportional cost sharing rule emerges in water management

In the colonial times, like in other parts of Damaraland, provision of water for the residents of the area known today as #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy was the responsibility of the government through the second-tier administration. CBWM was introduced in the area in 1990s. Since then, the government withdrew from providing diesel for pumping water but remained with the responsibility of rehabilitating the infrastructure. Water Point Associations (WPAs) were set up together with their corresponding water point committees (WPCs). To ensure equitable cost sharing, the government proposed proportional rule, where water users pay for their own private costs. Costs of accessing and using communal water were thus made private with an economic value. After a short while, usually in less than one year after establishment, the propositional rule became impossible to implement and people began to change them. In Chapter 7, two case studies were analysed in order to understand the institutional transformation that occurred in water management since the introduction of CBWM in #Khoadi ||Hôas. Generally, the implementation of CBWM became unstable both

organisationally and institutionally. That is: dysfunctional water point committees; and changes in the nature or rules of sharing the cost of water.

Organisationally, the study finds that throughout #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy, it is hard to find a functional water point committee which can enforce the rules and decision making procedures constituting CBWM programme. Most, if not all, of the WPCs have collapsed. Four reasons led to this outcome: (i). Migration of people that affects the functionality of the committee. In an area characterised with a convergence of pastoralism, migration and waged employment (Schnegg et al. 2013), the stability of the committees is highly unlikely because some members migrate from the villages usually to seek waged employment or stay in urban settlements to take care of their school-going children (Greiner 2011, 2012). Especially when the essential committee members such as the chairperson, treasurer and water pumper move, there remains no committed official to enforce the rules or decision making procedures. (ii). Another factor that leads to dysfunctional committees is the problem of part-time farmers, who mostly work and live in towns but keep livestock in the villages. Part-time farming is a 'central means of maintaining belonging' to the community (Schnegg et al. 2013: 352). The part-time farmers usually have large livestock holding and thus considered to be amongst the wealthy people in the area. Consequently, they wield significant political influence in local decision making. Though they are in most cases absent from the villages, they are very present in the social webs that affect or shape water management within communities. Considering their large herds, they consume more water than poor households. They also affect decisions of the water point committees, in that decisions with far-reaching impacts such as changing the cost sharing rules and holding committee elections are hardly done in their absence. The decisions would rather wait till their uncertain return to the villages, thus delaying enforcement. In addition, their absence also hinders the operation of DWSSC in following up of the WPCs performances. (iii). Inadequate capacity of the DRWSS is another cause for the collapse of the organisational structure for implementing CBWM. Hardly do WPCs get follow-up support from DWSSC extension officers after being established. This challenge was blamed on the inadequate capacity of DWSSC in terms of finance and human resource. (iv). Lastly, committees and meetings are seen by pastoralists as time consuming. For them, problems are rather solved as they come.

The second outcome is the transformation of the nature of cost sharing rules. The rules that have emerged in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy are flexible, *ad hoc* and largely flat rate in nature (Schnegg 2016b). Diesel is contributed by households in a month that each household is allocated. Emergencies, such as pump breakdown, are addressed as they come. Generally,

five forms of flexible flat rate cost sharing rule exist in #Khoadi ||Hôas conservancy namely: (i). In majority of the villages, households are allocated 25 litres of diesel a month; (ii). Households contribute N\$100 per month towards diesel; (iii). Unspecified amount of diesel or money to be contributed by households; (iv). Total laissez-faire, where households bring diesel or money for buying diesel as they feel or are capable of, and; (v). No costs paid, which mostly occurred with villages whose water pumps were operated by solar power. In general, in all these scenarios, water is not seen as an economic good with private costs as implied in CBWM, but rather as a social resource whose costs are shared through social institutions embedded in everyday life thus affecting equal and rightful distribution (Schneegg 2016b).

iii. Water costs are unequally distributed as the poor subsidise wealthy households

In terms of the distribution of water costs across the socioeconomic categories, the amount of money contributed for diesel does not significantly vary across the socioeconomic strata as the amount of water they use, which is estimated through size of livestock holding. Therefore, the study deduces that in relative terms, the poor who have small livestock holding, pay more for water than they use. The wealthy, on the other hand, in a flat rate cost sharing regime, pay less for water than they actually consume through their large livestock holding. Hence, the poor subsidise, in financial terms, the water consumption of the wealthy households (See also Schneegg 2016b). Generally, water costs went up during dry months because of a number of reasons but key were: (i). The movement of livestock from other areas into a water point of certain farms when they graze far from their villages. (ii). Elephants come to the communal water points more frequently during dry months than other months increasing water consumption and hence the cost of pumping. The increase in water costs in a flat rate cost sharing regime is for all households, but in relative terms, more pressing for the poor. Recalling that household expenditure on water is significantly high for most households, such increase on water costs put more strain on people who are already experiencing scarcity of financial resources and frustrates poverty alleviation efforts. In addition, the results show that whenever water would be missing from the water points, the poor households are less resilient to its effects because they do not have the ability to buy large private tanks in which to store water as is common amongst wealthier households. Generally, the thesis concludes that, when the government withdrew from subsidising diesel contribution for pastoralists to adopt CBWM, an economic burden was shifted to local communities where the poor eventually bear more financial burden as the analyses have shown. Thus, CBNRM that was initially meant to reduce inequality, transforms into institutional solutions that eventually enhances it.

iv. Pastoralists gain few economic benefits but live with more costs of wildlife conservation

Community-based wildlife management aims to foster wellbeing, justice and sustainability. In terms of ecological sustainability, this thesis contends with literature on Namibia's CBNRM that conservancy programme has contributed to increased wildlife numbers and diversity, in particular elephants and predator wild animals. This indicates an ecological success. Accompanying these ecological gains are socioeconomic benefits and costs whose distribution generates mixed analysis. On one hand, the conservancy programme has opened communal wildlife resources in #Khoadi ǀHôas for capital investment by largely foreign private tour companies. Hence, a lucrative tourism and trophy hunting industry has been established in #Khoadi ǀHôas earning financial revenues within this formerly marginalised communal area of Namibia.

Superficially, it appears that the conservancy programme brings money to the pastoral communities of #Khoadi ǀHôas. Nevertheless, from total revenues, only a small fraction of about 20% is distributed locally, largely through employment and training benefits. But as the analyses in this thesis have shown, young and educated people get employed and consequently trained. The capability of the remaining members of the community to gain a fair share is constrained because the conservancy's income is not enough to support community-wide welfare programmes. In addition, salaries and wages paid to those who are employed by the conservancy and its lodges do not spread easily and widely in the community. Hence, generally, only a few members of communities living in the conservancy benefit significantly. The bulk of incomes from tourism and trophy hunting remains with tourism industry and the state through expenditure on lodge supplies, profits, taxes and levies. It is noteworthy that these private companies also have access to other communal conservancies and tourist destinations through which they maximise their incomes. In contrast, pastoralists in #Khoadi ǀHôas only have exclusive grazing rights within the designated farming zone as restricted by the conservancy's land use plan.

Whilst benefits from wildlife-based international tourism to communities remain low and perceived unfairly distributed, increased population of elephants and predator animals resulting from conservation produces costs that all pastoralists share. On the contrary, private tourism industry and national, as well as the international conservation community, which profit the most, pay less than their fair share of these costs. Hardly is fair compensation for the damages to pastoralists achieved. Thus, whilst conservation and tourism industry succeeds in #Khoadi ǀHôas, the success comes at the expense of livestock economy, a livelihood strategy that a vast majority of community members attach immense value to. In all these dynamics, the poor remain more vulnerable and less resilient to the effects of depredation. Furthermore,



in an area where flexible and *ad hoc* flat regime of sharing the costs of water is practised, the analyses further show that the poor, in relative terms, bear more of the brunt. Consequently, they not only subsidise the water consumption of their wealthy neighbours but also do so to that of conservation community and tourism industry. Thus far, ecological success opened #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy for capital accumulation by profiteering tourism industry whose dominant actors are foreign private companies. To this end, #Khoadi //Hôas has become an important source of capital accumulation (Brockington and Duffy 2010; Corson 2010; Garland 2008; Sullivan 2006), for example, by creating 'new symbolic and material spaces for global capital expansion' (Corson 2010: 579). On the contrary, the cost of that ecological success is shouldered by local pastoralists, but mostly the poor households in relative terms. Hence, the contribution of CBNRM to reducing inequalities and alleviating rural poverty is marginally achieved in #Khoadi //Hôas and furtherance put to a critical test. These inequalities that emerge are perceived and contested by local communities to be unjust.

v. Communities deploy passive resistance to contest injustice and renegotiate justice

Whilst maldistribution of benefits and costs emerges in both CBMW and communal conservancy programme as summarised above, the data throughout the thesis show that communities perceive the situation as unjust. In general, people do not contest the appropriateness of employment and other welfare benefits that they receive from community-based conservation. Their grievances revolve around the insufficiency of the benefits and skewed distribution. That is, they gain below their expectation, or in other words, CBNRM is giving far below what it promised. Regarding costs, conservation is blamed by local communities based on its failure to absorb fairly the costs of human-wildlife conflicts. Elephant water consumption and the loss caused by depredation are perceived by pastoralists in #Khoadi //Hôas as the responsibility of the conservation community and tourism industry. Thus, the overall feeling amongst most communities of #Khoadi //Hôas conservancy is that they lose more than they gain in favour of conservation community and tourism industry, and that is unfair in their world. The thesis further shows that pastoralists contest these outcomes by deploying their human agency through passive resistance. The forms of passive resistance they use include: withdrawal from participation, withdrawal from ownership, passive aggressive imagery and occasional verbal aggression. Currently, the resistance appears less successful in renegotiating justice in their favour, but enhances nonparticipation and misrecognition which reinforces maldistribution of benefits and costs. Nevertheless, the trend contradicts the very notion that CBNRM emancipates local communities through participation and creating of a sense of ownership.

### *Summary of theoretical arguments*

Two theoretical arguments are worth reflecting on from the analysis. First, I argue that justice does not mean equality but fairness which is constituted by intervening particular social conditions. Environmental justice concerns itself with the analysis of unfair distribution of environmental costs and benefits, within the lifeworld of justice subjects such as local pastoral communities in †Khoadi †lhôas. The ensuing struggle over maldistribution is nuanced on: the expectation inculcated since the inception and during the development of CBNRM; the recognition of priority expenditure from insufficient incomes; and socioeconomic capabilities that shape vulnerability and resilience. Thus, benefits to some people appeal to public script to be a greater good, for example: conservation of biodiversity; youth employment; and contribution of tourism to national GDP. Nevertheless, provided the expectation of others about what they deserve is not met, the distribution is considered to be unfair. Similarly, even if people get some benefits, in form of a greater good, as long as they bear the burden of costs, which they deem to be others' responsibility, the situation is considered unjust. Hence, it is important to understand how the distribution occurs between and amongst groups and how it affects and is affected by recognition and participation in a mutually intertwining manner.

Secondly, I argue that environmental justice, should not confine itself to organised rebellion or collective action within popular justice movements as forms of resistance to unjust conditions. Indeed, since the opus of James Scott's *Weapons of the Weak* (Scott 1985), political ecology has come to appreciate that resistance to oppression or unjust conditions can be expressed by less powerful actors through everyday forms of resistance. And so goes the English proverb 'when the great lord passes, the peasants bow deeply and silently fart'. In †Khoadi †Hôas conservancy, resistance is mostly through unorganised and nonviolent disquiet. Community members challenge unfair distribution of benefits and costs from wildlife conservation through verbal protests in meetings, withdrawal from participating in conservancy affairs, deliberate failure to report any damage, deliberate failure to report illegal hunting, being negative towards what they consider as dangerous animals, and aggression towards those who support their presence in the area. It is hard to find members of the community who voice the position that elephants and predators conservation have made things just and fair. For them, until elephants and predators, which are symbols of ecological success, are removed from their area or a solution to fair share of the costs and benefits is found, their conservation in the area remains contested and people will continue to see themselves as 'slaves of the conservancy'. Thus, the conclusion of Sullivan and Homewood (2003) remains valid in my case that community conservation can be meaningful for the rural poor only when it genuinely improves their livelihoods, but which unfortunately is currently barely achieved as perceived by local communities in †Khoadi †lhôas.

### *Recommendations*

Substantively, I do not suggest in this thesis that Namibia's CBNRM programme has failed, neither do I imply that it is wrong. On a positive note, my thesis has highlighted some achievements, especially with the communal conservancy programme which includes ecological success and employment creation. In addition and more prominently, the thesis illuminates some challenges that could be addressed in order to improve CBNRM's ability to meet its objectives of reducing inequalities and promoting poverty alleviation in rural areas. Consequently, as a final conclusion, the thesis provides the following recommendations: (i). The state should remain an active agent in water management to formulate and implement policies that protect the least wealthy households against the interest of their wealthy neighbours. Furthermore, technological solutions to water pumping that have less costs than diesel engine pumps may be considered. (ii). More elephant-proof dams should be built in order to reduce infrastructural damages at the water points. (iii). The conservancy should allocate adequate financial resources to compensate diesel for elephant water consumption. Solutions should be found that shorten government's decision making time to repair infrastructural damages caused by elephants (iv). Since water and wildlife management intersect with significant socioeconomic consequences, an approach should be considered that integrates the management of natural resources, including among other wildlife, water and rangeland, so that it is holistic rather than piecemeal and sectoral. Lessons from Forum for Integrated Resource Management (FIRM) that existed in the area in the 1990s could be revisited in this quest. (v). The government should positively review its compensation rates for depredation since pastoralists perceive them as compensation for costs incurred. (vi). Policy measures should be put in place to share the cost of wildlife conservation fairly with other actors, including tourists and tour operators. This could include charging a higher wildlife tax for tourists to pay their fair share of costs.



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