



Table 10: Caprivi: Differentiation and the conservancy

Total households n=573	n=363		n=178		n=32	
	% of poor hhs	No. hhs	% of middle hhs	No. hhs	% of rich hhs	No. hhs
Hhs aware of the conservancy in their area	75	272	79	140	72	11
Hhs aware of the conservancy in their area, with no registered members/hh	80	217	61	86	48	10
Hhs aware of the conservancy management plan	28	75	37	52	44	10
Hhs consulted in the development of the conservancy management plan	28	76	39	54	44	12
Hhs aware of the conservancy constitution	23	62	39	55	52	9
Hhs consulted in the development of the conservancy constitution	27	73	35	49	39	

developed) and more aware of the constitutions. They are also more likely in consequence to have more members of the conservancy in their households (see Suich 2003 for more information). Table 10 above illustrates this. In the case of the least secure group, 80% of households reported that they had *no* individuals who were registered members of the conservancy. This compares with 48% of the most secure group who reported that there were *no* registered conservancy members in their households.¹⁹

Of those who have gained employment through the conservancy or tourism WILD survey data also suggests that they tend to belong to the wealthier or more secure groups. In Caprivi, compared to regional averages those employed tend to be better educated; have more livestock and larger crop areas; they are less reliant on pensions/remittances; and have a higher number of household members contributing to household incomes when compared to regional averages.

- Least secure group ranked wildlife use as important to livelihoods more frequently than the secure group.
- Among the most secure households, only three ranked wildlife as important (three households).
- Those employed through the conservancies and tourism tend to belong to wealthier or more secure groups.

Household case study material

Case studies of households in Caprivi can assist in exploring further the ways in which different household types combine their resources and strategies to meet their livelihood needs. The following material presents data on the sources of income and food together with the expenditure patterns of a secure and an insecure household.

A secure household

The household represented in Figures 13, 14, and 15 falls within Salambala Conservancy and consists of 12 members. Five of these are absent, with three adult sons living elsewhere and two sons in boarding school. The remaining members of the household include the husband and wife – a middle-aged couple (in their late forties and mid-fifties), three teenage children and two grandchildren. By local standards this household is relatively well off – they would be considered as in the most secure group. They receive a regular pension (the husband formerly worked as a factory clerk in Bulawayo and then in a wholesale outlet at Katima Mulilo); own 66 cattle; and cultivate maize, sorghum, millet and some vegetable crops. The wife also engages periodically in fish trading, and occasionally sells a few vegetables. They move seasonally between the forest area by the roadside south of Bukalo and the flood plain area near to Lusese. They suffer losses to crops from elephants and lose cattle to hyena. Figures 13, 14 and 15 illustrate their sources of income, food and expenditures.

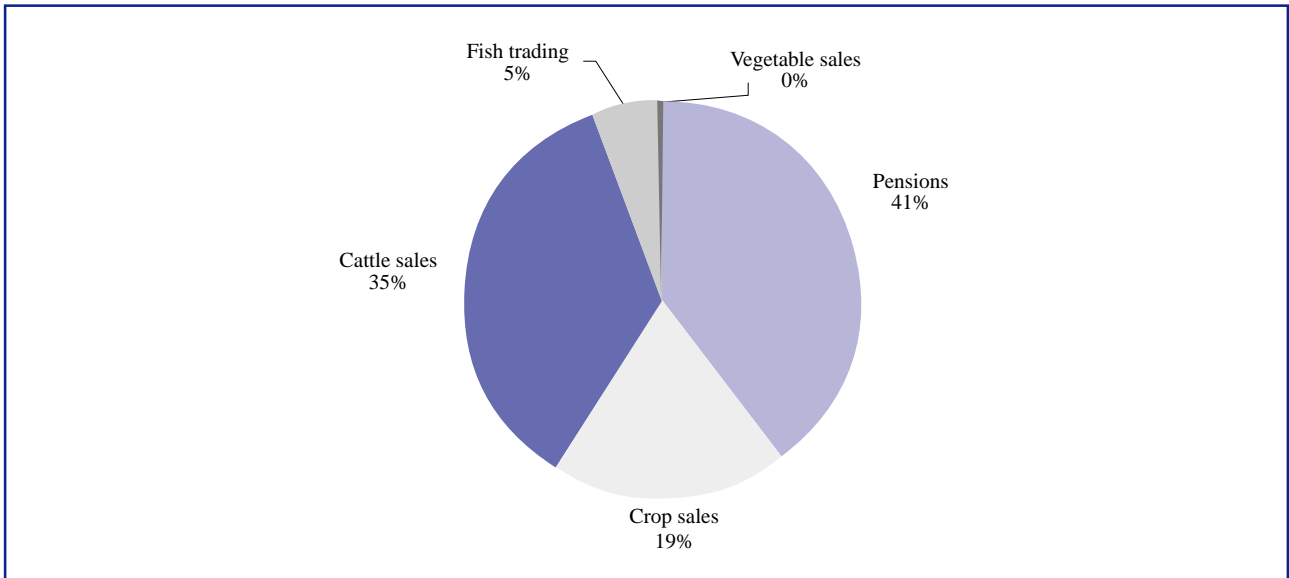
Summary:

- Cattle ownership is a key indicator in Caprivi for differentiating households as secure or insecure.
- Secure households with most cattle are more likely to be male-headed.
- Secure households have more formal education.
- Secure households are three times more likely to have formal employment.
- Among the richer group there tends to be better links with institutions.
- All groups involved in cropping and gardening.
- Middle group more involved with cropping.
- Least secure: plant resources (reeds, thatch grass, building poles) make a greater contribution to livelihoods.

¹⁹ Shortly after this survey was conducted there was a drive to update the registration of members in the Caprivi Region conservancies. The issue of differentiation between rich and poor in terms of membership still requires further attention, as it is not known of the newly-registered members whether they were predominantly from the wealthier or least well-off groups.



Figure 13: Secure Caprivi household: Sources of income

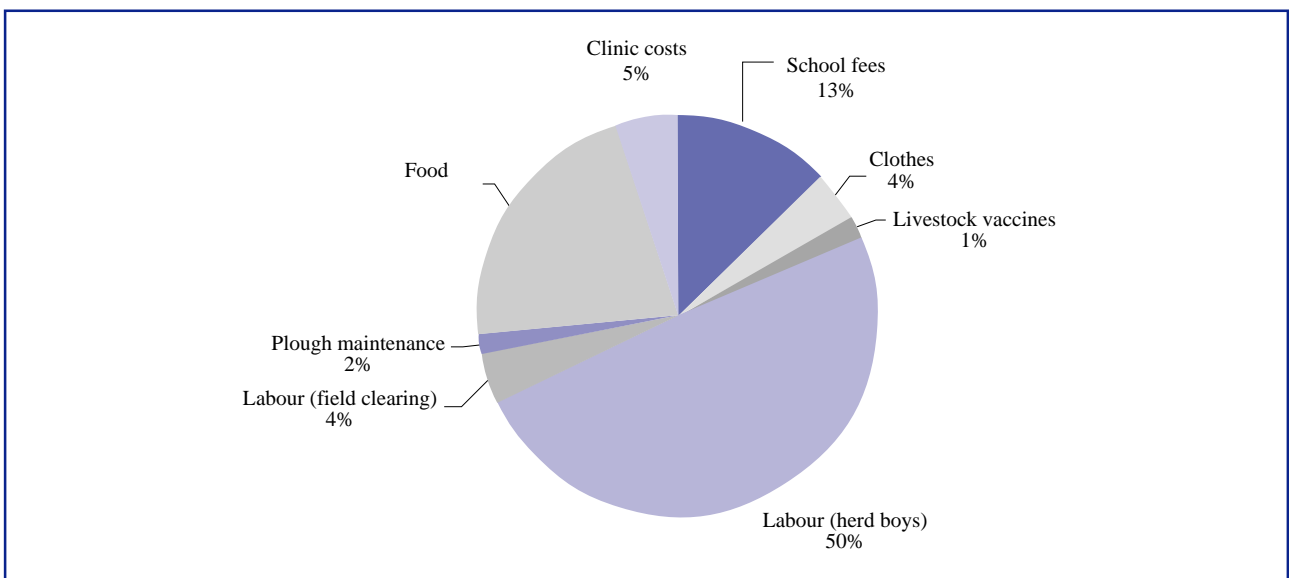


A central strategy for the household revolves around livestock keeping. Essentially the bulk of their income comes from pension money and the sales of livestock; although crops account for 19%. Over a year they sell three or four cows depending on their needs. Currently they receive both a retirement and old age pension; this amounts to N\$6,000 per annum. They are one of the households who receive above average incomes.

There is a seasonal pattern to their expenditures, with two periods identified during which they have most expenses. These are January through to June and then later in the year in November and December. In the early part of the year they require cash to pay school expenses (clothes, books,

transport and boarding/hostel fees). They then incur school-related expenses again in August when they pay for exams. Expenses associated with the costs of ill health due to malaria usually peak during April and May. These costs include transport to Bukalo or Katima to visit the clinic.²⁰ Later in the year, during November and December, the bulk of their expenses is related to the hiring of labour to cultivate their fields, and to the maintenance of their plough equipment. Recurrent expenses relate to the purchase of food and to the payments made to the two herd boys they employ. That livestock keeping is an important strategy is given support by the fact that 50% of expenditures are allocated for the payment of herd boys (see Figure 14).

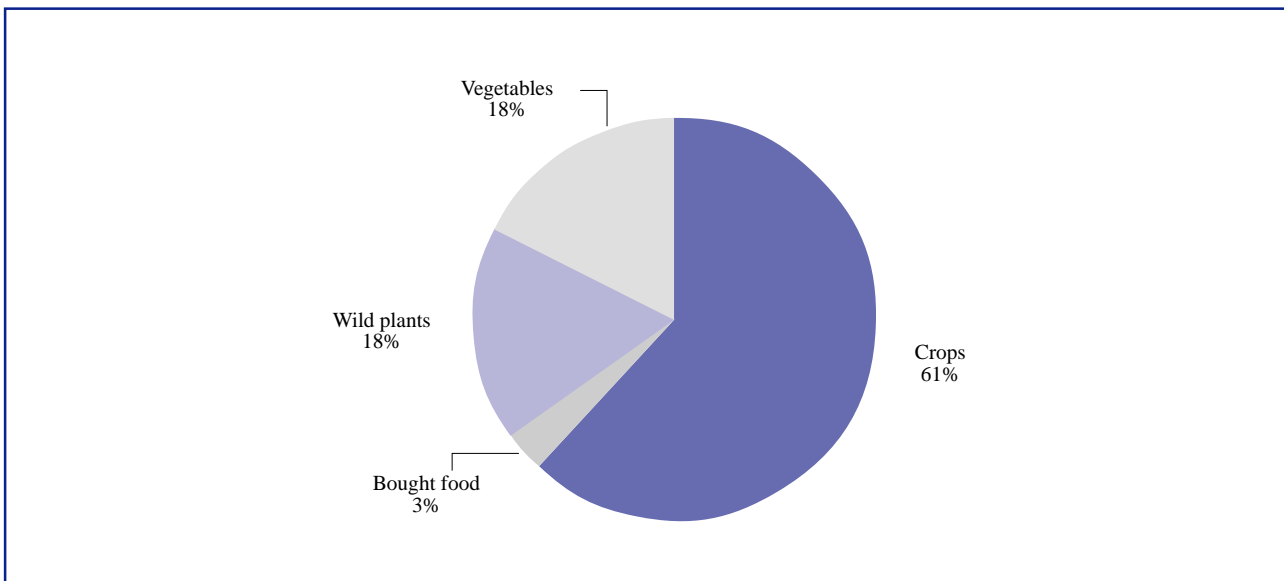
Figure 14: Secure Caprivi household: Expenditures



²⁰ The costs of visiting the clinic and the cost of drugs are subsidised by the Government.



Figure 15: Secure Caprivi household: Sources of food



These three figures (Figures 13, 14 and 15) together with other case material illustrate the variety of strategies and resources available to the household. While they have a number of recurrent expenses they also have a range of different strategies that they employ to raise cash and to meet food needs. The problems they experienced with wild animals damaging their crops was between January and June, with the intensity of problems from elephants peaking once the standing crop comes to maturity in May. One strategy they adopt to deal with the presence not only of herbivores, but also hyena, was to shift to the flood plains. They could grow two crops by moving between the forest and flood plains, and at the flood plains they do not experience problems with elephants nor lose any stock to hyena.

It is also interesting to compare Figure 15 (sources of food) with the figures on incomes and expenditures. The bulk of food is obtained from the production of crops. Despite having access to cash through pensions and the sales of livestock, very little is used to purchase food. This illustrates the importance of crop production for consumption purposes. Yet there are also seasonal patterns to this. Food availability from own crops is between April and September. In April, at the beginning of their harvest, they have sufficient supplies and only need to supplement these with the purchase of relish. From June onwards they have diminishing supplies. They augment these then with the collection of wild foods, and the purchase of grain.

The resources available to this household mean that they are essentially livelihood secure. That they receive pensions provides a constant source of reliable cash. That they own 66 cattle and can produce enough staple for at least six months of the year also provides them with a degree of security. Interviews with the household head revealed how

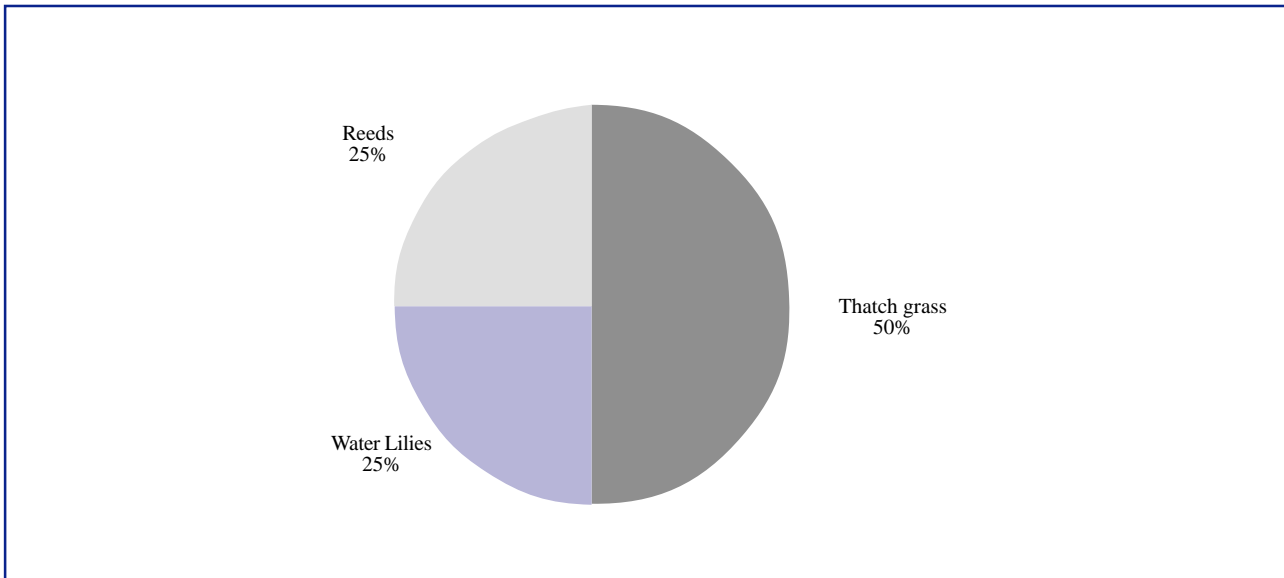
their situation has changed during the last 10 years. The most noticeable aspect of change they reported was the shift in reliance from cropping as a key income strategy to livestock. This has implications for the long term, as cattle are a store of wealth and using cattle to pay for annual costs like school expenses is similar to them having to dip into their 'savings'. The explanation they gave for their shifts in strategy were the poor performance of crops due to low rainfall and to damage by elephants.

Key issues associated with enhancing livelihood security for the household relate to addressing the problems they experience with wildlife, with the inability for them to produce enough of their own surplus to sell crops and to provide for their consumption needs. In addition, there are a number of seasonal cash requirements that they need to plan for. These include paying for education costs and for health care. These families already have a diverse number of strategies and resources at their disposal to help them meet their livelihood needs and may not be considered the most vulnerable, but they themselves would argue that, despite this, the problems they face from wildlife predation and through losses to crops puts considerable extra pressure on the resource they do have at their disposal. The shift in focus from cropping to livestock as their prime source of secure income is also an area of concern since the result of this shift is that they have essentially to dip into their livestock 'bank account'.

While the above material relates to a relatively secure household, material from other household case studies reveals that for those without cattle and little opportunity to produce crops, other resources and strategies are employed to meet their needs, but the situation for the least secure households is much more precarious. In these cases the priority is to provide livelihood security in the short term.



Figure 16: Vulnerable Caprivi household: Sources of income



A vulnerable household

The household in Figure 16, from Mayuni Conservancy, consists of four adults – the household head, his wife, an elderly sister, an adult daughter – and five children under 15 years. They have no cattle, no pension and no regular employment. Together they plant maize and sorghum. Usually, the household head and his wife will cultivate by using hand hoes. In the past they have hired oxen and a plough, but this was not a regular occurrence. During recent agricultural seasons they lost much of their grain crop to elephants. With no stock to sell and no pension to provide regular cash income, the household relied primarily on the harvesting and sales of natural resources, principally thatch grass, water lilies and reeds. Previously they would collect thatching grass and sell it in Okahandja, but were unable to do so during the period of WILD research because of the security situation²¹. Interviews with the household head revealed that the small income derived from his wife's involvement in craft production was important to them, as was the support provided by kin (a brother who is a school teacher).

Figure 16 provides an understanding of the sources of income from their own resources (i.e. excluding support from the brother and incomes from craft sales). There are few sources of income available to this household. During the period of this study, they also had no single source of food, since they lost their entire crop to elephants. What is interesting to note here is that with no crops and therefore no independent sources of food, food security is determined by the availability of cash. In this case these are small injections provided by the periodic sales of crafts or from the local sales of other natural resources. These combined

with a remittance from kin provides the only sources of livelihood security. The problem that this particular household faces is that without access to any surpluses to sell, they were unable to hire oxen and a plough to cultivate. This left them producing a limited amount of grain, which gave them no buffer against losses to elephants. The household in question is caught in a situation of resource shortage. This cycle was less severe, they recalled, in previous years when they were able to sell thatching grass.

In both the case studies above, what is of importance to note is that their strategies focused on consumption. While cash is important to both households' survival, consumption is the primary focus. In the case of the wealthier household, a regular source of cash from pensions provides a solid and secure foundation. Their production strategies (cropping and livestock keeping) provide for the bulk of their food; however, what they produce can be used both for food and to earn income. This is important as there is a close relationship between food security and the availability of cash. This is particularly evident in the second case study. In the latter case, the inability to produce enough surplus grain for consumption is the primary reason for the lack of livelihood security. A cash remittance from an employed relative provides some support, but they rely on the harvesting and sales of natural resources to meet their needs. In the case of thatch grass this is a seasonal activity, which is augmented by the sale of craft, produced by the wife. They are also vulnerable due to the damage caused by elephants. In comparing the two case studies, the range and variety of sources of food and income are the key determinants of livelihood security.

²¹ Due to the civil war that had spilled over from Angola, there were no longer purchasers of thatch grass coming to the Caprivi Region.