

**Table 13: Differences between wealth-ranked groups in Kunene and Erongo<sup>36</sup>**

Total number of households n=619 Aspect of wealth	% poor households (n=207)	% middle households (n=207)	% rich households (n=205)
Male-headed hhs	54	60	62
Someone in hh:			
Main occupation: formal employment	6	16	43
Main occupation: informal employment	23	25	30
Main occupation: subsistence agriculture	80	76	57
Average hh income (N\$)	3,411	6,687	14,205
Average individual income earned (N\$)	2,228	4,011	7,532
Individual income earned: <\$N1,000 per annum	16	14	12
Individual income earned: \$N1,000–2,000 per annum	30	20	12
Individual income earned: >\$N2,000 per annum	54	66	76
Remittances	28	21	22
Hhs receiving pensions (from one or more members)	35	44	43
Contribution to livelihood (any rank): Reeds	5	2	5
Contribution to livelihood (any rank): Building poles	23	20	17
Contribution to livelihood (any rank): Craft making	10	6	3
Contribution to livelihood (any rank): Wildlife utilisation	32	28	28
Hhs who own or have access to stock	57	60	62
Hhs who practise cropping/gardening	16	17	19

conservancies, less than half the surveyed households owned cattle (43%). Goats were owned by 78.6% of households surveyed and therefore preliminary analysis sought to test whether goats were a good indicator of whether a household was considered secure or not. When running cross-tabulations it was found that there were no clear relationships that indicated that goat ownership could be a useful measure of other aspects of people's security – incomes for example. There are a variety of possible reasons for this. The first is that levels of goat ownership are somewhat fluid and from year to year numbers within a household may vary in response to a variety of factors. These might include climatic conditions that affect breeding and the number of mortalities due to predation, or disease. Off-take rates through households' own use or through sales may also vary from year to year depending on household circumstances and need. In addition, a household's total stock numbers are not always available for those members of the household who are present since it is common practise for households to tend stock for absentee household members. The analysis of differentiation was therefore conducted on the basis of three further indicators. These were the educational status

of the household head, the ability to hire labour (for a variety of purposes) and income levels.<sup>35</sup> The data is presented in Table 13.

Table 13 sheds light on the differences between the wealthier and less wealthy members of conservancies in the study areas. The tercile data shows the characteristics that vary most greatly between rich and poor. The data shows that the poorer are generally more dependent on wild resources and subsistence agriculture, they have much less access to formal employment, and marginally less access to stock, cropping and informal employment. In a similar way to Caprivi the wealthier households are predominantly male-headed. Clearly formal employment stands out as being something directly associated with the rich group. With respect to remittances there is little difference between groups. Pensions are 9% more prominent among the middle and rich groups than they are for the poorest. With respect to natural resources, building poles would seem to be more important to the poorer group, as would wildlife utilisation.

<sup>35</sup> James MacGregor of IIED ran the various tests and assisted in the analysis of wealth indicators.

<sup>36</sup> Here difference ranking was based on dividing the sample into terciles or three equal parts.



**Table 14: Kunene: Differentiation and the conservancy**

Total households n=619	% poor households (n=207)	% middle households (n=207)	% rich households (n=205)
Hhs who are aware of the conservancy in their area	77	75	80
Hhs who are aware of the conservancy in their area, with no registered members/hh	38	47	37
Hhs who are aware of the conservancy management plan (all hh)	15	19	23
Hhs who are aware of the conservancy management plan (know of conservancy)	20	25	30
Hhs who were consulted in the development of the conservancy management plan (all hh)	19	21	25
Hhs who were consulted in the development of the conservancy management plan (know of conservancy)	24	28	32
Hhs who are aware of the conservancy constitution (all hh)	22	31	35
Hhs who were consulted in the development of the conservancy constitution (know of conservancy)	29	42	44
Hhs who are aware of the conservancy constitution (all hh)	24	27	32
Hhs who were consulted in the development of the conservancy constitution (know of conservancy)	31	36	40

Among the wealthier tercile there also tend to be better links with institutions. In terms of the WILD/EEU data this reveals that the rich are more likely to be aware of the conservancy and its management plans (where these have been developed) and more aware of the constitutions. They are also more likely in consequence to have more members of the conservancy in their households. Table 14 illustrates this. In terms of conservancy membership it is the middle group who has the highest number of households with *no* individual registered members (47%). This compares with 37% and 38% among the rich and poor groups respectively.

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

**Summary:**

- Status and wealth closely related to cattle and goat stocks.
- Poor are generally more dependent on wild resources and subsistence agriculture.
- Poor have much less access to formal employment.
- Poor have marginally less access to stock, cropping and informal employment.
- Wealthier households are predominantly male-headed.
- Wealthier households tend to be better connected to the conservancy institutions.
- Pensions are 9% more prominent among the middle and rich groups than they are for the poorest.
- Poor more reliant on natural resources, including wild animals/wildlife utilisation.
- Those employed through the conservancies and tourism tend to belong to wealthier or more secure groups.

**Household case study material**

The following material serves to illustrate the various ways in which the livelihood strategies and resources available to households in Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas Conservancies are combined. The two household case studies presented below provide an understanding of the household livelihoods of a wealthier, secure household and a poorer, less secure household. In the case of the former the household head has gainful employment as the manager of a joint venture and therefore is among the small number of those who are formally employed in tourism. The second case study provides a contrast and presents material from a vulnerable or poorer household.

**A secure household**

The household described below is unusual for the reason that the household head is a female and is one of the few who have full-time employment in tourism. They are considered well off or secure. The household is situated at Vrede, in Torra Conservancy, approximately 25 kms from Bergsig, the local settlement, with a school, shops, an agricultural office and police station, and the site of the conservancy office. The settlement at Vrede consists of 10 households and there is good cooperation among them – they all contribute to the costs of managing the local water point for example. The head of the household in question holds a senior position of employment in the Torra Conservancy joint tourism venture – she is camp manager. The position of the household serves to illustrate the strategies of a secure household and illustrate the additional security that can be provided through formal employment.

The household consists of five members: the head of household (a single mother), her mother, her uncle and two children. The household is also networked into a wider kin circle, and an aunt and nephew are considered part of the household although they reside in Bergsig. These absentee members do not provide any form of remittance, but they



do bring additional food items when they visit during the school holidays.

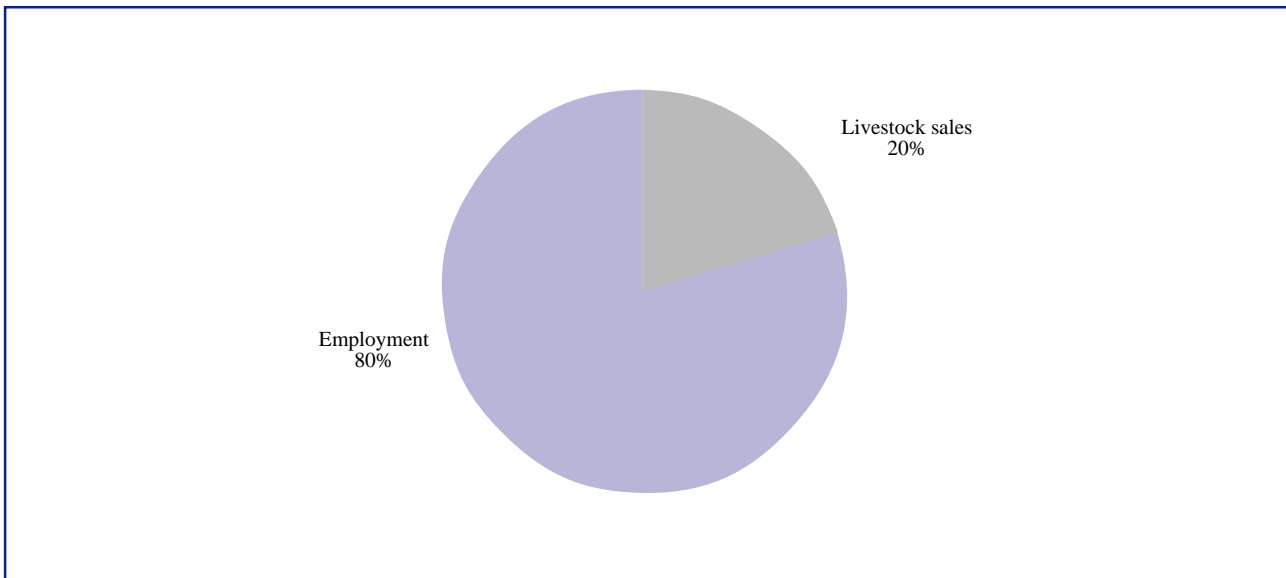
A brief review of the life history of the household head reveals that without her current employment the household would be considered vulnerable. While at school in Khorixas the head of household worked part-time in a bakery. She then found temporary work as a baby-sitter for her cousins in Windhoek, but felt that this level of employment was below the level of her qualifications. In May 1996 she returned to Vrede from Windhoek and eventually received a job at Damaraland Camp as a waitress. Prior to this she kept a limited number of goats and some poultry. Once employed, she initially started earning N\$700 a month, then in 1999 she was promoted to bar lady and received a raise to N\$1,400. During 1999 and 2000 she gave birth to two children. Since the camp management were extremely supportive she retained her job. She received three months' unpaid leave but had enough money in the bank and was supported by her boyfriend. When she returned to work the children remained with her at the camp and with the help of her mother, she managed both the work and the children. In 2002 she was promoted to Trainee Assistant Manager and gained another raise to N\$1,800 a month. In early 2003 she

was again promoted, this time, to Manager. She earns considerably more than the household average for the region (>N\$20,000).

The job allows for a good part of her income (approximately 40%) to be put away as savings for the children's future and for any unexpected costs. The household head's situation of employment is unusual, but provides a high degree of financial security. This security is further enhanced by the household keeping small stock. They currently have 24 goats, 15 chickens, six donkeys and two cows. Before her job she only had 15 goats and two donkeys, but with her income she was able to invest in more livestock, and two donkeys were purchased to help them with transport.

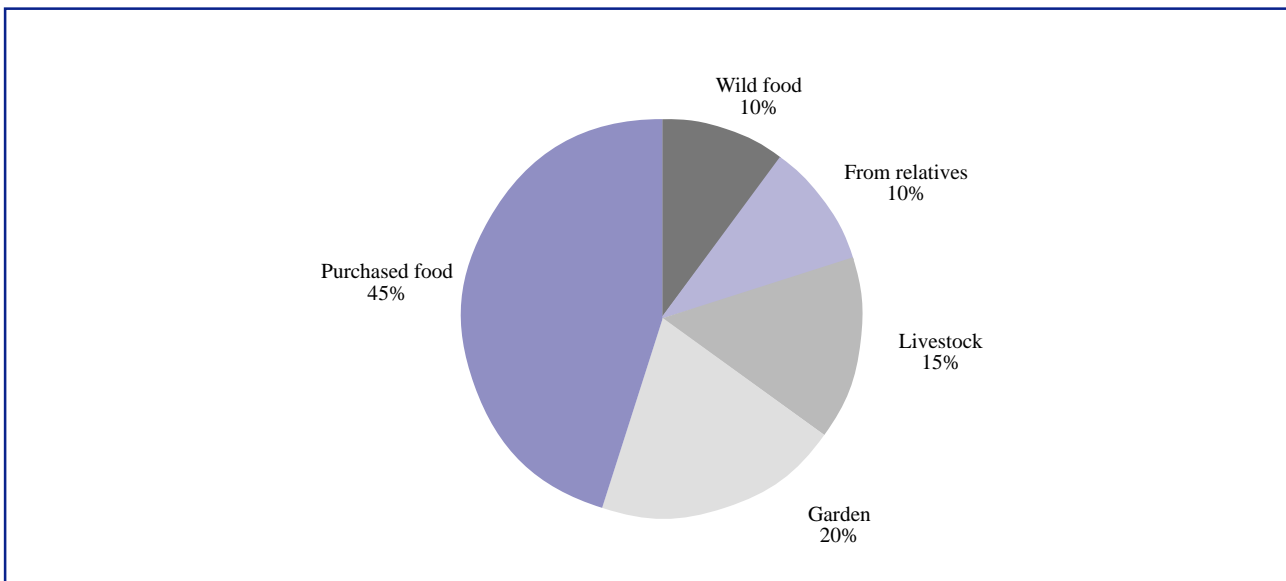
Figures 17 and 18 illustrate the sources of income and food that the household has access to. The sources of income are few (this is simply due to having secure employment). Despite the income level of this household being high it is interesting to note that not all food is purchased (see Figure 18). Natural resources still account for a small percentage of food eaten – 10% (these include the occasional road kill (hares), honey and plants species) and garden produce accounts for 20%.

**Figure 17: Secure Kunene household: Sources of income**

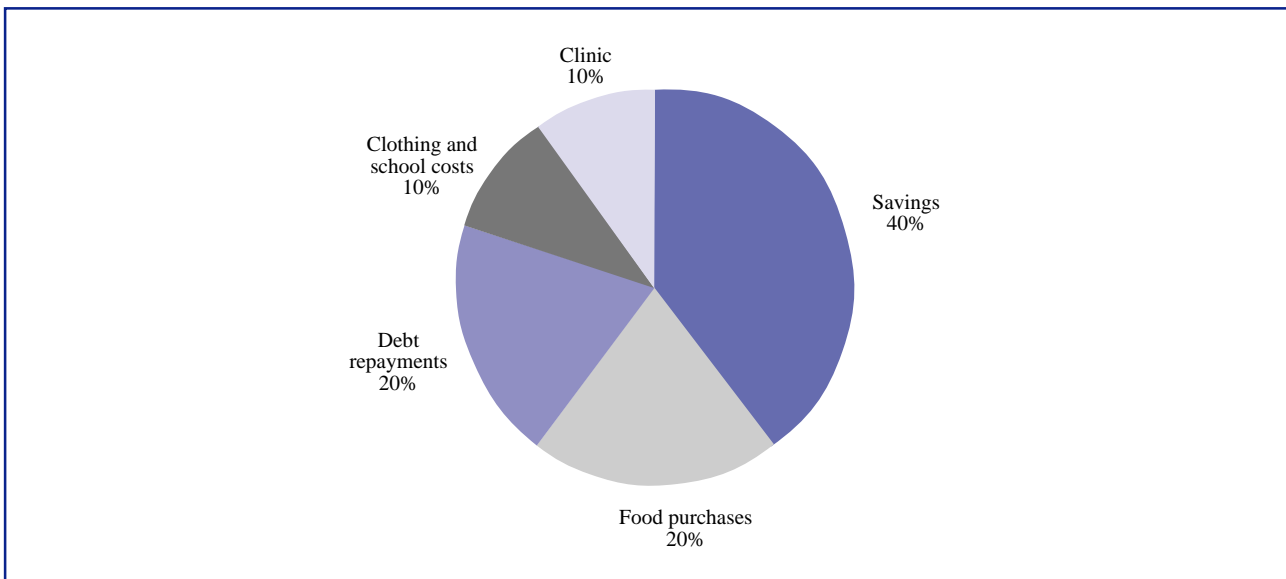




**Figure 18: Secure Kunene household: Sources of food**



**Figure 19: Secure Kunene household: Expenditures**



The household reported that the garden produce was their most important source of food, following purchases. They mainly grow vegetable crops, which they cannot easily purchase in the local area. They also received portions of meat from the conservancy when there are community harvests. Meat is normally distributed in June or July, but occasionally the household will receive meat at other times of the year (reportedly, up to three times a year).

Figure 19 shows the various expenditures that the household must meet. Forty per cent of the income earned from employment is used for consumption purposes. This includes paying for food and for the household's health and education costs.

### **A vulnerable household**

In contrast to the above case, the following case of a vulnerable household in ≠Khoadi //Hôas Conservancy illustrates the variety of strategies and resources that the household combines to meet livelihood security.

There are six permanent residents in this household all from one main family. They include the household head, a grandmother, a grandfather (the father and mother of the household head), his girlfriend and their two children. The household settlement is located in an isolated area of the conservancy. The nearest major settlement is at Anker, some 30 kms away. At Anker there is a clinic, a shop and a school. The area is mountainous with riverine areas and both areas are used for grazing, the former for emergency grazing and