



the latter for daily needs. The main settlement where the household is found has a number of satellite posts – for watering livestock. Three of these are uninhabited because they are used seasonally during periods of drought or when their water point is damaged. Two of these posts have fountains and the other has a diesel pump.

The household has lived in the area for many years as the grandparents were formerly labourers at the commercial farm that was in the area prior to the forced relocations of Damara people. In addition to those immediately present there are also five absentee household members who are the brothers and sisters of the head of household. When discussing household composition with the family these absentees were automatically included in the household. Although they provide no cash remittances to the household they usually bring some food and second-hand clothes with them when they visit.

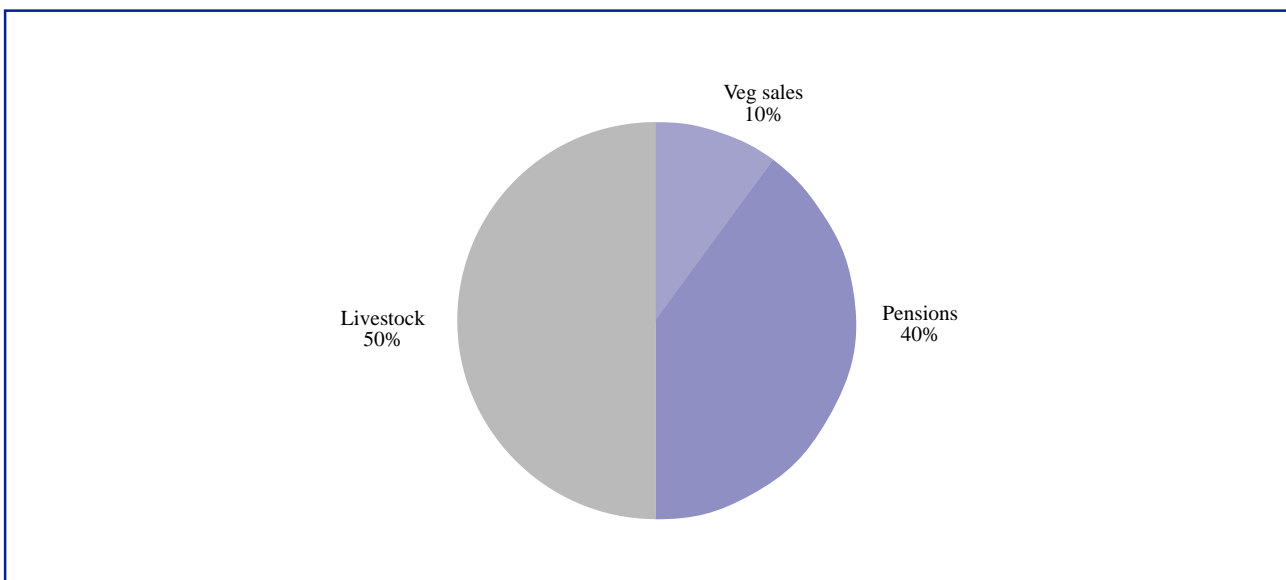
Figure 20 illustrates that the main source of income is from livestock. The number of livestock kept at the post totals 182 goats. Many of these are owned by the absentee household members. The head of household individually owns only 42. What is important, however, is that since he looks after the other stock, he can use them if he needs to and simply replaces them either from his own stock or others when they lamb. Livestock is normally sold either through a local middleman or to a commercial farmer (approximately

70 kms away). The prices obtained are approximately N\$120-150, but sometimes can be lower (N\$80). The market price is uncertain. This is often a result of sales due to necessity rather than planning. When they need cash the household is forced to sell and it is therefore a ‘buyers’ market’. If they plan to sell to the commercial farms, and their dilapidated car works, it takes up to one day to travel to the farm and back. If they have to use the donkey cart it can take three days. If they have to hire someone to take the goats for them it will cost them N\$200. The expenses incurred in accessing their markets require them to sell as many as 15 goats at a time.

Their other main source of income comes from the pensions that the grandparents receive. When assessing the importance of various sources of income with the household it was clear that although the pension money was relatively small, compared to incomes that could be gained through stock sales, the regularity of the income was deemed to be very important.

There are regular patterns to their consumption. Calendar exercises³⁷ identified that they consume goats, for example, at regular intervals throughout the year. This coincides with visits from absentee householders and other relatives. The sale of stock is also clustered, with most sales taking place in August. This period of sales coincides with the lambing season.

Figure 20: Vulnerable Kunene household: Sources of income



³⁷ See Annex 3, Table 1, Section A3.1.6.



Vegetable sales account for only a small portion of periodic income. Although a wide variety of vegetables were grown these were in small numbers and relied on being irrigated from the water point near the garden. Occasionally they experienced problems with elephants, but this was usually associated with their damaging the water tank and pipe work.

Figure 21 illustrates the sources of food available to the household. In this case they reported that 30% came from the use of wildlife. Although they recalled that they had not

received any meat from the conservancy, despite living close to the area that is used by the trophy hunter. They also used a variety of wild foods to supplement their consumption. A further 36% of their food came from their own production (goats, vegetables, and poultry/eggs) and the remainder was either bought or came from absentee householders. The use of wildlife provided a supplement to the use of goats and allowed them to reserve their own goat stocks for future consumption or sale.

Figure 21: Vulnerable Kunene household: Sources of food

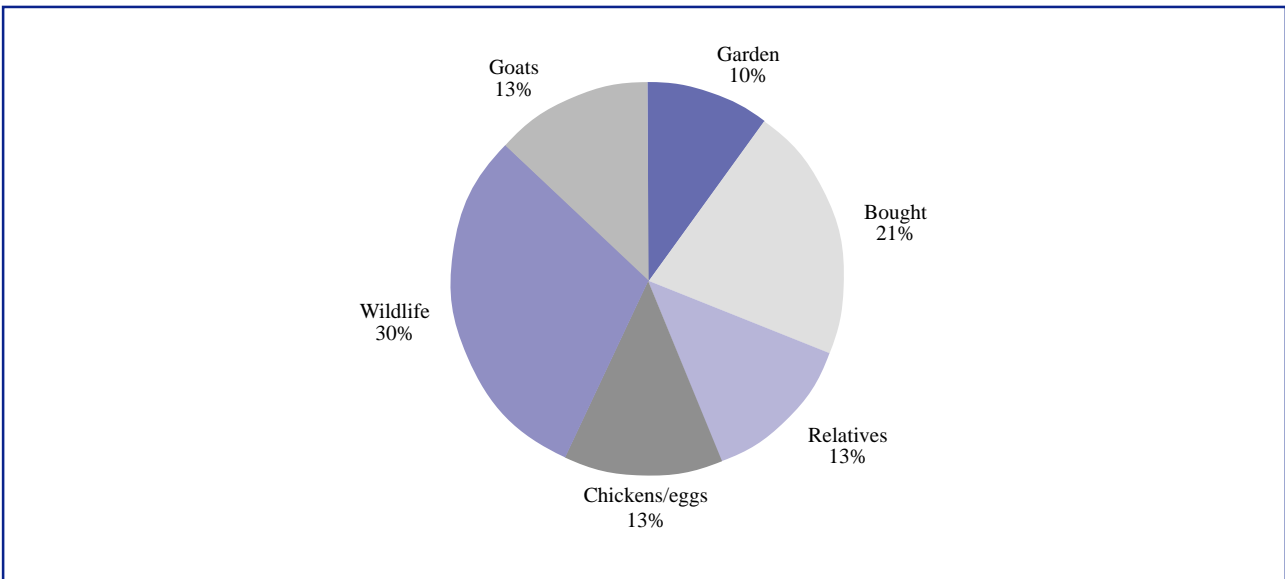
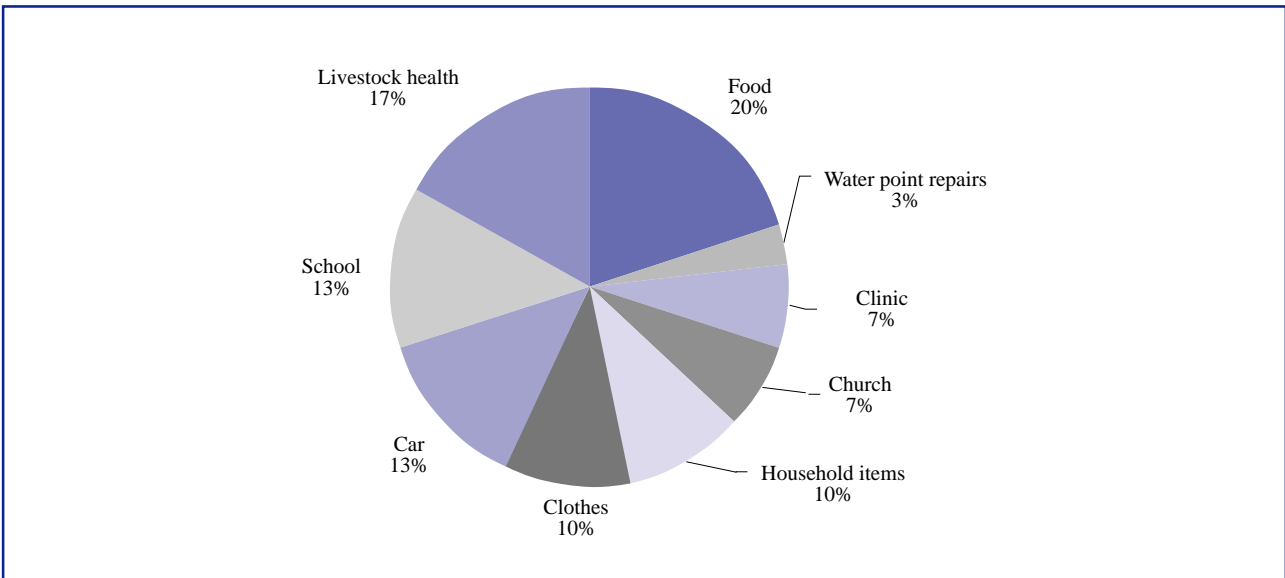


Figure 22 provides an illustration of the kinds of expenditures that the household incurs. While these are many and varied, a total of 80% goes on consumption, including food, other household necessities (e.g. soap), livestock

veterinary health, paying for vehicle repairs and fuel (although at the time of fieldwork the vehicle was awaiting major repairs), paying for water point repairs and any health care costs. The remainder goes on church and school fees.

Figure 22: Vulnerable Kunene household: Expenditures





The two contrasting case studies presented above illustrate the differences in life circumstances and livelihoods for two quite different households. It is interesting to compare a secure household with a regular income and professional employment with a household that is reliant on livestock keeping and pensions for security. The sources of income for the second household are more varied than those identified for the secure household. This suggests that in the case of formal employment in the study areas, the opportunity that this presents provides a livelihood diversification option that enables the household to continue farming activities, but there is little need for other strategies to be combined. In both cases natural resources are still a feature of the consumption patterns of the households, but in the case of the secure household these are less important.

Conclusions

This chapter provided an understanding of the key components of people's livelihoods in the study areas within the two regions. It also provided an understanding of the various ways *different* people (rich/secure and poor/insecure) combine their resources and strategies to meet their livelihood needs. The foregoing presentation of material indicates strongly that generally people do not yet include the activities of the conservancies and tourism opportunities as central to their livelihoods. The link between CBNRM and providing tangible household livelihood benefits remains elusive in all but a few specific cases. This suggests that while people may be broadly supportive of the conservancies and agree with their objectives they are more concerned with pursuing and adapting their own strategies that from previous experience they know will provide a degree of livelihood security.

The strategies they employ differ not only between the regions (as we would expect) but also between households within the regions. The extent to which a particular set of resource or activity combinations contributes to livelihoods varies according to a household's socio-economic status. A key issue to address in order to provide more directed support for livelihoods is this issue of differentiation. There is a good deal of variation between household types within the categories of wealthy/secure and poor/insecure households, but there are also many commonalities; these are summarised in the main text above. In both regions, for example, one common theme is that the use of natural resources including wildlife is more prominent among the poorer, least secure groups than it is among the wealthier or more secure groups. This finding then identifies at least one area that requires further investigation by the conservancies themselves in order to create better synergy between the livelihoods of poorer groups and NRM.

The foregoing presentation of material illustrates that there are a wide range of possible livelihood strategy combinations

that people employ to safeguard household income and food security and to attempt best to meet desired livelihood outcomes. One significant conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that for the conservancies and the CBNRM programme to address better household livelihood diversification and security, a process for analysing specific livelihood strategies and to identify entry points to support different groups within the conservancy must be established for use by the conservancies and other stakeholders. Developing an approach based on addressing livelihood security and building this into the work of the conservancies and the CBNRM programme will contribute substantially to meeting the broader objectives of supporting local social and economic development, and demonstrating a direct link between CBNRM and opportunities to benefit from improved resource management and revenue capture.

The following conclusions and analysis provide a fuller understanding of why it is important for each conservancy to address livelihood issues from within their own social, economic and ecological contexts. While the material presented above provides a broader understanding of key livelihood issues and aims to assist in identifying some possible entry points for livelihood support the 'devil remains in the detail' and is context specific for each conservancy. To this extent the following conclusions are suggestive and aim to illustrate how taking a more focused livelihood perspective can begin to address linking livelihoods and CBNRM in more practical and creative ways. The remainder of the analysis is organised according to the following themes:

- The extent to which CBNRM builds on and strengthens existing livelihoods
- Differentiation within communities and targeting support to the rich and poor
- Summary of a potential conservancy livelihoods support strategy

The conclusions and recommendations presented in Chapter 10 provide a summary of the practical means to develop specific processes to conduct participatory livelihoods analysis at the conservancy level.

CBNRM and existing livelihood strategies

The above presentation of material for both Caprivi and Kunene illustrates the role that livestock production, cropping, natural resource use and sales, and incomes through remittances, pensions and employment play for livelihoods. The ways in which the activities and resources associated with these strategies are combined varies between the wealthier and poorer groups. In broad terms, however, it is the combination of these strategies that provides for people's livelihood security. In view of this, supporting any one of these strategies can have a variety of effects on people's livelihoods. The question we need to ask in this



context is to what extent does CBNRM currently 'fit' with these livelihood strategies and what are the implications?³⁸

CBNRM is concerned with common property resource management. To this extent there is little 'fit' between individual livestock and cropping strategies and CBNRM. At a broader level conservancies are attempting to address risks associated with livestock production and cropping, particularly the loss of stock or crops to predators and herbivores. In individual terms though most households involved in this study focused on cropping strategies and livestock production to meet to key needs – namely securing their consumption and providing incomes. Key activities associated with deriving incomes from livestock and cropping were not being supported by those conservancies that were the subject of this research. For example, a lack of access to draught power for cultivation purposes or to markets for livestock and crops are not currently part of the conservancy activities. These were, however, identified as livelihood priorities and key to improving livelihood security. The case studies presented above illustrate this. In the Kunene case the sale of small stock was constrained by a lack of access to markets, which effectively meant incomes were dictated by the buyer. In the Caprivi case the production of crops was limited by a lack of capital to invest in hiring oxen. It would be interesting to consider supporting conservancy initiatives to address the redistribution of conservancy incomes in support of these aspects of people's livelihoods – providing micro-credit for individual investments in production and marketing. In two conservancies in Kunene, the committees had earmarked a portion of income to provide livestock vaccines at a subsidised rate for farmers (Torra) and to provide diesel for pumping water for livestock (≠Khoadi //Hôas). These are precisely the kind of activities that directly support livelihoods, yet in these cases it remained unclear who exactly would be the beneficiaries of such support. Initiatives of this sort raise important implications relating to equity and to the issue of livelihood production activities conflicting with the priorities of the conservancies. These will be addressed in the discussion below on differentiation and targeting within the conservancies.

In respect to the incomes being provided by conservancies, there are clearer links between CBNRM and livelihoods. In four of the 31 conservancies some of the income earned has been distributed as payouts to conservancy members. This income has provided valuable extra household cash. In the case of Torra, for example, the N\$630 payout was equivalent to 8% of the expected average annual incomes for households or three months' worth of basic groceries for a small household. The receipt of this additional income also enabled school expenses to be met and additional household consumption items purchased. In this regard the distribution

of cash supports people's consumption. The timing of such payments is also very important as there are peaks and troughs in terms of both the availability of cash within households and their seasonal round of expenditures. Livelihood strategies are, however, concerned with meeting recurrent household consumption needs (providing for education and health care are included in this regard). Access to a regular income in the form of pensions illustrates this point well. In many cases in this research, survey and interview respondents cited their pensions as one of the most important sources of cash. Compared to other sources (for example the sale of livestock) the incomes from pensions were low, but the regularity of the money received was considered important as it allowed opportunities for planning and would cover recurrent costs. In many cases the pension money would be used to cover regular food purchases. It is not expected that incomes from the conservancies would ever replace the value of pensions, nor should they, but the point here is that the discussion and analysis illustrates the importance of regular access to cash as a contribution to consumption and food security. Combining different resources and livelihood strategies is one way in which people attempt to meet these kinds of recurrent costs and needs. To address better these requirements conservancies need to consider finding appropriate entry points to support the existing strategies of people, particularly since it is unlikely that the conservancies would be able to provide regular support in the form of cash dividends.

The case material presented from the Kunene studies also shows that, for those who are fortunate to gain employment in tourism or indeed in other aspects of CBNRM, the income and security that comes with such work provides not only for the immediate family but also for a wider network of kin and household relations. In most cases what is significant about this form of employment is that it does not entirely replace an existing strategy, rather it provides the means to diversify incomes and therefore creates additional livelihood security – people can keep their livestock, pay for labour needs through their tourism employment or have their family look after the stock. At the time of writing the extent of cash payouts from income earned by the conservancies was, however, limited. Despite this there is a clear 'fit' between CBNRM and household livelihoods in respect to the distribution of cash dividends.

Other material presented above suggests that those who have been beneficiaries of employment opportunities tend to be those from the wealthier groups (being better educated, bigger livestock holdings and crop areas etc.). The case study of a secure household presented for Kunene, however, suggests that employment in the camp for the individual concerned has provided an opportunity otherwise lacking.

³⁸ In this context 'fit' essentially relates to the ways in which the implementation of CBNRM is complementary to existing livelihoods.