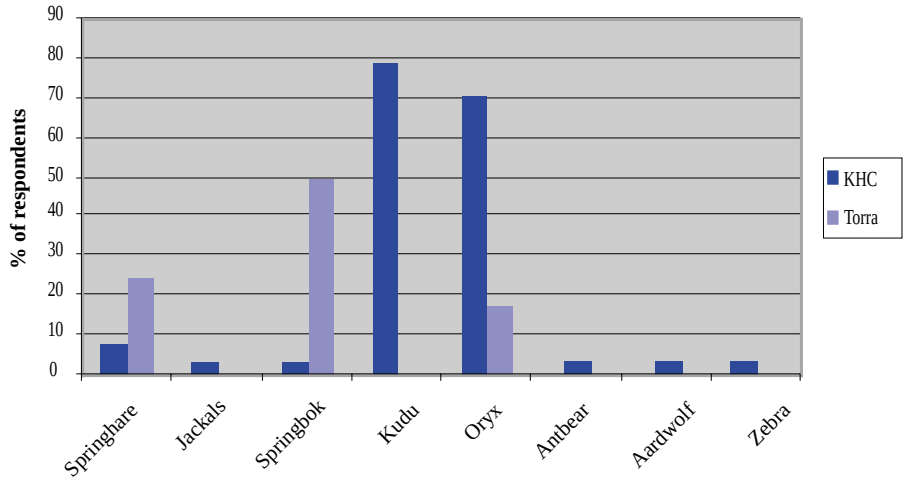
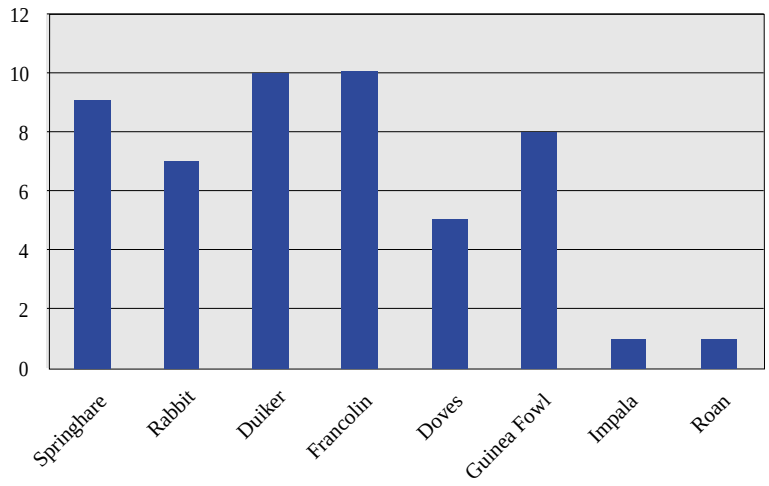
Figure 24: Most frequently pursued animals in Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas



Source: Katjiua forthcoming

Figure 25: Caprivi sample: Species hunted over a six-week period



The secretive nature of hunting in both Caprivi and Kunene precluded any detailed research on exact off-take rates. Data from Caprivi over a six-week period (between November and December 2002) ascertained that a total of 51 individual animals were successfully hunted. Figure 25 presents a breakdown of these by species.

Table 20 indicates the monthly pursuit rates in Kunene.

Table 20: Monthly pursuit rates – hunters, Kunene sample[6]

Conservancy	Species	% of hunters/monthly pursuits
Torra (n=13)	Springbok	80% or 10 hunters once a month
≠Khoadi //Hôas (n=24)	Springbok, kudu, oryx	61% or 15 hunters once a month for each species

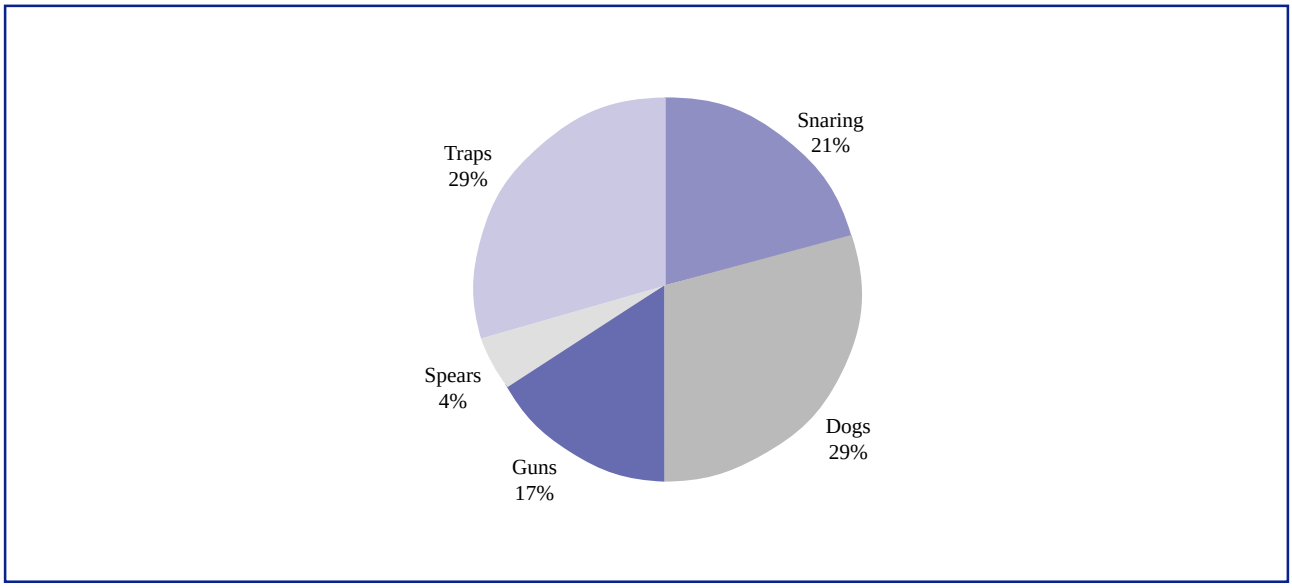
[6] No specific data was collected on actual harvesting efforts (i.e. time spent in fields), nor was data on actual off-takes recorded.

Due to the secretive nature of hunting the data presented aims simply to provide an indication of the hunting efforts of active hunters, and to provide an impression of the key species hunted. WILD data provides a useful point of departure for further research and analysis. In Caprivi the species most frequently hunted were small game (springhares, duiker), game birds (francolin, guinea fowls) and occasionally impala and roan. In Kunene the species most frequently hunted were springbok, oryx, kudu and small game.

Methods and tactics

In both Caprivi and Kunene interviewees reported that there had been a shift in the hunting methods employed in recent years. Mulonga (2003) reports that for those sampled during the wild food surveys (n=39) in Mayuni and Salambala Conservancies and in Linyanti (a non-conservancy area) most households used traps, dogs and snares. Guns and spears were also reportedly used (see Figure 26), but spears in only a very few cases (only 4%). In most cases a combination of these methods was used. Older male household members mostly used guns, while bird traps and dogs are common among teenage boys. Spring traps were used for birds (made from fishing twine or the plastic material from sacks).

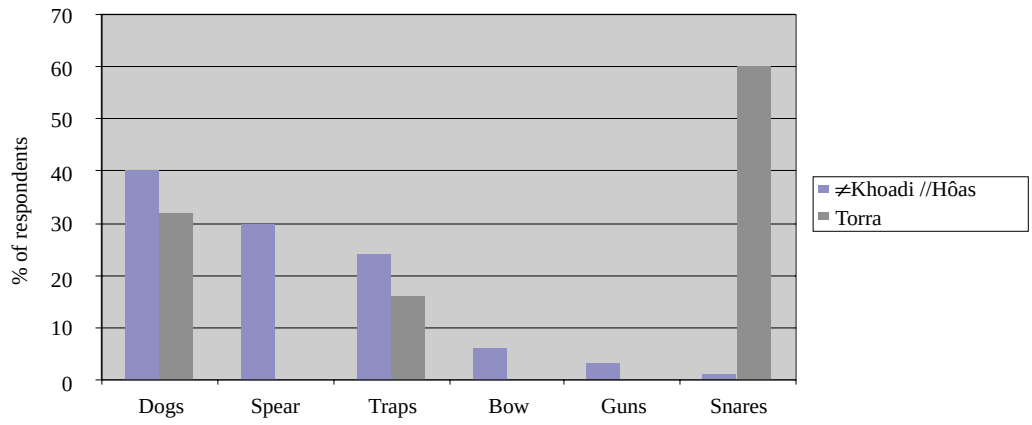
Figure 26: Hunting methods reported for Caprivi



In Caprivi the use of snares and traps when combined is the most common method (in a total of 50% of cases). The non-selectivity of species through the use of snares and traps has potential consequences for the sustainability of hunting. However, the number of individual animals that can be taken with snares is low compared to the use of efficient guns. The use of dogs, guns, and spears is often combined. Normally forays involve walking long distances in search of wild animals, sometimes at night. The distance may be up to 30 km in some instances. During night hunts usually a group of young men will start the hunt two hours after sunset (night hunting is mostly for springhare since they are nocturnal animals and hide in holes during the day) and return in the early hours of the morning.

In Kunene the methods employed are similar to Caprivi and mainly involve the use of snares, dogs, spears and traps. Figure 27 illustrates the use of various techniques. In ≠Khoadi //Hôas, the use of dogs has social significance, particularly among younger men, who often talk about the prowess of their hunting dogs. The use of dogs and other hunting methods are skills that are usually passed from male relatives to the younger generations. The main teachers for both Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas respondents interviewed were their fathers in 32% of cases; a male relative in 24% of cases; a grandfather in 22% of cases; and self-taught in 19% of cases. Hunting requires knowledge of wildlife behaviours (movements, feeding habits etc.) and identification (species, age, sex). These skills are a valuable

Figure 27: Hunting techniques in Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas compared



asset for those who live within the context of a conservation programme. That hunters, particularly younger men, had acquired and retained knowledge of wildlife was evident during the WILD sample surveys. Wildlife identification books were used with informants to identify the species they hunted. Informants could readily identify species and provide local names for them. When prompted to describe an animal that they could not readily find in any of the reference books, interviewees could describe the behaviour of many species (whether they were nocturnal, burrowers and what they ate etc.).

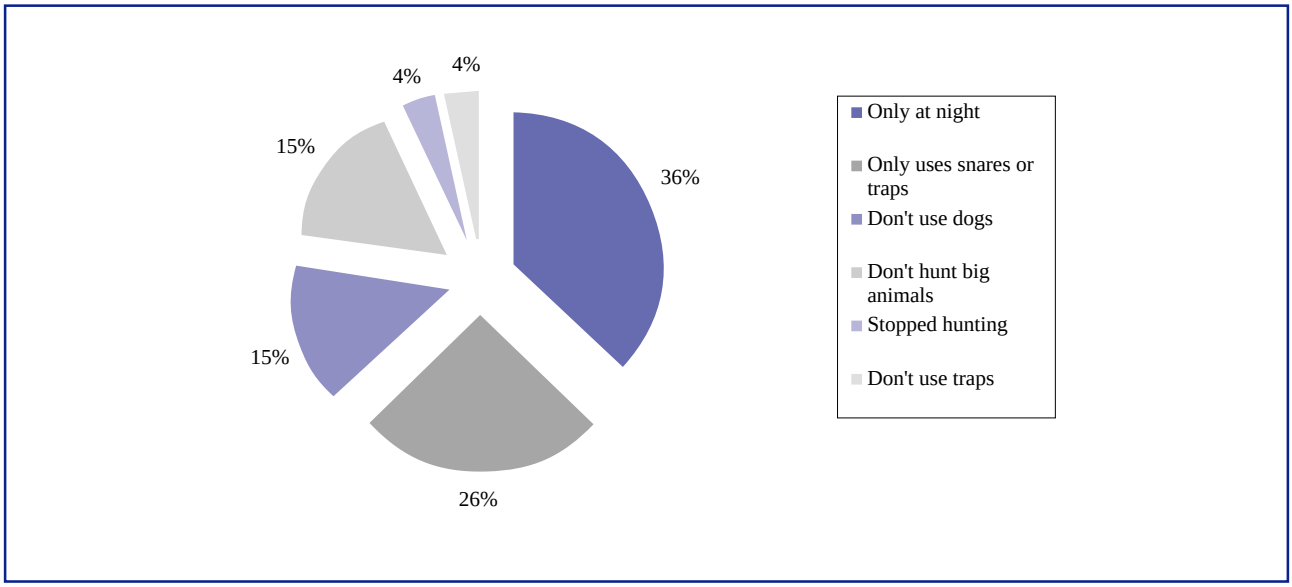
In discussion with CGGs and MET staff in Kunene about the prevalence of snaring and the use of traps, they suggested that hunters have adapted new strategies of harvesting wildlife to avoid being apprehended by the CGGs. This is further supported by qualitative data, which suggests people have become more covert in their hunting strategies. In some cases this involves hunting at times when the game guards are known to be out of the area or when they are engaged in conservancy activities other than being on patrol. Box 2 records an informal interview held with an Environmental Shepherd in one conservancy in Kunene.

Box 2: An opportunist hunter – Kunene

On the day of the conservancy AGM, a 28-year-old hunter, knowing that the conservancy staff and management were away, went to kill a giraffe. He killed it only 4 km from the CGG's house and with the knowledge of some of the CGG's family members and local community. He went with his pick-up truck and collected friends and neighbours from the local community and cut up the beast. They distributed the meat among all the households within a few hours. When the CGG returned the next day, his wife offered him his food including giraffe meat. On him enquiring where she got the meat from, she requested him not to ask too many questions, but to eat up and enjoy. He then realising where the meat might be from, continued enjoying his meal. (Source: Interview with Environmental Shepherd cited in Katjiua *et al.* forthcoming)

Respondents to sample surveys were also asked if they had changed their hunting or harvesting tactics and, in Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas, 27 people or 73% stated that they had changed their hunting tactics. The key reasons they gave for these changes were the fear of being caught by the CGG. Figure 28 provides the response rates for other changes reported.

Figure 28: Shifts in hunting or harvesting methods cited by Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas respondents



Source: Katjiua *et al.* forthcoming

Other aspects of change were recorded by WILD in Kunene. Responses to changes to harvesting since the conservancy was established included those identified below (see Table 21).

Table 21: Selected changes recorded by respondents in Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas

Changes relating to hunting and harvesting since conservancy started	Number of responses
Prevented from hunting	24
Increased local-level control over wildlife	7
Fear of being caught	6
Wild animal numbers increased	2
No change	3

Based on WILD data the methods used to hunt predominantly involve the use of snares and traps in Caprivi, and in Kunene snares, dogs, spears and traps. Respondents indicated that there had been some changes in relation to the dominant strategies since the conservancies were established, with snaring and traps becoming more commonplace. The key reasons for such changes were reported to be increased control by CGGs who prevent people from hunting.

Impact of control and regulation by conservancies

The use of 'bushmeat' is an aspect of wildlife utilisation in conservancies that has received little attention in the past. Research carried out by WILD indicates that the closer control and regulation of wildlife use by the CGGs in Torra and Environmental Shepherds in ≠Khoadi //Hôas is reducing the use of wildlife as bushmeat amongst residents. Data on these issues was difficult to obtain because of reluctance by residents to give information on the species and numbers hunted for fear of being caught or prosecuted. Also there might be a tendency to exaggerate the extent of hardship in order to gain sympathy and motivate for action to be taken. Examples of views expressed by residents during interviews conducted by WILD are provided below:

"We are poor but we cannot hunt so where we will get our food?" (Elderly female resident, Torra Conservancy)

"The Conservancy stopped us being able to hunt, now how can I just live from a small pension without livestock and keep going on?" (Elderly male resident, Torra Conservancy)

"The poor people use all types of wildlife, we are here to show them about the conservancy." (Environmental Shepherd, ≠Khoadi //Hôas Conservancy)

Governing Local Hunting

This section of the chapter addresses the issue of how local-level hunting is governed within the conservancies that were part of the study. The key issues addressed in this section relate to the ways in which local social and political contexts influence the use of wildlife at farm and household levels. The material presented below draws on participatory workshops and interviews with known hunters. It illustrates how within conservancies managing wildlife is often concerned with managing social relations as well as managing biological resources and applying the law. This is an important aspect of understanding the processes involved in achieving CBNRM objectives, since community conservation is not simply about technical choices or changes in laws or formal organisations, it is part of wider processes of social change and about attempts to redistribute social and political power (Hulme and Murphree 2002). The material presented below explores two aspects of local management. The first relates to the current position of the