



fortunate to catch something. It is a matter of patience and luck as the animals move on different routes. The conservancy committee members are also part of our family networks and they get their portions of meat as well. One conservancy committee member always tells us to make sure nobody knows what we do, to avoid us being caught and they [conservancy committee members] being exposed. We take their meat when we are sure they are alone at their homes. Even when he [one of the conservancy committee members] finds a mammal in the bush, trapped in the wires, he brings some home secretly and gives it to the two of us and we share with others, if it is big enough. He discourages us from collecting the rest of the meat as he left the rest for predators and we agree since we have to conserve wildlife and predators need that meat to survive and also to keep them away from our livestock...”

“...we decide when to hunt and what to kill and all in our village respect our decisions. When there is no food in the dry season, we are reluctant to hunt, because the animals are very thin and the people understand this. We would rather encourage them to look for other ways to get food (killing a goat or something). We would continue conserving and using as we do if there were no conservancy. We wouldn't allow outsiders or uncontrolled hunting and only certain people would hunt at certain times (for food, cultural festivals or when game numbers are too high). We would make sure those criteria meet the wishes of the residents. If we catch outsiders hunting in our area, we would not report them to the conservancy straight away but we'll deal with them ourselves by warning them and threatening to take actions if they repeat. This is our wildlife, our parents also hunted and preserved for us and we also want to use and preserve for our children...” (Anonymous, cited in Katjua *et al.* forthcoming)

There are number of issues that this interview raises. Firstly, it demonstrates the importance of social relations and networks in the context of a range of livelihood issues. The reciprocal relations that exist between the hunter and his kinsmen and women cross-cut a number of activities from looking after children to sharing food and supporting each other in a variety of livelihood pursuits. The distribution of meat is also a part of these exchanges and provides a medium for consolidating important social ties. This creates social cohesion and binds people in relations of mutual obligation. The sharing of meat also plays a role in maintaining networks of power at local level – in this case between the hunter and the relatives who hold positions within the conservancy. Secondly, wildlife is in this case being hunted for food, which enables them to reserve livestock for periods when the wildlife are stressed. Related to this is the clear understanding that the hunter expresses of not ‘mining’ the resources, but rather using them in a conservative and arguably sustainable manner. The use of snares, however, remains problematic in this regard. Another aspect of management is the desire expressed to restrict hunting by outsiders.

The other issues that this interview raises relate to the position of the hunter within the community. While the closing statement in the interview provides a strong emotional rationale for justifying hunting – “It is our wildlife”; in the context of the conservancy programme, it is also everyone else's.

The materials presented above highlight a critical issue facing the conservancies for the future. On the one hand they call for more autonomy and authority to make decisions regarding wildlife use and management – which in some cases may lead them to decide that localised hunting is permissible – and yet on the other this may lead to the further strengthening of local elites, and inevitably to some further social exclusion from the conservancy. CGGs and conservancy staff, for example, already occupy positions of status and power within their communities. They are enforcing the state rules relating to wildlife use, and since there are no conservancy-level policies and rules (other than statements in the constitutions) associated with either illegal hunting or processes associated with the apprehension and prosecution of hunters, they may act according to their own discretion. The workshop dialogues (presented above) suggest that this discretion is benign. Other materials would also suggest that they are doing an excellent job of curtailing local hunting, and yet the interview reproduced above highlights the fact that under the current situation in some cases game guards may themselves be able to hunt with impunity. These issues will be addressed further in the conclusions.

The next section of this chapter presents research material relating to community wildlife harvesting and the various ways in which it currently contributes to household livelihoods. The discussion also examines the processes involved in distribution, issues of participation and the extent to which access to meat in this way provides an incentive to refrain from hunting and to adhere to the conservation principles of the conservancies.

Conservancy Utilisation of Hunttable Game

Community hunting and meat distribution

“[Community hunting] provides meat straight into people's stomachs and shows them the value of saving and using our wildlife.” (CGG, Torra)

This section focuses on community own-use hunting and meat distribution. It is a conservancy activity that can provide quick short-term tangible benefits to the community. In Caprivi there have been no own-use hunts by the

⁸ For details of the questionnaires used see Annex 3.



conservancies due to the low numbers of wildlife within the conservancies. The research materials presented draw on sample surveys that were conducted in Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas Conservancies, in the Kunene Region⁸. These two conservancies implemented community own-use hunts and meat distribution shortly after they were gazetted in 1998. The research methodology involved the implementation of 24 questionnaires in Torra Conservancy and 25 in ≠Khoadi //Hôas (see Annex 3, Table 1, Section A3.3.3). The sample set was chosen purposively to ensure that a geographical representation was provided, since distances from the own-use hunt sites and conservancy office to households had been identified as affecting the implementation of the community meat distribution process. Therefore, 29% of respondents lived in an area classified as urban, 37% as semi-rural, and 35% as rural (rounding resulted in a total of 101%). The classification was done on the premise that ‘urban’ was a settlement such as Anker, Erwee or Bergsig, which have a few services and are adjacent to a main gravel road. ‘Semi-rural’ was a settlement bordering a main gravel road, and ‘rural’ was a remote settlement away from main gravel roads. The rural areas are sites of potentially high HWC and, due to the long distances from roads, cause logistical problems for conservancy activities, including meat distribution.

Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas started their meat distribution to the community in 1998 and 1999, respectively. In Torra community own-use hunting of springbok provides the meat, and in ≠Khoadi //Hôas it is predominantly, but not exclusively, meat from animals killed by trophy hunters that is distributed. In ≠Khoadi //Hôas when the trophy hunting quota isn’t filled the conservancy committee utilises their community own-use quota to provide additional meat. The use of trophy hunted animals in ≠Khoadi //Hôas is because there is a low wildlife-to-people ratio and therefore own-use hunting would not produce enough meat to distribute widely. ≠Khoadi //Hôas had attempted to carry out own-use hunting meat distributions in the past (1998), but as not all conservancy members received meat it caused conflicts. Consequently they decided to use only trophy-hunted animals and shot some own-use species as a ‘top up’. However, there is still not enough wildlife to supply meat to every household.

The implementation arrangements of own-use hunting vary with each conservancy. In ≠Khoadi //Hôas Conservancy office staff and committee members carry out the hunt with a selection of skilled community members. Where possible the ≠Khoadi //Hôas Conservancy Committee will try to involve the community in allocating individual community members to participate. However, this is not always possible and often the selection is done at the discretion of the

committee (Bob Gaseb pers. comm. 2003). In Torra, 20 people, consisting of six IRDNC staff, three shooters and 11 conservancy residents who were randomly selected from each village, carried out the hunt. Having representatives from each village, involved aims to ensure that the meat will be distributed fairly to the members. Different conservancy residents are also selected each year to assist with the hunts and distribution to give people an equal opportunity for training and employment (Vitalis Florry pers. comm. 2003).

A ‘vleis (or meat) committee’ manages the meat distribution process in Torra, whereas the conservancy committee manages the process in ≠Khoadi //Hôas. In Torra meat is delivered directly to its 123 households, but since ≠Khoadi //Hôas has 641 households meat is provided at distribution points. The households in ≠Khoadi //Hôas then have to travel to the distribution points to collect their meat after being informed over the radio or through conservancy committee members by word of mouth.

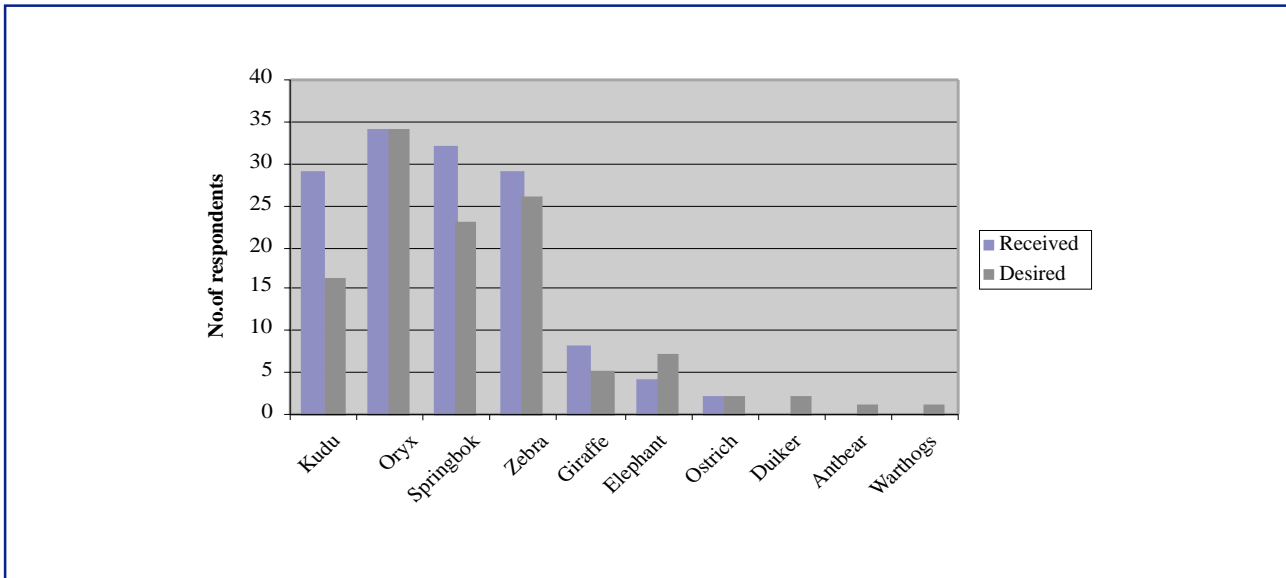
The sample surveys conducted by WILD (see Branston *et al.* 2003) in Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas suggest that there are differences in how people interpret who has responsibility for decision-making regarding various aspects of the hunts and meat distribution. Key decisions about the organisation of community hunts in ≠Khoadi //Hôas, for example those involving the number and types of species and the location of the hunt, were perceived by 58% of those interviewed to be the responsibility of the conservancy committee; 26% of those interviewed stated that MET was the key decision maker; and 7% stated that MET and the conservancy committee were equally the decision makers. In the case of decisions regarding meat distribution, 78% of those interviewed stated that the conservancy committee held responsibility. This indicates that the majority of people interviewed view the processes associated with the hunts as the responsibility of the conservancy. In ≠Khoadi //Hôas interviewees were asked if they were involved or wanted to be involved in the decision-making process: 82% of the respondents stated that they were not involved, and 86% wanted to be involved. Interviewees’ statements supported this perspective.

“We want to be recognised as the legal owners of natural resources in the conservancy as its constitution states. Only by making our own decisions regarding community hunting will we experience that ownership.” (Pensioner, ≠Khoadi //Hôas)

“The conservancy is a community initiative so the community should be involved [with decision-making].” (Employed youth, ≠Khoadi //Hôas)



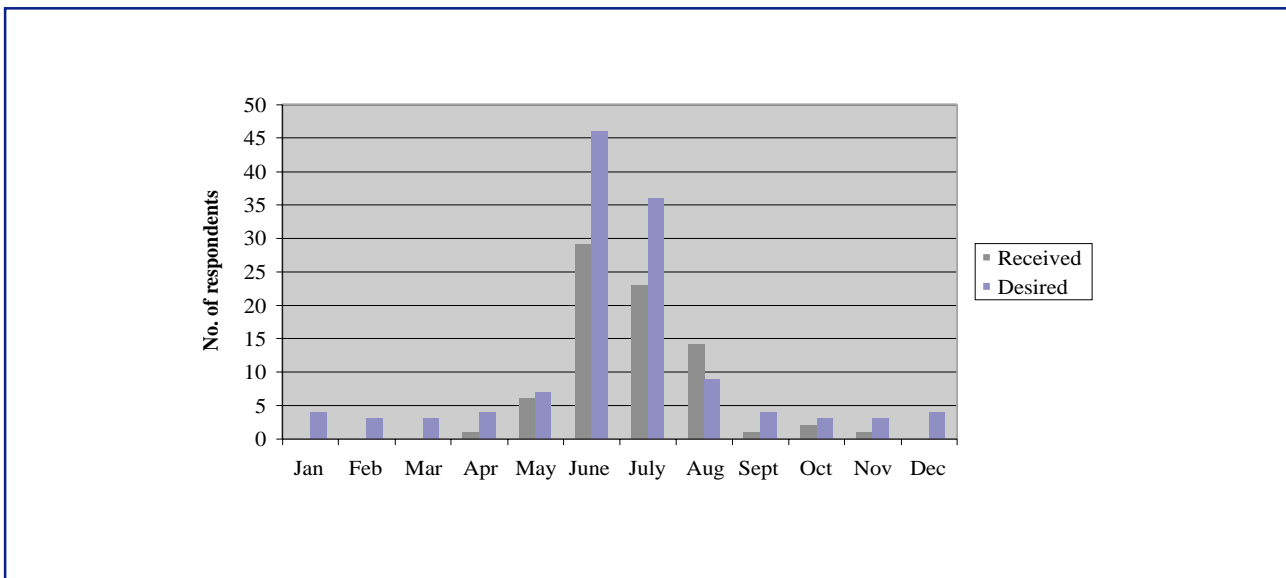
Figure 29: Species received versus preferred species in Torra and #Khoadi //Hôas



Despite differences of opinion in respect to who are the key decision makers regarding the organisation of community hunts, survey material suggests that there are a number of positive aspects to decisions about the species hunted and the timing of hunts (see Figures 29 and 30). There is a good fit between the type of species distributed and the timing of their distribution and people’s preferences in both conservancies.

People preferred June, July and August as the period to receive meat, as it is cooler so the meat keeps for longer and the animals are fat and strong at that time of the year. The species distributed are generally agreed to be tasty and make good biltong. In addition to the taste, some people commented that they would like to see more use made of zebra because zebras compete with livestock for grazing.

Figure 30: Timing of distribution





There are a number of practical and organisational issues associated with community hunts and meat distribution that affect the extent to which these hunts can provide meaningful benefits for people. Key factors include wildlife population densities and the number of households in a conservancy. Both these have an effect on the logistics of hunting and meat distribution. In Torra, for example, because of the high wildlife numbers and low human populations it is possible to provide an annual distribution that is clearly sustainable. Distribution can also be direct since there are few households in the area. The situation in ≠Khoadi //Hôas contrasts sharply with Torra. In ≠Khoadi //Hôas there are lower numbers of wildlife and considerably more people (see Table 23).

The problem of the low wildlife to people ratio in ≠Khoadi //Hôas was expressed during a workshop on livelihoods, CBNRM and wildlife in the Kunene Region, by the Environmental Shepherd Coordinator for ≠Khoadi //Hôas:

“≠Khoadi //Hôas started [own-use meat distribution] in the year 2000 and had four main points for distribution with 10 kudu, 10 oryx and 50 springbok. Not all registered members could get meat as there was more people than meat in the area and this caused some conflicts.” (Cited in Vaughan *et al.* 2003c)

As a result meat distribution in ≠Khoadi //Hôas now focuses on the larger trophy-hunted animals (principally elephants), but is supplemented with huntable game. The meat from the own-use hunting is only distributed to groups or to community events, for example to schools or to the Traditional Authority for various meetings. There remain problems with the amount of meat available for distribution and the processes involved which in turn raises the question of equity within the community. The community’s perception on the fairness of the meat distribution varies between Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas, with 58% of respondents stating that the meat distribution process in Torra is fair and 76% in ≠Khoadi //Hôas stating it as unfair.

Table 23: Wildlife-human population ratios in Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas

Conservancy	Game count estimates (oryx, kudu & springbok)	No. of hhs	Ratio hh: wildlife	Human population	Ratio people: wildlife
Torra	10,950	123	1:89	884	1:12
≠Khoadi //Hôas	4,800	641	1:7	3,463	1:1.4

Figure 31: Perceived fairness of the meat distribution process in Torra and ≠Khoadi //Hôas

