

**CONSERVANCIES AS A VEHICLE FOR  
ACHIEVING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT:  
WITH REFERENCE TO A CASE STUDY IN THE  
NYAE-NYAE AREA OF EASTERN OTJOZONDJUPA,  
NAMIBIA**

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*Photograph 1: The Nyae-Nyae Pans in the centre of Eastern Bushmanland are shown above and below. The area, is known by the local Ju/'hoansi people as the Nyae-Nyae region of Eastern Otjozondjupa, Namibia*



# **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

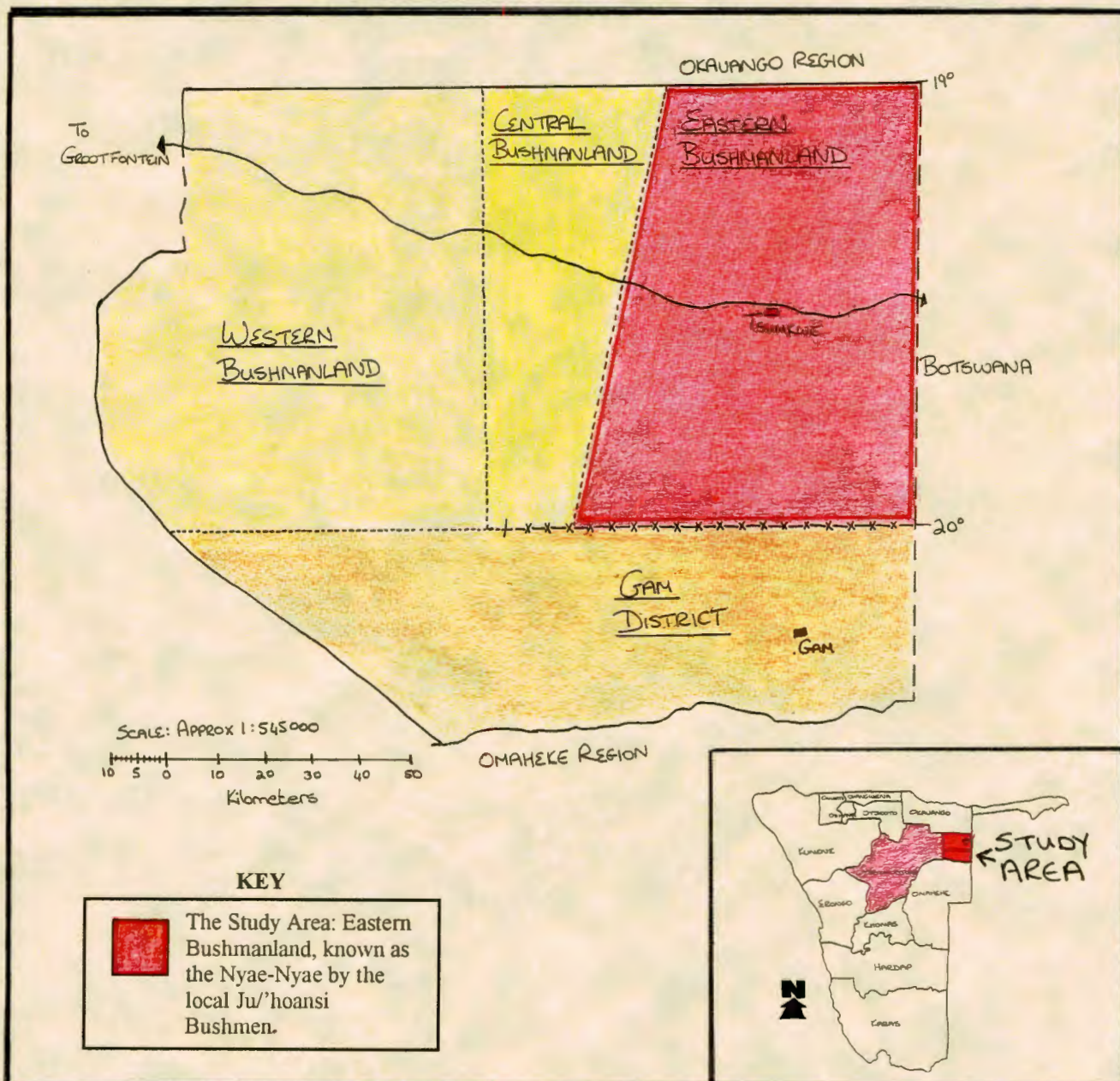
# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

*"Those who live on the land and know it well are its best protectors."*

## BACKGROUND

This dissertation is concerned with the question of sustainable development and conservation in the Nyae-Nyae area of Eastern Otjozondjupa, Namibia, a region comprising the communal lands of western, central and eastern Bushmanland and the Gam region, that lies on the western edge of the Kalahari Basin (see Map below). It was born out of a Retrospective Assessment of the Environmental Impacts of Emergency Borehole Supply in Namibia (hereafter referred to as the Retrospective Environmental Impact Assessment or REIA), commissioned by the Namibian Programme to combat desertification (NAPCOD) through the Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET).

*Map showing the Eastern Otjozondjupa Region of Namibia*



The REIA, undertaken by Masters' students from the Department of Environmental and Geographical Science at the University of Cape Town, was commissioned because of concerns raised that the environmental impacts of emergency borehole provision had not been adequately addressed.

## **IDENTIFICATION OF CASE STUDY AREA**

A key finding of this assessment was the fact that the provision of boreholes has enabled the permanent resettlement in Gam, one of two case study areas of the REIA, of Herero from Botswana. The Herero have a predominantly pastoralist economy with livestock, in particular, cattle providing a major means of subsistence. This is an unsustainable land use practice in the Kalahari area due to limited grazing and a fragile semi-arid environment, and the REIA found evidence of environmental degradation and extensive loss of habitat. Despite the presence of a veterinary fence, Herero from the Gam area are moving northwards with their livestock in search of grazing land into the adjacent Eastern Bushmanland, the area known as the Nyae-Nyae by the local Ju/'hoansi Bushmen. This presents a direct threat to the relatively pristine and undamaged environment of the Nyae-Nyae, placing increased pressure on the natural resources and social lifestyles of the Bushman communities and their hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Prior to the Herero resettlement programme (which began in 1993 and is ongoing), the Ju/'hoansi, due to the remoteness of the area, were the only inhabitants of the Nyae-Nyae. Consequently, this dissertation explores the use of the **conservancy approach** as a vehicle for sustainable development and conservation of the environment (which includes biophysical and social elements) within the Nyae-Nyae.

## **THE CONSERVANCY APPROACH IN CONTEXT**

This dissertation is based on the theoretical assumption that in order for conservation to be achievable it must go hand in hand with development, without undermining development or the environment continuing to degrade. At Independence, Namibia inherited a number of environmental and developmental challenges from previous government systems, including slow and even economic growth, a predominantly rural population dependent on the primary production of natural resources for their survival, human-induced loss of rangelands and croplands and a historical alienation from natural resources of residents from communal lands. As a result, Namibia finds herself confronting a number of development imperatives including the need to address and minimise inherited socio-economic and environmental debts as well as ensure that people are able to meet their basic needs. A further key finding of the REIA was that design, planning and implementation of policies, programmes, plans and projects in Namibia should seek to protect and enhance this sensitive environment, and ill-advised development activities may cause or contribute to additional environmental degradation.

Recognising this, and in keeping with international trends, the Namibian conservation authorities, following Independence from South Africa began developing a national community-based natural resource management programme (CBNRM) aimed at addressing some of the key constraints of past conservation approaches and promoting development and conservation. One of the principle means of linking CBNRM and development is through the vehicle of conservancies,

a defined geographical area which has been established for the management, conservation and utilisation of its wildlife and other natural resources for the benefit of a specific community. Whilst the conservancy approach was originally designed for application on commercial farms, the intention of communal land conservancies is that a community, within a defined geographical area, jointly manage, conserve and utilise the wildlife and other natural resources within the defined area. In so doing, conservancies aim to help promote sustainable environmental management, rural development and improved income and livelihoods for rural families and communities.

The conservancy approach therefore is intended to be simultaneously a vehicle for development and for conservation. A key underlying assumption is however, that if the conservancy approach fails to contribute to sustainable development, conservation will not occur.

## **SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AS CONTEXT**

Of relevance to this dissertation is the international, regional, national and local contexts for sustainable development.

### **THE GLOBAL CONTEXT**

Sustainable development is an elusive and value-laden concept that has become the focus of contemporary discourse addressing the environmental and developmental challenges of our time. Despite rapid acceptance and enthusiastic adoption, "sustainable development" is open to many interpretations and applications, and the flexibility of its definition renders the concept difficult to operationalise, albeit useful as a general guide, promoting the idea that environmental management and development can and must go hand in hand. In order to inform the scope of this dissertation, it was thus necessary to broadly explore trends and debates informing development in the Third World. Two dominant discursive formations have historically governed the international development debate namely:

- The Modernist or Trickle-Down Approach; and
- The Imperialist or Dependency Theory.

It is illustrated that it is out of the failures of the above-mentioned development debates, particularly the lack of recognition of the finite nature of natural resources and limits to growth, that "sustainable development" has arisen as a panacea to resolving the ills confronting the planet and its inhabitants. Whilst making a valuable contribution to development, sustainable development has nonetheless inherited a number of flaws from its predecessors.

Accordingly, a definition of truly environmentally sustainable development was developed in order to inform this dissertation namely:

*a dynamic, locally conceived, participatory, flexible, iterative and cyclic process involving planning, implementing, monitoring and reviewing aimed at increasing potentials (development), to ensure the persistence of desired physical, biophysical, social, economic, historical, cultural and political systems (sustainability).*

### **THE REGIONAL CONTEXT**

Having reached an understanding of the global trends and debates governing sustainable development, it was necessary to explore the regional context. The dominant expression of sustainable development in the southern African region finds form in the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) Environment and Land Sector (ELMS) Policy and Strategy for Environment and Sustainable Development (PSESD). Although in line with international sustainable development discourse, the PSESD emphasises equity-led growth which views people as the prime moving force and subject of development. According to the SADC ELMS policy and strategy, equity-led growth is necessary in order for development to be deemed sustainable.

### **THE NATIONAL CONTEXT**

An assessment of the conservancy approach's value as a vehicle for sustainable development requires an understanding of Namibia's broader development strategy. Consequently, in order to inform what is occurring at a local level i.e. the Nyae-Nyae conservancy in Bushmanland, Namibia's policy, institutional and legislative framework for sustainable development is discussed.

Those national policies that have bearing on sustainable development in Namibian are:

- The Constitution;
- The National Development Plan 1;
- The White Paper on Tourism; and
- The Green Plan for Environment and Development.

Having discussed the above-mentioned national policies, a number of institutions were identified as directly relevant to informing the potential of the conservancy approach as a vehicle for sustainable development. These are:

- Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET);
- National Planning Commission (NPC);
- Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR); and
- Land Use and Environmental Board (LUEB).

Based on recommendations from the MET, and in accordance with other relevant post-Independence policies, Namibia's Nature Conservation Ordinance 4 of 1975 (NCO) was amended to become the Nature Conservation Ordinance Amendment Act, 1995 (NCOAA), the rationale of this amendment being to:

*"provide for an economically based system for the management and sustainable utilisation of wildlife in communal areas; to provide incentives for wise wildlife resource management; to facilitate both consumptive and non-consumptive wildlife based tourism; and to provide for matters incidental thereto" (NCOAA, 1995:1).*

In essence, the NCO was amended to provide for, and facilitate, the formation of conservancies and lends strength to the policy and institutional framework.

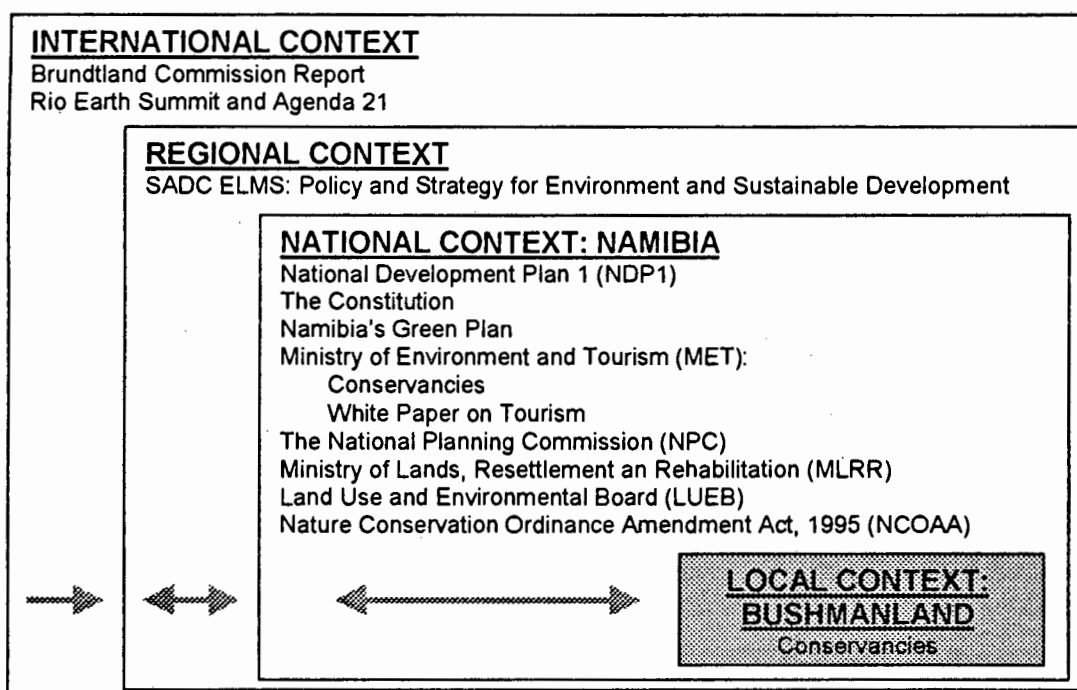
Further exploration of the legislative framework for sustainable development revealed that Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) are currently legally

required only for mining and energy related projects. The absence of EIA legislation poses a potential threat to the conservancy approach as a vehicle for sustainable development.

Two local Institutions were found to be particularly relevant, namely The Nyae-Nyae Farmer's Cooperative (NNFC) and the Nyae-Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDNFN). These are the structures that presently exist at community level, and are liaising bodies between the community and government regarding development issues.

The above exploration found that there is a close relation between sustainable development as defined internationally, regionally, nationally and locally and this is graphically illustrated by the diagram below.

***Graphic illustration of the primary international, regional and national contexts for sustainable development***



### **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

This dissertation has as its principle aim, a qualitative assessment of the conservancy approach as a vehicle for sustainable development. The specific objectives may be summarised as follows:

- To review literature on development trends in order to identify issues and debates and in so doing, to arrive at a core list of criteria and principles for determining whether development may be deemed to be sustainable or not;
- To describe the Namibian context for sustainable development to determine under what development conditions conservancies will succeed as a vehicle for conservation;

- To apply the core list of criteria and principles to a case study of a proposed conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae area of Eastern Otjozondjupa, and thus to ascertain whether the conservancy approach contributes to sustainable development in Namibia; and
- To suggest a management process broadly informed by the theoretical framework of Integrated Environmental Management (IEM), that may contribute towards strengthening the conservancy approaches contributions to sustainable development, by ensuring that the environmental ramifications of conservancy establishment and management are identified and available for consideration throughout the development process.

## **METHODOLOGY**

Methods used to gather information included the following:

- Literature and policy document reviews;
- Interviews with key stakeholders and informants, including relevant informants from government and non-government organisations, aid agencies and relevant researchers; and
- Field work including observations, the use of Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques and informal interviews.

In order to facilitate a qualitative assessment of the conservancy approach's contribution to such sustainable development and therefore to effective conservation, a list of 12 criteria and principles of sustainable development was created, primarily informed by the following recent socio-developmental paradigms:

- Local Agenda 21 (LA 21);
- Dialogical Intervention strategy (DIS); and
- Bioregionalism.

## **QUALITATIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE CONSERVANCY APPROACH**

The 12 criteria and principles of sustainable development were used to qualitatively assess the conservancy approach broadly and more specifically, within the proposed Nyae-Nyae conservancy. The criteria and principles used are listed below.

- The social unit of development should be defined in terms of cultural and/or ecological factors.
- Development must address the aspirations and priorities of local people.
- Development must promote and entrench community participation and the formation of meaningful local-level partnerships.
- Development must promote empowerment through local control and management, with indicators of empowerment being determined by the community members themselves.
- Development must have strong links to regional/national scale planning;
- Development must promote capacity building.
- Development should rely primarily on local resources and knowledge.
- Development must not depend solely on the market and the principles driving it, but through sociological and ecological maintenance and enhancement of

resources, also seek to promote a self reliance capable of functioning independently from the market.

- Development must be tailored to the basic needs of a specific community, but not limited solely to meeting basic needs.
- Development must be viewed as a process which is not quantifiably measurable;
- Development must be approached as an ongoing continual learning mechanism which drives the development process forward.
- Development must satisfy the requirements of an Equity Impact Assessment (by increasing the equity values and shares of the poor and future generations).

A summary of this assessment and its preliminary findings are presented in a Summary Table on page viii.

## **PRELIMINARY FINDINGS**

The preliminary findings of the qualitative assessment illustrate that the conservancy approach, as implemented in the Nyae-Nyae, has the potential to make a significant contribution to environmentally sustainable development, and in so doing, to conservation of wildlife and other natural resources. Thus, through its application in the communal lands of Namibia, the approach can be said (although not conclusively), to be on the way to achieving its principal goal; the promotion of sustainable environmental management, rural development and improved income and livelihoods for rural families and communities – i.e. sustainable development and conservation.

A major impediment to the attainment of these goals was however evident due to the lack of a significant consideration of the principles of IEM within the conservancy approach, both generically, and specifically in the Nyae-Nyae conservancy. This comprises a major weakness in terms of the conservancy approach's contribution to environmentally sustainable development and thus conservation.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**

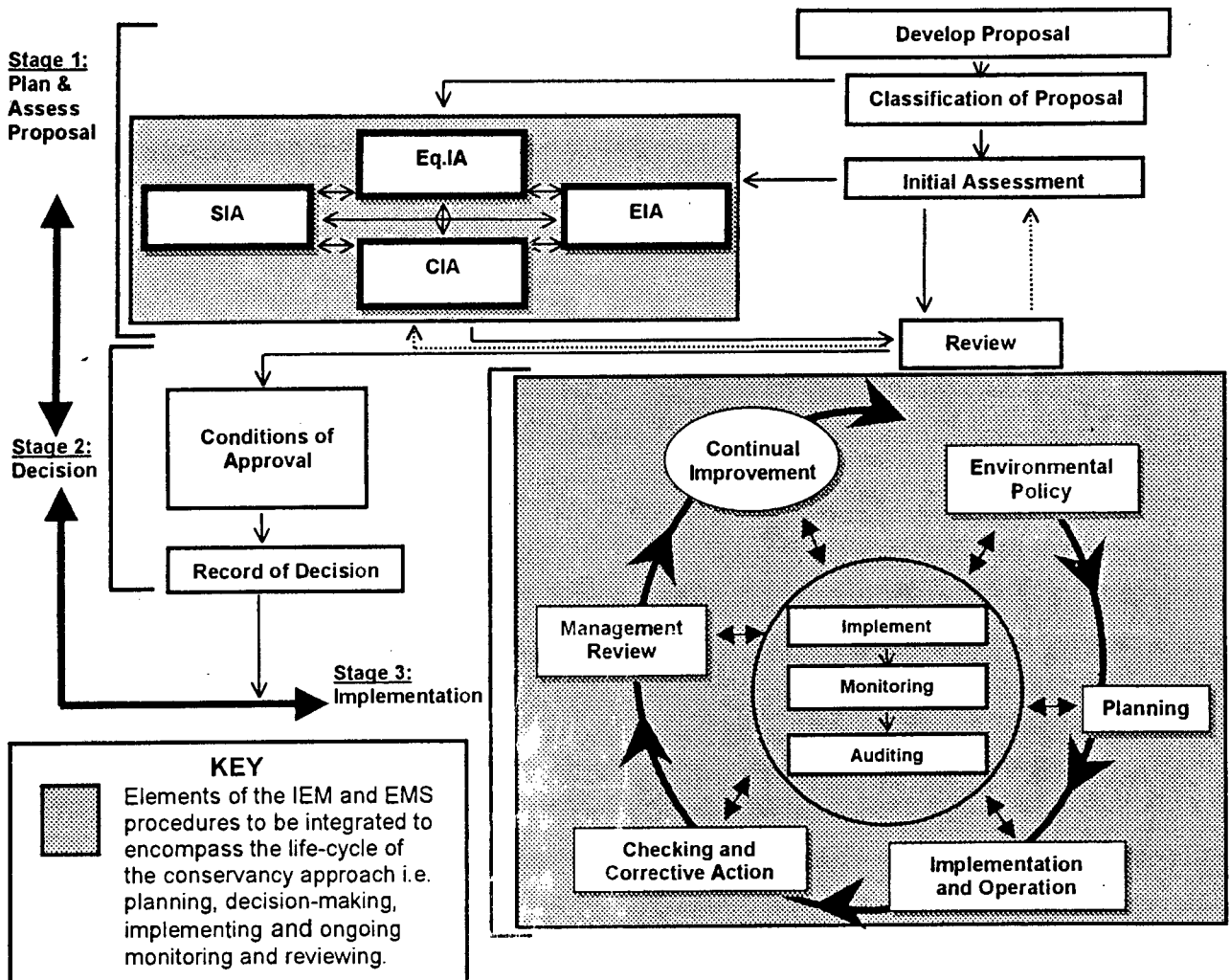
The recommendation is made that an Integrated Environmental Management System (IEMS) be employed both generically as an integral component of the conservancy approach, and specifically in the Nyae-Nyae conservancy. The recommended IEMS process incorporates two components:

- The IEM procedure as described in the IEM Guidelines Series (1992, Department of Environmental Affairs) is adapted to specify the use of Social Impact Assessments (SIAs), Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs), Economic Equity Impact Assessments (Eq.IAs), and Cumulative Impact Assessments (CIAs), for use with the conservancy approach; and
- The Environmental Management System (EMS), as detailed in the recent International Standards Organisation 14000 (ISO 14000) publication and which involves a commitment to continual review and improvement.

The combination of the above-mentioned procedures results in the recommended IEMS, which is illustrated by the diagram on the following page. Such a system or process should not only be used with regards the development, assessment,

decision-making and implementation phases of the approach itself, but also as an ongoing mechanism to ensure any subsequent related developments are in keeping with the goals of sustainable development and conservation. It is suggested that this will make a substantial contribution towards strengthening the approach's potential and relative strength as a vehicle for sustainable development and conservation.

*Graphic illustration of the IEMS process recommended for use in the conservancy approach*



**Summary table of the qualitative assessment, based on 12 criteria and principles, of the conservancy approach's contribution to environmentally sustainable development.**

| CRITERIA/PRINCIPLES  | DISCUSSION  | PRELIMINARY FINDING  | MEETS CRITERIA & PRINCIPLES |
|--|---|--|-----------------------------|
| <p>Criteria/principle 1:<br/>Is the social unit of development defined in terms of cultural and ecological factors (a bioregion)?</p>                    | <p>The seasonal and calccrete pans of the Nyae-Nyae region support a large variety of natural resources (plants and wildlife). These form the basis of, and determine, the Ju/'hoansi subsistence hunter-gatherer lifestyle and the concomitant cultural norms, values, belief systems and behaviours of these peoples. Due to historical land separation and definition of the remote and underdeveloped nature of the area, the part of the Nyae-Nyae region that falls within the boundaries of the proposed conservancy, is inhabited only by the Ju/'hoansi.</p> | <p>By chance, the area is home to a homogeneous group of people, the Ju/'hoansi. The ecological and cultural factors of the Nyae-Nyae region are inextricable bound together. A locally appropriate and situation-specific lands assessment was used to identify all Ju/'hoansi major resource areas and it was ensured that these were included within the boundaries of the proposed conservancy. Thus, albeit perhaps by chance, the social unit of development in the Nyae-Nyae conservancy has been defined in terms of cultural and ecological factors.</p>                                      | ✓                           |
| <p>Criteria/principle 2:<br/>Does development address the aspirations and priorities of local people?</p>  | <p>Primary priorities of the Ju/'hoansi included the need to attain some form of land tenure and security, and to have a voice at national level. In order to have a conservancy declared it is legislatively required to form a locally elected and representative conservancy committee. Once a conservancy is established, this conservancy committee is recognised at a national level as a legitimate community representative structure and voice.</p>  | <p>The formation of a conservancy addresses the Ju/'hoansi's desire for some form of land and resource security that will enable them to control the influx of outsiders. This control will enable them to have a strong say in determining to live the way they, as a community, find most desirable. In addition, the formation of a conservancy and conservancy committee, gives the Ju/'hoansi a voice, and recognition, at national level. The formation and approval of the Nyae-Nyae conservancy is thus development that addresses the aspirations and priorities of the local Ju/'hoansi.</p> | ✓ ?                         |
| <p>Criteria/principle 3:<br/>Does development promote and entrench community participation and the formation of meaningful local-level partnerships?</p> | <p>The conservancy approach legally requires the formation of a locally selected conservancy management committee prior to the establishment of a conservancy. Once a conservancy is established, the community is given responsibility, ownership and rights to manage and use wildlife resources in consultation with the MET.</p>  | <p>The conservancy approach, both generically and specifically in the Nyae-Nyae conservancy, promotes and entrenches community participation and the formation of meaningful local-level partnerships. This is dependent however, to a large degree on community organisations remaining representative of, and accountable to, their constituents.</p>  | ✓ ?                         |

|  |   |   |              |
|--|---|---|--------------|
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 4:</b><br/>Does development promote empowerment through local control and management?</p> | <p>The members of the Nyae-Nyae conservancy committee are all Ju/'hoansi. Through the formation of a conservancy, the Ju/'hoansi are given the right to control access to their land and to the natural resources on this land. This is viewed by the community as a sign of increasing empowerment and a means of gaining increasing control over their own lives. The formation of a conservancy and conservancy committee also gives the Ju/'hoansi recognition and a voice at national level regarding issues concerned with the area of the conservancy.</p> | <p>The conservancy approach, by its very nature, and the associated legal requirements, promotes empowerment through local control and management.</p>  | <p>✓ ?</p>   |
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 5:</b><br/>Does development have strong links to regional/national scale planning?</p>    | <p>The conservancy approach as implemented in the Nyae-Nyae, is part of a national-level CBNRM undertaken by the MET. In addition, the Nyae-Nyae conservancy is funded by LIFE, a joint USAID, WWF and MET programme.</p>   | <p>The Nyae-Nyae conservancy has strong links to regional and national scale planning, as well as international links through the involvement of the LIFE programme stakeholders. However, the lack of a holistic land-use plan in Namibia, and the absence of meaningful communication and coordination between different line ministries regarding national natural resource management and planning, comprises a threat to development that is based on the conservancy approach.</p>  | <p>✓ ⇄</p>   |
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 6:</b><br/>Does development promote capacity-building?</p>                                | <p>It is unlikely that the Ju/'hoansi, who have been managing their natural resources sustainably for centuries, require capacity-building in this regard. However, tourism related activities ventures and initiatives, an integral component of the conservancy approach, have much potential to promote capacity building.</p>   | <p>Numerous options exist regarding the development of tourism ventures. It would appear that only joint ventures between the community and an investor, or community ventures, have any real potential to contribute towards capacity building, skills development, local institutional development and empowerment.</p>   | <p>✓ ⇄ ?</p> |
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 7:</b><br/>Does development rely primarily on local resources and knowledge?</p>          | <p>By its very nature, the conservancy approach as a vehicle of development relies on local resources, both human and ecological. It has as one of its primary functions, the maintenance and enhancement of local ecological resources.</p>  | <p>By giving people back their rights to use and manage their natural resources, as well as by providing some form of land tenure through the vehicle of the formation of a conservancy, the primary constraints to development that is based on natural resources and knowledge, can be seen to be addressed and partially eliminated. However, the lack of a regional and national integrated and holistic land-use plan, unless addressed, will comprise a major obstacle to the conservancy approach's reliance primarily on local resources and knowledge.</p> | <p>✓ ?</p>   |

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|---|---|--|-----------------------------|
| <p>Criteria/principle 8:<br/>Does development promote a self reliance capable of functioning independently from the market?</p>                       | <p>The formation of a conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae will allow the Ju/'hoansi to return to their socio-ecological traditions and the socio-cultural practices of a hunter-gatherer subsistence society. Game numbers should increase, as should other natural resources protected from outside use.</p>  | <p>Formation of a conservancy will promote a self-reliance that is capable of functioning independently from the market by permitting the Ju/'hoansi to return to their predominantly hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Dependence on a cash income and economy will be voluntary rather than essential.</p>                            | <p>✓</p>                    |
| <p>Criteria/principle 9:<br/>Is development tailored to the basic needs of a specific community, but not limited solely to meeting basic needs?</p>   | <p>The conservancy approach integrally includes a bottom-up approach which may be construed as tailoring the national CBNRM initiative to the basic needs of a specific community. Need is a relative concept that evolves and changes as development progresses. The conservancy committee is in a position to continually redefine the orientations of development according to the evolving needs, changing values and shared constraints of the community. Further, they recognise that development through the formation of the conservancy is an ongoing process.</p> | <p>In the case of the Nyae-Nyae conservancy, the NNFC and the conservancy committee, both legislatively and nationally recognised as community representative bodies, are in a position to ensure that development, whilst being tailored to the basic needs of the community, is not limited solely to meeting basic needs.</p> | <p>✓</p>                    |
| <p>Criteria/principle 10:<br/>Is development viewed as a process which is not quantifiably measurable?</p>  | <p>The conservancy committee has stated that the Nyae-Nyae conservancy as a development initiative is a dynamic process that needs to be constantly revisited and developed. Members of the MET also recognise this and are working with the conservancy and its formation accordingly. No end point to the initiative has been determined.</p>   | <p>The conservancy approach, both generically and specifically as applied in the Nyae-Nyae region, is seen by all stakeholders as a process which is not quantifiably measurable.</p>  | <p>✓</p>                    |
| <p>Criteria/principle 11:<br/>Is development approached as an ongoing, continual learning mechanism which drives the development process forward?</p> | <p>As described above, development is viewed by all stakeholders as an ongoing, continual learning mechanism which drives the development process forward.</p>  | <p>The absence of some form of Impact Assessments and some form of monitoring and auditing procedure, comprises a weakness within the approach, both generically and specifically.</p>   | <p>✓<br/>◀▶<br/>✗<br/>?</p> |

|  |   |  |          |
|--|---|--|----------|
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 12:</b><br/>Does development satisfy equity-requirements?</p> | <p>Before a conservancy can be approved, the conservancy committee must show that it has the ability to effectively manage the income and funds of the conservancy and that it has an appropriate method for the equitable distribution of benefits to members of such a conservancy.</p> | <p>The absence of the use of EIAs and Eq.IAs renders this purely theoretical and there is no means of predicting or anticipating the economic and equity impacts, outcomes and consequences of the formation of the Nyae-Nyae conservancy. This comprises a weakness of the conservancy approach, both generically and in its employment in the Nyae-Nyae.</p> | <p>X</p> |
|--|---|--|----------|

**KEY**

|     |   |                                 |   |
|-----|---|---------------------------------|---|
| Yes | ✓ | Partially                       | ◄ |
| No  | X | Too soon to assess conclusively | ? |

**CONTENTS;  
LISTS OF FIGURES, MAPS, TABLES, PHOTOGRAPHS;  
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS;  
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University of Cape Town

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**ATTACHMENT 2: Application for declaration of a conservancy. Government Gazette, November 18, 1996.**

**ATTACHMENT 3: Persecution continues for Southern Africa's San people. Cape Times, July 16, 1997.**

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>A 21</b>        | Agenda 21  |
| <b>CBNRM</b>       | Community Based Natural Resource Management  |
| <b>CIA</b>         | Cumulative Impact Assessment   |
| <b>DEA</b>         | Department of Environmental Affairs  |
| <b>DIS</b>         | Dialogical Intervention Strategy   |
| <b>DNCRR</b>       | Directorate of Nature Conservation and Recreational Resorts  |
| <b>DRWS</b>        | Directorate of Rural Water Supply  |
| <b>Ec.IA</b>       | Economic Impact Assessment   |
| <b>EIA</b>         | Environmental Impact Assessment  |
| <b>ELCIN</b>       | Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia   |
| <b>ELMS</b>        | Environment and Land Management Sector   |
| <b>EPC</b>         | Environmental Planning Committee   |
| <b>Eq.IA</b>       | Equity Impact Assessment   |
| <b>ESD</b>         | Environmentally Sustainable Development  |
| <b>GDP</b>         | Gross Domestic Product   |
| <b>I&amp;APs</b>   | Interested and Affected Parties  |
| <b>IA</b>          | Impact Assessment  |
| <b>ICLEI</b>       | International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives  |
| <b>IEM</b>         | Integrated Environmental Management  |
| <b>IEMS</b>        | Integrated Environmental Management Systems  |
| <b>IUCN</b>        | International Union for Conservation of Nature   |
| <b>JFU</b>         | Ju/Wa Farmers' Union   |
| <b>LA 21</b>       | Local Agenda 21  |
| <b>LAMCP</b>       | Local Agenda 21 Model Communities Programme  |
| <b>LIFE</b>        | Living in a Finite Environment Programme   |
| <b>LUEB</b>        | Land-Use and Environmental Board   |
| <b>M Phil</b>      | Masters of Philosophy in Environmental Science   |
| <b>MET</b>         | Ministry of Environment and Tourism  |
| <b>MLGH</b>        | Ministry of Local Government and Housing   |
| <b>MLRR</b>        | Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation   |
| <b>N\$</b>         | Namibian Dollars   |
| <b>NAPCOD</b>      | Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification   |
| <b>NCO</b>         | Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1975  |
| <b>NCOAA</b>       | Nature Conservation Ordinance Amendment Act of 1995  |
| <b>NDP1</b>        | National Development Plan 1  |
| <b>NGOs</b>        | Non Government Organisations   |
| <b>NNDFN</b>       | Nyae-Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia  |
| <b>NNFC</b>        | Nyae-Nyae Farmers' Co-operative  |
| <b>NPC</b>         | National Planning Commission   |
| <b>NTDS</b>        | Namibian Tourism Development Strategy  |
| <b>OP</b>          | Opportunities Assessment   |
| <b>pers. comm.</b> | Personal Communication   |
| <b>PSESD</b>       | Southern African Environment and Land Sector's Policy and Strategy for Environment and Sustainable Development |
| <b>REIA</b>        | Retrospective Assessment of the Environmental Impacts of Emergency Borehole Supply in Namibia                  |
| <b>SADC</b>        | Southern African Development Community   |

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| <b>SADCC</b> | Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference    |
| <b>SIA</b>   | Social Impact Assessment                                 |
| <b>SSP</b>   | Strategic Services Planning                              |
| <b>SWCLU</b> | Soil and Water Conservation and Land Utilisation Unit    |
| <b>UNCED</b> | United Nations Conference on Environment and Development |
| <b>US</b>    | United States  |
| <b>USAID</b> | United States Agency for International Development       |
| <b>WWF</b>   | World Wildlife Fund                                      |

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# PREFACE

## PREFACE

The home I grew up in had a fireplace that was constantly kept burning through the cold winter evenings. All things that were good, safe and secure took place as my mother, father, sister, I and any number of dogs and cats that were sharing our lives, gathered in the evenings to do whatever it was that needed to be done, whether this involved sleep, work, music or just being together.

During the summer months, bees would gather in the chimney. With windows left wide open to allow the summer breath to seep into every nook and cranny, the evening time-spent-together focus changed. Bees who had not made it back to the hive would be scattered around the lounge and we would place sugar water droplets in our palms for them to drink in order to find the strength to make it home. I don't know to this day whether it did any good or not. Perhaps it made a difference to just one bee and that is enough. What it taught me though, has stayed with me always namely: The house and our presence was both a help and a hindrance to the daily business of the bees and it was our duty to recognise this and act accordingly.

One winter, in my early teens, the nights grew longer and colder but the fire remained unlit as my parents struggled with their own personal dilemma that was to become a reoccurring one over the ensuing years. In years past, the onset of the cold had seen the relocation of the bee hive. However, this particular year, the hive had grown too big. What was to be done? Was it best to relocate some of the bees, none of the bees, not light the fire and be cold, light the fire, be warm but kill the swarm? I don't remember how the dilemma was solved that particular season, but it is one that continues to plague the household at the end of the many summers. Years later, an accumulation of stings rendered me allergic to bees. Yet my parents have never killed a bee. Rather they have taught me to respect and be aware of the creature's presence whether this meant wearing shoes (a big compromise) whilst playing amongst fallen jacaranda petals, or carrying antihistamine when travelling. It never occurred to any of us that because the bees had become dangerous, they should be harmed in anyway.

And so, cocooned safely in this insulated, compassionate family world, were born the foundations of the ongoing ethical conflicts I currently face on an almost daily basis in the real world of humanity's ongoing relationship with nature and her life-forms namely: Live and let live through a process of adaptation and compromise, hold tight to an absolute respect for all creatures great and small; and do your best, even if it seems insignificant.

During a recent trip to Namibia to undertake some research for the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET), I was deeply effected by the relatively unspoilt Nyae-Nyae region. In an increasingly altered world, the timelessness of the ecosystems supported by numerous seasonal pans seemed like a remnant of a Garden of Eden. Camping by the Nyae-Nyae Pans that lend their name to the area and listening to the deafening symphonic silence of wilderness one night, I was overwhelmed by a desire to see the area left to its own devices without the tainting touch of Western man's management, imposition and interference. This feeling was fortified by the fact that the Ju/'hoansi Bushmen who inhabit the region seemed to

dance with the very rhythms of the land in a symbiotic, remote and self-sustaining manner, that only served to enhance the sense-of-place of the area. I know however, that this was just the Western tendency to romanticise indigenous peoples coming to the fore, and I had no right to reach such conclusions. Besides, it is not the way of modern society to allow people to remain remote. Perhaps the Ju/'hoansi themselves want change?

As research progressed for the MET study, it became clear that the Nyae-Nyae area was threatened by a recent resettlement programme on its borders involving Herero, with large amounts of cattle, from Botswana. My desire to see the area conserved and protected intensified, hand in hand with the knowledge that it is inherent in human nature to put people first. Given that development, upliftment and improvement in quality of life and welfare are national priorities in Namibia, I realised that conservation in the Nyae-Nyae had to take place within an ethical compromise that combined the human rights of freedom of choice and self-determination, with the rights of wildlife and other natural resources to enjoy protection from human destruction - to exist independently of the imposition placed on them by human needs.

The concept of sustainable development seemed to offer part of the solution to this dilemma. However, the determination of "developmental needs" is a very personal and situation-specific concept and the western arrogance of "we know best" that is inherent even in the sustainable development paradigm, has always worried me. The Ju/'hoansi Bushmen who have lived on this land for centuries have clearly followed a sustainable lifestyle and although not always the case, in the case of the Nyae-Nyae it certainly seems as if those who live on the land and know it well are its best protectors. The second part of the solution seemed to be offered by a Namibian national initiative known as the conservancy approach, which is part of a national community-based natural resource management programme.

Thus began the journey that finds expression in the form of this dissertation, namely an exploration of the conservancy approach as a vehicle first and foremost for conservation of the Nyae-Nyae area. However, given my belief that people will always place themselves first, irrespective of the environmental consequences, the conservancy approach has to make a meaningful contribution to development. Thus the title, "Conservancies as a Vehicle for Sustainable Development".

Having reached the end of the voyage represented by this dissertation, I feel peaceful in the knowledge that with a few additions, the conservancy approach, by potentially making a significant contribution to sustainable development, may indeed be the vehicle of compromise necessary for achieving conservation of the Nyae-Nyae. The conservancy approach may be both a help and a hindrance to the daily business of the Nyae-Nyae and its various inhabitants. Whether we will recognise this and act accordingly still remains to be seen.

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

**CONSERVANCIES AS A VEHICLE  
FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT:  
WITH REFERENCE TO A CASE STUDY IN THE  
NYAE-NYAE AREA OF EASTERN OTJOZONDJUPA, NAMIBIA**

By Talia Raphaely

## 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background to this Study

This dissertation has as a point of departure a Retrospective Assessment of the Environmental Impacts of Emergency Borehole Supply in Namibia (hereafter referred to as the Retrospective Environmental Impact Assessment or REIA), commissioned by the Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification (NAPCOD), through the Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET). The REIA was commissioned in response to concerns raised that the environmental impacts of emergency borehole provision had not been adequately addressed during the planning and decision-making process (Tarr, pers. comm.). The study was undertaken by a team of eight postgraduate students<sup>1</sup> from the Department of Environmental and Geographical Science at the University of Cape Town (hereafter referred to as the masters' group). The author of this dissertation was a member of this team.

The fieldwork was conducted during the period from November 1996 to April 1997. The masters' group spent approximately four weeks in Namibia conducting research, with the time divided between Windhoek and each of two chosen case study areas namely the Khorixas area, which falls within the Kunene region, and the Gam Area, which falls within the Eastern Otjozondjupa region.

A report detailing the findings of the study, *A Retrospective Assessment of the Environmental Impacts of Emergency Borehole Supply*, was submitted by the research team to the Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism early in April 1997.

It became clear during the course of the REIA that Namibia faces a number of environmental challenges. Key amongst these are:

- Slow and uneven economic growth has meant that the majority of the country's population remain dependent for their survival on the primary production of natural resources, and have no option but to place continued and increasing demand on these limited and declining natural resources. Resource management practices have

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<sup>1</sup> M Phil programme

not been adapted to the low and variable production systems of Namibia's arid environment, and over-utilisation and degradation are the inevitable result;

- Human-induced loss of productivity of rangelands and croplands – “desertification” – is manifesting as deforestation, overgrazing, soil erosion, bush encroachment, declining groundwater resources and declining cropland production;
- Lack of planning and co-ordination in natural resource management has meant that water, land and renewable resources have not been used sustainably;
- Historical alienation of residents of communal areas from natural resources such as wildlife has diminished their responsibility and encouraged over-utilisation;
- No mechanisms have been put in place to ensure sustainable use of resources by the private sector, resulting in overuse; and
- Conservation was seen largely as an issue of parks and wildlife and the numerous ways in which policies, prices and actions affected the environment have historically not been taken into account.

(Brown, 1996, NDP1, 1995)

These environmental challenges evident at Independence are likely to continue to hamper development into the future. As a result, Namibia finds herself confronting a number of development imperatives further complicated by the fact that the country is the driest in sub-Saharan Africa with not only low, but extremely variable rainfall, and most areas comprising arid or semi-arid environments. Namibia will therefore need to address and minimise inherited socio-economic and environmental debts (principally the result of past injustices which have their roots in the systems of colonialism and apartheid), to ensure that people are able to meet their basic needs. A key finding of the REIA was that Namibia needs to take cognisance of the dynamics, unique properties, fragility, risk of desertification and limitations of such environments in planning, managing and implementing development activities (M Phil, 1997). Design, planning and implementation of policies, programmes and projects should protect and enhance this sensitive environment and ill-advised development activity may cause or contribute to additional environmental degradation (ibid.).

## **1.2 Rationale for this Study**

Whilst undertaking field research around Gam for the REIA, the author was profoundly affected by the relatively pristine and undamaged nature of Eastern Bushmanland, and in particular, by an area adjacent to the Gam area, known as the Nyae-Nyae by the local Ju/'hoansi Bushmen (see Map 3 on page 17). The Nyae-Nyae area is rich in natural resources and, whilst having inheriting some of the socio-ecological debts of the past, has not suffered like other parts of Namibia from decades of overgrazing. This can be attributed to the fact that the region has been sparsely populated by the Ju/'hoansi Bushmen who have historically employed a hunter-gatherer, nomadic system of subsistence.

The REIA however revealed that the recent resettlement programme in Gam presents a direct threat the region in terms of increasing degradation of its natural resource base and destruction of the social lifestyle of the Ju/'hoansi inhabitants:

*"The provision of boreholes, enabling the permanent resettlement of the Herero from Botswana, has radically altered the composition of the previously existing Ju/'hoansi of the area.....the existing Ju/'hoansi community have been affected through enforced changes in their means of subsistence and livelihood" (M Phil, 1997:164).*

This is due to the fact that the Herero have a predominantly pastoralist economy, with livestock, in particular, cattle, providing the major means of subsistence (ibid.). The provision of boreholes in this area has allowed for the perpetuation of this pastoralist economy despite the fact that this is an unsustainable land-use practice in the Kalahari area due to limited grazing. Increasing pressure on the vulnerable natural resource base is already evident, necessitating larger areas for grazing, with a consequent loss of livelihood and subsistence (M Phil, 1997). Despite the presence of a veterinary fence, Herero, from the Gam resettlement area are moving northwards with their livestock in search of grazing land. The Ju/'hoansi are however powerless to prevent this as it is unconstitutional to deny access to resources on ethnic grounds (ibid.).

Although there is no data on the numbers of wildlife lost as a result of the resettlement programme, the REIA clearly describes that "Gam as a habitat is lost" (Stander, pers. comm.). Habitat destruction and disturbance has led to changes in species numbers and composition, and given that the resettlement of Herero is still ongoing, further biodiversity loss is likely to continue (ibid.). In addition, some of the animal species, including several Red Data Book species, are likely to be severely affected by the changes in land use that have occurred as a result of the resettlement programme (Environmental Information Services and EEAN, 1994. cited in M Phil, 1997). However, it is not possible as yet to predict the significance of the impacts as most of the habitat requirements of these species are unknown (ibid.).

Thus, the Herero resettlement programme in Gam presents a direct present and future threat to the relatively pristine and 'unspoilt' environment of the Nyae-Nyae area and the sustainable subsistence hunter-gatherer lifestyle of its Ju/'hoansi inhabitants:

*"Resettlement of the Herero into the Gam area has resulted in an increased pressure on the natural resources and social lifestyles of the Bushmen communities north of the 20 degree latitude veterinary fence. Due to the higher quality of grazing, larger numbers of game and the Bushmen's lack of political influence, the Herero are constantly trying to settle in this area" (M Phil, 1997).*

This provided an opportunity for the author to further explore the question of environmental conservation of the Nyae-Nyae area in the next component of the M Phil

programme, namely the completion of individual dissertations focusing on specific environmental issue(s) and concerns in the study area.

### **1.2.1 Conservancy's in Context: Conceptual Rationale**

There are a number of assumptions underpinning the question of conservation and these comprise an important part of the rationale behind this study. It has become conventional wisdom that for conservation to be effective in a country such as Namibia, which prior to Independence in 1990, was *"ravaged by rampant poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and a dangerously skewed income distribution that underlined its underdeveloped nature"* (NDP1, 1995), it must address the needs of the poor, rural majority and actively contribute to improving their quality of life. Thus, the only hope for successful conservation lies in its ability to make a meaningful contribution to development i.e. in its contribution to improving the livelihoods of local communities and the wellbeing of the nation as a whole. In other words, in order for conservation to be achievable, it must occur hand in hand with development in a mutually beneficial and symbiotic manner in order for the goals of either to be achieved without undermining development or the environment continuing to degrade (Towards environmentally sustainable development in sub-Saharan Africa: A World Bank Agenda, 1995).

During the course of the last century in Namibia, as in other parts of Africa, protective legislation was the most common means employed to effect conservation. Commonly associated with protective legislation was the practice of excluding local inhabitants from accessing the region of concern by proclaiming parts of, or entire regions, as protected areas. Many Namibian rural communities lost land and were forcibly relocated to make way for national parks and game reserves and all large indigenous mammals were declared State property (Schoeman, 1996 Powell, undated). This led to a shrinkage of land accessible to local communities, who were forced to intensify their forms of subsistence in a reduced domain commonly leading to unsustainable forms of land management (Powell, undated.), and this dual dispossession i.e. loss of land ownership, and rights to wildlife (Turner, 1996) meant that Namibians who sought to maintain hunting as a source of subsistence became guilty of poaching. This led to relationships of conflict between conservation officers and communities and had a marked impact on local perspectives regarding wildlife conservation and sense of custodianship (ibid.).

It is the belief of the MET that conservation can be linked with development, if the correct incentives are applied and people are able to derive direct financial income from conservation. Over the past two decades conservationists have come to recognise that traditional approaches to conservation have been inadequate because they have ignored the human and social dimensions of natural resources and protected area management (Western and Wright, 1994 cited in Jones, 1996c). Following Independence from South Africa in 1990, and in keeping with international trends, the Namibian conservation authorities began developing a national community-based

natural resource management (CBNRM) programme aimed at addressing some of the key constraints of past conservation approaches (Jones, 1996a, 1996c). One of the principle means of linking CBNRM and development is through the vehicle of conservancies.

In reply to the question "why should conservancies be established?", the MET provides a twofold answer: Conservancies are a way in which communities can improve their economic and social conditions through managing, using and benefiting from wildlife, and conservancies also aim at improving resource management and conserving wildlife and wild habitats outside protected areas (Jones and Tarr, pers. comm.).

Turner, in *Conservancies in Namibia: a Model for Successful Common Property Resource Management?*, defines a conservancy as a defined geographic area (must have clear boundaries), which has been established for the management, conservation and utilisation of its wildlife and other natural resources for the benefit of a specific community or group of communities (1995:17). The MET describes a conservancy as consisting of a group of commercial farms or areas of communal land on which neighbouring land owners or members have pooled their resources for the purpose of conserving and using wildlife sustainably. Members practice normal farming activities and operations in combination with wildlife use on a sustainable basis (MET, undated - b).

Whilst the conservancy approach was originally designed for application on commercial land, the intention of communal land conservancies is that a community (or communities), within a defined geographical area, jointly manage, conserve and utilise the wildlife and other natural resources within the defined area. In so doing, conservancies help "promote sustainable environmental management, rural development and improved income and livelihoods for rural families and communities" (ibid.).

CBNRM programmes and the conservancy approach therefore have the dual objectives of economic and social upliftment i.e. development, and natural resource conservation, and is intended to be simultaneously a vehicle for development and for conservation. However, if the conservancy approach does not contribute to sustainable development, conservation will not occur. Thus, in order to establish whether conservation is a realistic possibility in the Nyae-Nyae area, this study seeks to explore the value of conservancies as an appropriate vehicle for sustainable development.

### 1.3 Aims and Objectives of this Study

This dissertation has as its principle aim, a qualitative assessment of the conservancy approach as a vehicle for sustainable development. The specific objectives may be summarised as follows:

- To review literature on development trends in order to identify issues and debates and in so doing, to arrive at a core list of criteria and principles for determining whether development may be deemed to be sustainable or not.
- To describe the Namibian context for sustainable development to determine under what development conditions conservancies will succeed as a vehicle for conservation.
- To apply the core list of criteria, in a qualitative assessment, to a case study of a proposed conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae area of Eastern Otjozondjupa, and thus to assess whether the conservancy approach contributes to sustainable development in Namibia.
- To suggest a management process broadly informed by the theoretical framework of Integrated Environmental Management (IEM) (see section 1.4.1), that may contribute towards strengthening the conservancy approach's contributions to sustainable development, by ensuring that the environmental ramifications of conservancy establishment and management are identified and available for consideration throughout the development process.

### 1.4 Scope of this Dissertation

The concept of sustainable development is one of the most widely known and divergently used signposts on the path to sustainability (Urquhart, 1995), and rather than merely qualifying the noun, "sustainable" goes a long way towards defining the essence of development.

An assessment of conservancies' contribution towards Namibia's development objectives, thus requires an analysis of what is meant by sustainable development with particular reference to developing or underdeveloped countries. Based on a literature analysis, this dissertation thus includes a theoretical discussion of dominant trends governing the conceptualisation of development and sustainable development. This culminates in the compilation of a core list of criteria and principles, which lays a theoretical foundation for assessing the contributions made by the conservancy approach to Namibia's sustainable development objectives. A description of the southern African and Namibian context for sustainable development follows, based on a literature and policies review. A description of the Nyae-Nyae conservancy in Eastern

Otjozondjupa, the case study on which this dissertation is based, is then conducted. Through the application to the case study of the core list of criteria and principles necessary for sustainable development, certain issues and considerations are raised, which illustrate that the conservancy approach may contain possible weaknesses. This dissertation culminates in suggestions towards improving the contribution of the conservancy approach, based on the premise that if the approach does not contribute towards meeting the Namibian imperative for sustainable development, it will not succeed as a mechanism for conservation. These suggestions are broadly informed by the theoretical framework, principles and tools of Integrated Environmental Management (IEM).

Although it is an important component of the conservancy approach, this study will not look at eco-tourism.

#### **1.4.1 The Contribution of IEM to Informing the Scope of this Dissertation**

Stated briefly, the purpose of IEM is "to ensure that the environmental consequences of developments are understood and adequately considered in the planning process" (Preston, Robins and Fuggle, 1994 cited in McCallum, 1996). This objective is achieved primarily through the implementation of an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), (see Figure 1 on page 9), which entails the identification, analysis and evaluation of the environmental impacts of a planned activity (McCallum, 1996). This procedure aims at facilitating the development process by mitigating or resolving any negative impacts which may arise and enhancing the positive impacts of the development proposal (Department of Environmental Affairs, 1992). Ideally the assessment process detailed in Figure 1 should occur prior to the implementation of development initiatives, thereby ensuring a pro-active approach to planning and due consideration to alternatives. In order to achieve maximum benefit from the possible contributions of the IEM procedure, EIAs should be applied to policies, programmes and projects.

However, unlike policies, programmes and projects commonly assessed, conservancies are a dynamic, ongoing development initiative. Given this, additional tools need to be grafted to the IEM procedure in order to make it more applicable and enhance its value as a management, decision-making, planning and monitoring tool. These will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6.

Nonetheless, IEM's fundamental commitment to the integration of environmental concerns in the planning process is in keeping with the objectives of this dissertation, namely to ensure that the environmental ramifications of conservancy establishment are adequately considered throughout the implementation of this development initiative, in order to effect sustainable development and conservation.

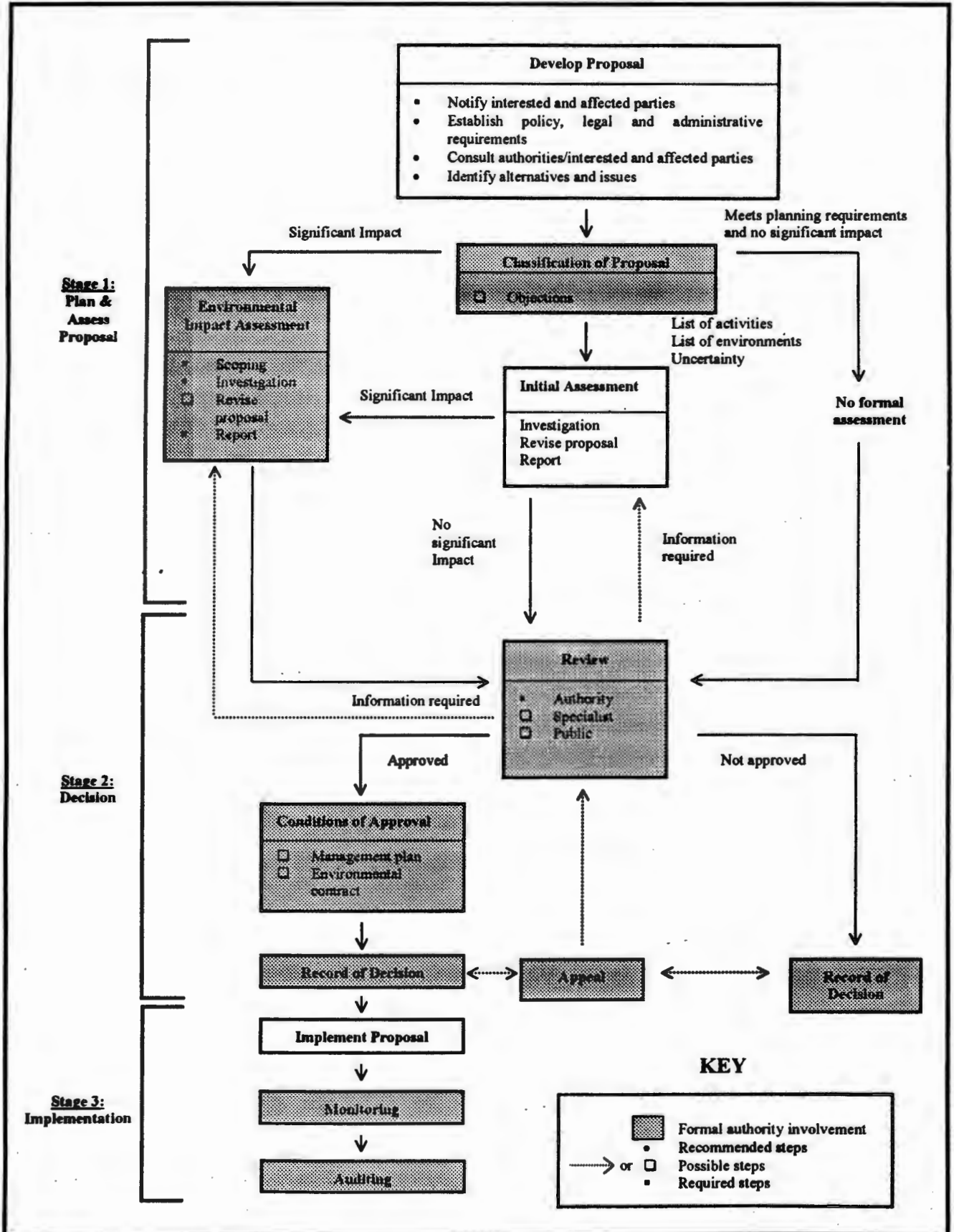
Other IEM principles which guide the direction of this dissertation include the following: a broad understanding of the term 'environment', informed decision-making, pro-active and positive planning, an attempt to mitigate negative impacts and enhance positive

impacts of proposals, democratic regard for individual rights and obligations and consideration of alternative options (Department of Environmental Affairs, 1992). Compliance with these principles during all stages of the planning, implementation and decommissioning of proposals is key.

In the case of the REIA, the term 'environment' was defined as *the physical, social and ecological components that interact and determine the integrity of the environment and the quality of human life* (M Phil, 1997:1). However, for the purposes of this dissertation, it is necessary to arrive at a broader definition of the term 'environment', in order to ensure holistic consideration of the conservancy approach's contribution to sustainable development. Consequently, a broad definition of 'environment' *which includes biophysical, social, economic, cultural, historical and political aspects* (Fuggle and Rabie, 1992) underpins this dissertation

Informed decision-making is achieved by providing the decision-maker with an accurate understanding of the environmental ramifications of a planned development initiative, in this case, conservancies. Subsequent courses of action can therefore be chosen with better knowledge of the possible resultant implications. By identifying the possible impacts, actions can be devised and implemented which mitigate the negative and enhance the positive ramifications.

Figure 1: The IEM Procedure



Conservancies as a Vehicle for Sustainable Development:  
 With Reference to a Case Study in the Nyae-Nyae Area of Eastern Otjozondjupa, Namibia

## 1.5 Demarcation and Description of the Study Area

Eastern Otjozondjupa is located in north-eastern Namibia on the western edge of the Kalahari Basin (See Map 2 on page 16). It is a region made up of the communal lands of western, central and eastern Bushmanland and the Gam region (see Map 3 on page 17). During the nineteenth century, the indigenous inhabitants of the region, the Ju/'hoansi, inhabited a much larger area than present day "Bushmanland" or Eastern Otjozondjupa. The centre of this area was known as Nyae-Nyae and extended east into Botswana, south to Gam and Eiseb, and north into present day Kavango (see Map 5 on page 19). The Nyae-Nyae area remained intact until 1966 when the South African Administration completed the fence along the international border with Botswana which divided the area in two. In 1976, the "Bushmanland Homeland" was established in Namibia as a result of the Odendaal Commission, and ignoring the fact that the territory of Nyae-Nyae was aligned in a north-south axis along existing water point, the Commission created Bushmanland along a narrow sector of the Nyae-Nyae region (see Map 3 on page 17). Earlier Government decisions had ceded other parts of Ju/'hoansi territories (known locally as the Nyae-Nyae region) into the new Hereroland and Kavango (or Okavango Region) regions (Botelle and Rhode, 1995). As a result, the Ju/'hoansi were left with about 30% of their original hunter-gathering area, concentrated inside eastern Bushmanland (ibid.) After Independence, 13 new regions were defined by a Delimitation Commission and in 1992, what remained of the original central Nyae-Nyae region, the focus of this dissertation, became part of Eastern Otjozondjupa (see Map 2 on page 16).

Despite being the scene of many upheavals and resettlements during this century, the Nyae-Nyae area, prior to the inception of the Gam resettlement programme, was one of the most underdeveloped regions of Namibia, sparsely populated with communities that were isolated and self-contained.

## 1.6 Methodology

The predominant style of investigation for this dissertation occurred within a 'qualitative paradigm' (a generic term used to refer to qualitative methodological approaches in social sciences research and to qualitative methods of analysis). Within this paradigm, a research methodology or strategy is required that allows the researcher to develop the analytical, conceptual and categorical components of explanation from the data itself – rather than from the preconceived, rigidly structured and highly quantified techniques that pigeonhole ... into the operational definitions that the researcher has constructed (van der Burgh, 1988).

Several different methods were employed to gather information during the field trip for the REIA and much of the information used in this dissertation was generated during this period.

Methods used were: Literature reviews (including reviews of policy, political and personal documents), interviews with key stakeholders and informants, field work incorporating observations, informal interviews and information generation using Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques.

A comprehensive review of relevant literature was undertaken to provide a basic information base from which to proceed with the REIA. Much of this information guided and informed this dissertation. Subsequently, more in-depth literature reviews were undertaken by the author in order to further inform this dissertation. In addition, a number of MET 'discussion documents' on conservancies, wildlife management and conservation in Namibia were reviewed in order to obtain a holistic insight into debates on the subject matter pertinent to this dissertation.

Interviews were conducted with key stakeholders and informants in Windhoek and the study area, including relevant informants from non-government organisations, aid agencies, researchers, local communities, Government ministries at national, regional and local level. (A list of interviews can be found with the list of references for this study). Whilst most of these interviews were pre-arranged, they were unstructured in format. Questions and themes identified during earlier literature reviews were used as guidelines. All these interviews contained a degree of informal interaction in order to stimulate new leads and avenues of research that may otherwise have remained hidden.

Observations, informal interviews, measurements and Participatory Rural Appraisal exercises were conducted in and around the study area. These activities varied according to the study situation and the type of information being gathered. In some of the interviews (such as with the Herero returnees in Gam), translators were used. Both biophysical and social information were gathered by observation during fieldwork in the Otjozondjupa region, particularly in Gam and the Nyae-Nyae area. Observation has been defined as that method in which the observer, either openly or covertly, gathers information in the field, of the subject being studied (van der Burgh, 1988). During the time spent in the Otjozondjupa region, data gathering through observation involved looking, listening, enquiring and recording.

Informal interviews, conversations and discussions were conducted with both Herero and Ju/'hoansi people in the study area, sometimes with individuals, at other times with groups of two or more respondents. The purpose of using unstructured and informal interviews and discussions, was that research for this dissertation was concerned more with understanding and discovery than with explanation or verification. Consequently, informal interviews, conversations and discussions, some planned, others unplanned, occurred over dinners, or drinks with key stakeholders and informants in Windhoek and the study area. These included relevant informants from non-government organisations, aid agencies, researchers, local communities, Government ministries at national, regional and local level.

Finally, PRA, comprising a series of participatory techniques, was used (M Phil, 1997). Although not used primarily for the purposes of this individual dissertation, but rather during the course of the field research for the REIA, PRA techniques were used with each of the communities at the boreholes visited. Much of the information had relevance to, and assisted in, informing this dissertation by identifying and collecting information in the study area regarding demographic details, settlement patterns and livestock variations over time, livelihoods and resource use and forms of expenditure and the need for cash.

Thus in line with Denzin's triangulation theory, which suggests a multi-method approach to research, this dissertation adopted a number of key methods to increase the validity of the research findings (Denzin, 1978, in Craib, 1992)

## 1.7 Assumptions and Limitations

This study is essentially concerned with the potential of the conservancy approach, as illustrated by a case study in the Nyae-Nyae region, to meeting the sustainable development imperatives confronting Namibia and the southern African region as a whole. The issues and considerations generated by the case study should thus not be seen as representative of all issues and considerations of conservancies in Namibia, but only as those relating to sustainable development. In addition, the conservancy approach as a conservation initiative is not in question here. Rather, the assumption applied throughout this study is that conservancies are a legitimate and valuable conservation initiative for Namibia provided certain strategies, approaches and management tools are employed.

A limitation encountered during the process of this dissertation was one of time. The four week period assigned for on-site investigations was allocated primarily for the collection of information for the REIA. Whilst every attempt was made to divide time effectively between research for the group report and research for individual dissertations, the time available for gathering information and data for personal studies, was limited. The remote geographical location of the Nyae-Nyae area, meant that although desirable, it was not feasible to return to the study site.

Assessing the introduction of a conservancy in Bushmanland is largely restricted to secondary data and to the opinions (some derived from literature reviews), of national, regional and local authorities and members of established organisations within the study area. These circumstances are not ideal, and constitute a constraint under which this dissertation was researched and written. The secondary data and information recorded in interviews are, however, based on the assumption that it is accurate and complete.

A further limitation, is that much of the information used in this dissertation was collected during the period of research for the REIA. The establishment of a conservancy in Bushmanland is nevertheless ongoing. Although every attempt has

been made to stay up to date with developments, in many cases, it has been necessary to assume that the information collected at the time of the REIA is still relevant.

Very little published data is available on the implications of establishing a conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae area or the environmental consequences thereof. In order to supplement available information, contact was established with a member of the MET's Etosha Ecological Unit involved in a project in the Nyae-Nyae area. Constructive and informative interviews were held with the above mentioned researcher whilst in Namibia (which led to the development of this dissertation topic). Further anticipated information was unfortunately not forthcoming. The isolated and remote location of Nyae-Nyae, with its concomitant lack of infrastructure such as telephone, electronic mail or fax lines, meant that it was not possible to access additional information from the study area.

Eco-tourism is an important component of the conservancy approach which is not covered in this study as it is felt that it is a topic that warrants a discreet study of its own.

At the time of writing this dissertation, an application for the establishment of a conservancy in Nyae-Nyae was lodged with the Minister of Environment and Tourism for approval and the area will probably be declared a conservancy around the time this work is handed in. It is thus clearly too early to judge conclusively the success or failure of the Namibian conservancy approach as a vehicle for conservation and development. However, this dissertation offers an opportunity to explore the approach's prospects for achieving environmental conservation by contributing to development imperatives, with particular reference to the strengths and potentials of the use of the approach in the Nyae-Nyae area.

## **1.8 Dissertation Structure**

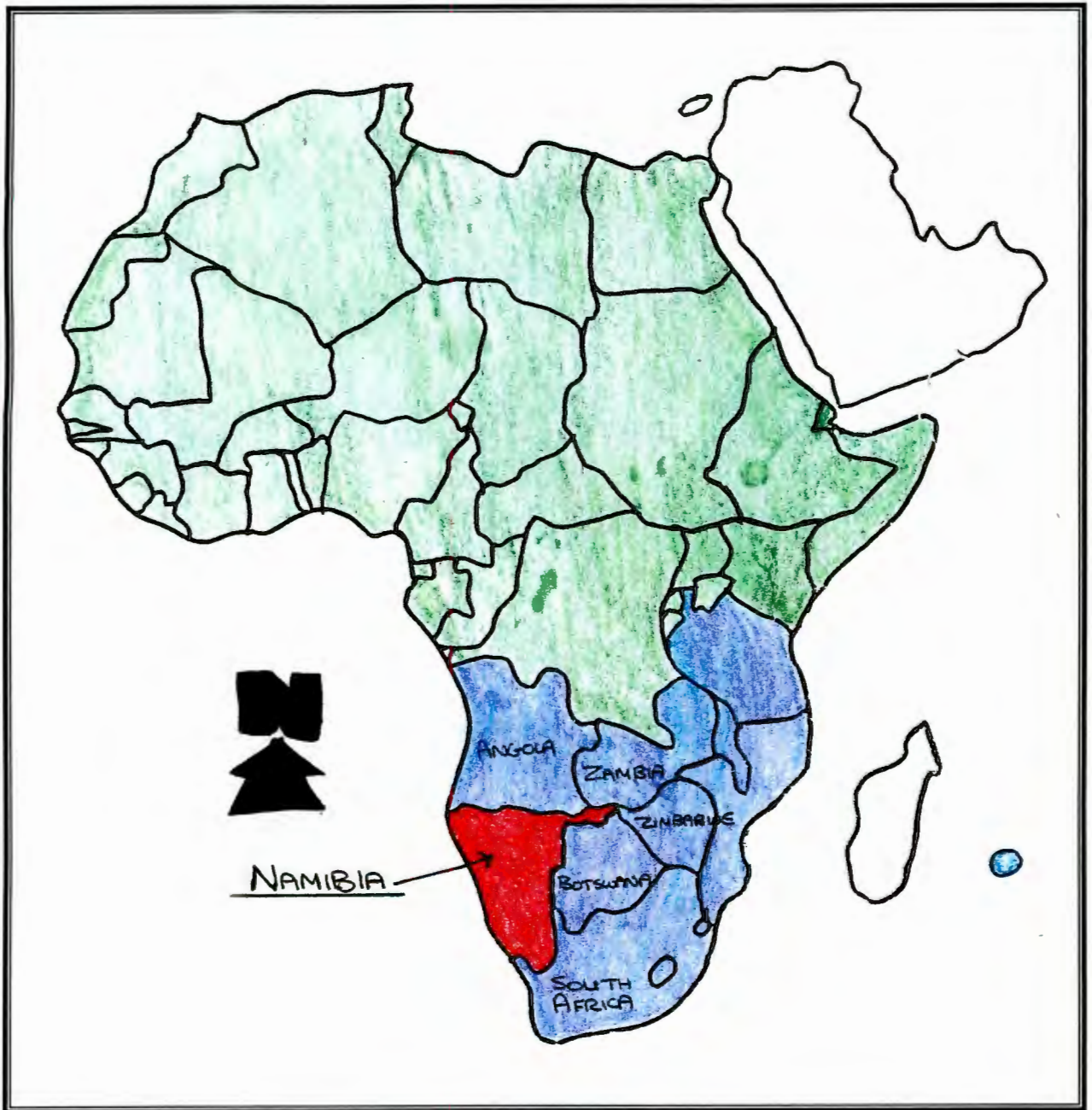
This dissertation is comprised of 7 chapters. Chapter 1 serves as an introduction to the study. Chapter 2 provides an analysis of trends surrounding development and sustainable development. Based on the trends described in this chapter, a core list of criteria and principles for determining sustainability of development will be generated for use in chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 3 explores and describes the southern African and the Namibian context for sustainable development through a discussion of relevant legislation, policies, initiatives and institutions at national, regional and local levels. The context established, chapter 4 focuses on a case study illustrating the implementation of the conservancy approach in the Nyae-Nyae area of Eastern Otjozondjupa (formerly known as Bushmanland), Namibia.

Chapter 5 highlights and discusses key issues and considerations relevant to the scope of this dissertation generated by the case study in light of the criteria and principles presented in the preceding chapters.

Based on the key issues and considerations described in the previous chapter, chapter 6 offers possible ways to strengthen the conservancy approach, thus ensuring that it meets the goals and aims of sustainable development, and therefore is able to achieve effective environmental conservation. A flow diagram is presented to facilitate a summary of suggestions for strengthening the approach and the manner in which they may be used. Chapter 7 concludes this dissertation.

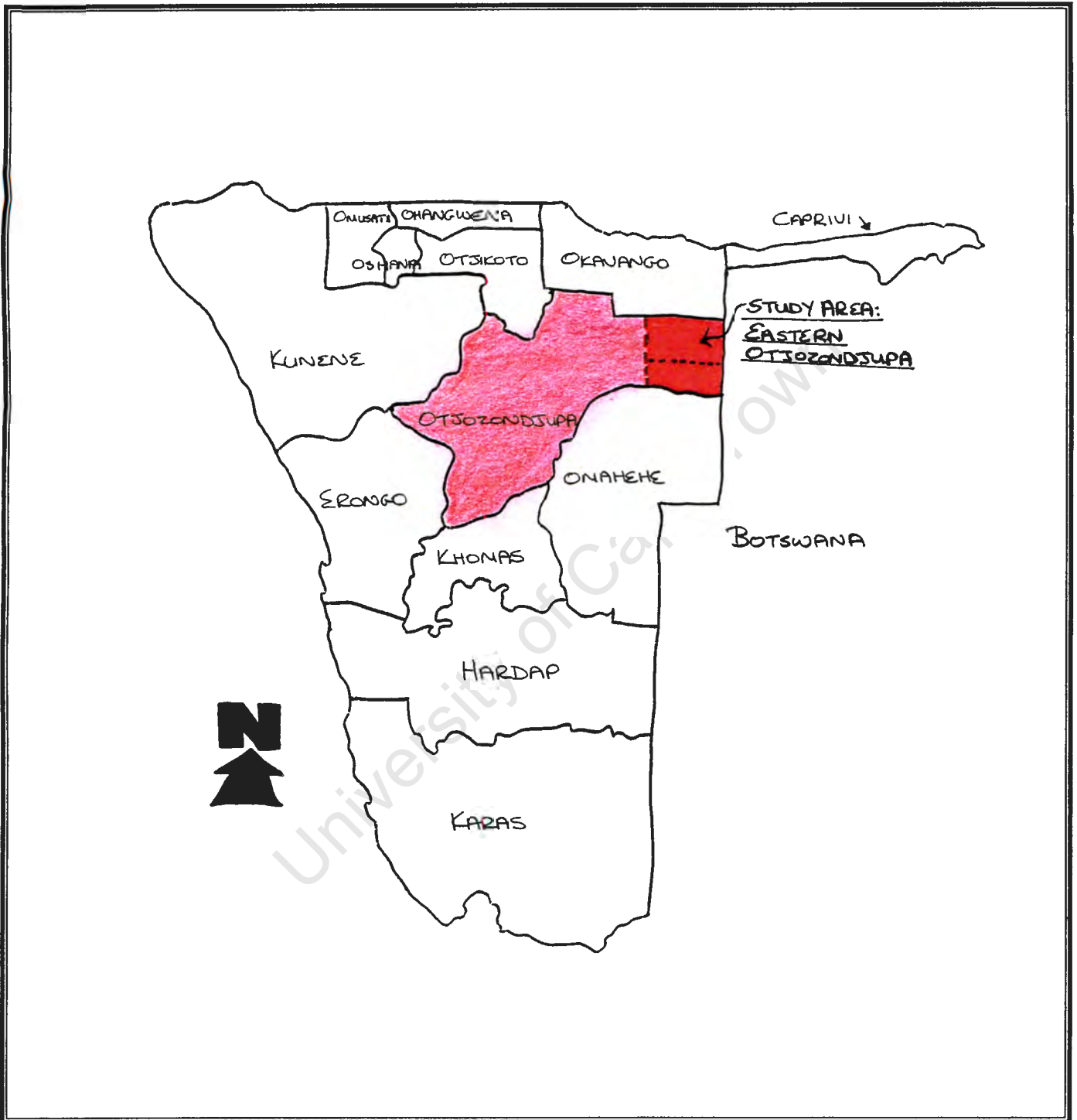
University of Cape Town

**MAP 1: Map of Namibia, Botswana and Adjacent Nations**



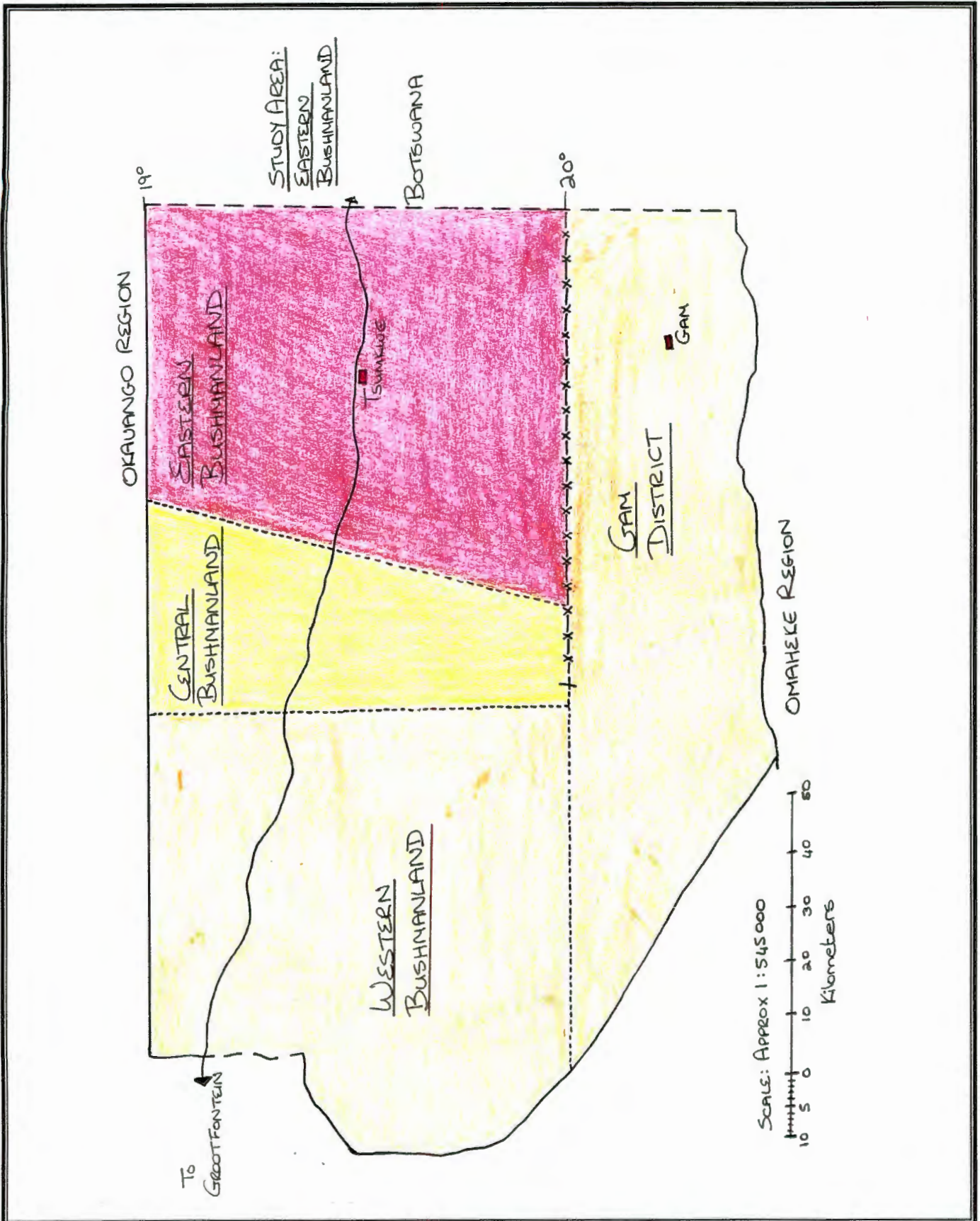
Conservancies as a Vehicle for Sustainable Development:  
With Reference to a Case Study in the Nyae-Nyae Area of Eastern Otjozondjupa, Namibia

**MAP 2: The 13 Regions of Namibia**



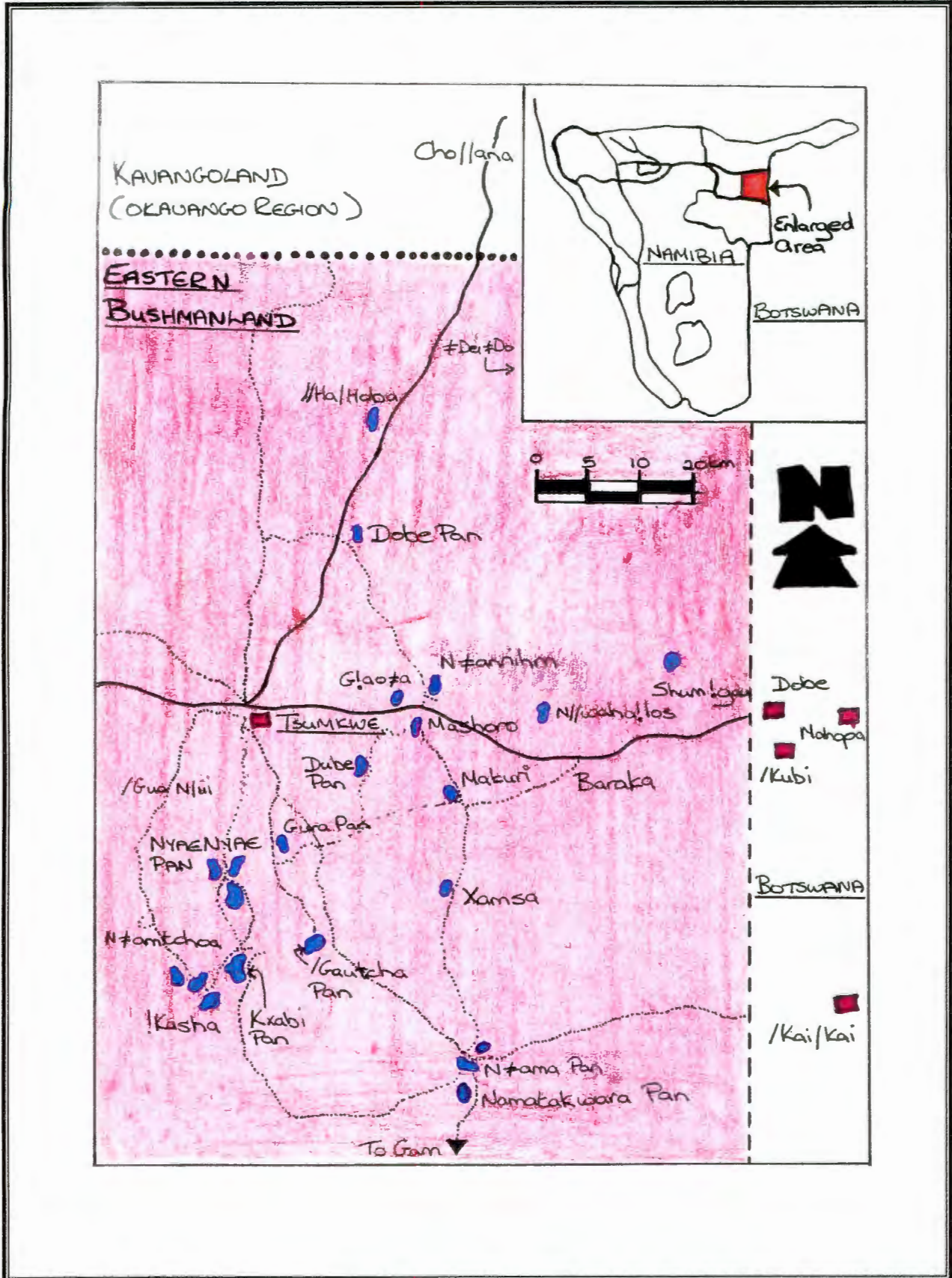
**Conservancies as a Vehicle for Sustainable Development:**  
**With Reference to a Case Study in the Nyae-Nyae Area of Eastern Otjozondjupa, Namibia**

MAP 3: Eastern Otjozondjupa



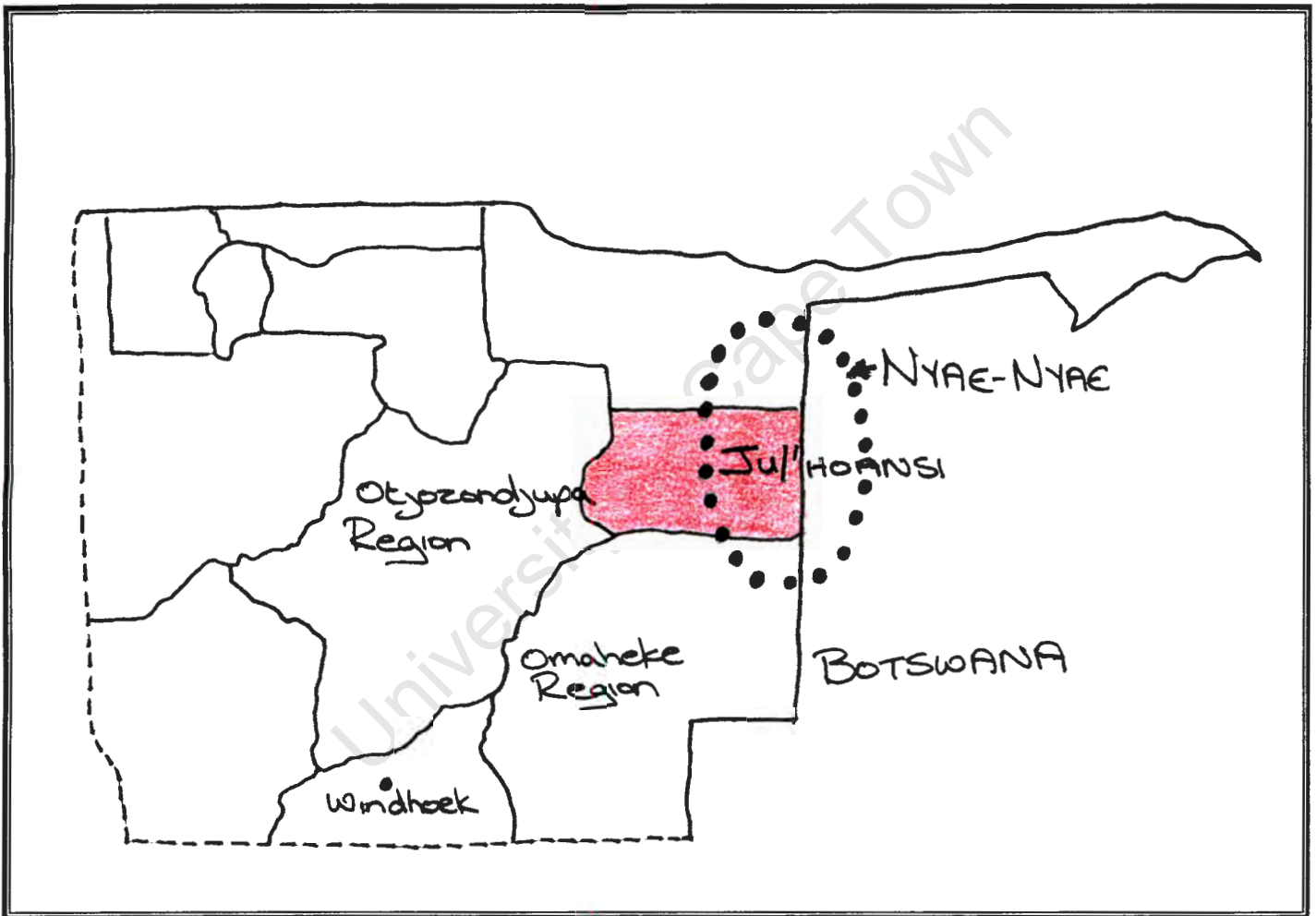
**Conservancies as a Vehicle for Sustainable Development:  
With Reference to a Case Study in the Nyae-Nyae Area of Eastern Otjozondjupa, Namibia**

MAP 4: The Nyae-Nyae Area Showing Pans and Ju/'hoansi Settlements



Conservancies as a Vehicle for Sustainable Development:  
With Reference to a Case Study in the Nyae-Nyae Area of Eastern Otjozondjupa, Namibia

MAP 5: The original Nyae-Nyae Area Inhabited by the Ju/'hoansi



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **TRENDS INFORMING DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD**

## 2 TRENDS INFORMING DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD

### 2.1 Introduction

*"When two cultures coincide is the only time when true suffering exists".*

(Hermann Hess)

*"The solution consists in winning from the megamachine, broader and broader spaces in which the 'logic of life' can unfold freely, and in making the system compatible – by its orientations, its techniques, the limits of the space it occupies and the restrictions and rules to which its functioning is subject – with that of the free unfolding of life. This perpetual action of laying down orientations, of shaping and subjecting the system to a rationality which is not its own – that of the personal fulfilment of individuals – will never be finished."*

(Gortz, 1994:12 in Audouin, 1996)

This chapter is concerned with the trends and debates governing the concept of development, and more specifically with 'sustainable development', "an elusive and value-laden concept, that has become the focus of contemporary discourse addressing the environmental and developmental challenges of our time" (Crush, 1999). Sustainable development – defined as development to meet the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs – has become a mandate not only for Third World nations, but for the industrialised world as well (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, cited in Audouin, 1996). An exploration of trends informing development in the developing world is particularly relevant in light of the premise that "*without improving environmental management, development will be undermined and, without accelerated development in poor countries, the environment will continue to degrade". The poor are concerned only with day-to-day survival, a battle which reduces their ability to use resources effectively and sustainably. As the natural resource base degrades, the options for development, upliftment and improvement in quality of life concurrently diminishes.*

In a country such as Namibia, where most people are dependent on ecological production, the trap of environmental degradation and poverty prevails. As poverty increases, natural environments are degraded to obtain immediate food supplies. The environment degenerates, the prospects for future livelihood decrease, environmental degradation generates more poverty. (Pearce and Warford, 1993). Wise use of natural capital offers one method to break the cycle of this trap (ibid.).

The conservancy approach, which incorporates many of the principles from the current sustainable development discourse, has been created as a direct response to the developmental and environmental challenges and imperatives confronting Namibia. Rather than merely qualifying the noun, "sustainable" goes a long way towards defining

the essence of development (Urquhart, 1995.). Despite rapid acceptance and enthusiastic adoption, "sustainable development" is open to many interpretations and applications, and the flexibility of its definition renders the concept "difficult to operationalise", albeit useful as a general guide, promoting the idea that environmental management and development can and must go hand in hand (Mather and Chapman, 1995 in Urquhart, 1995). The conservancy approach is thus, according to Crush, in danger of exposing "those seeking to implement the muddy concept of sustainable development to significant risk of failure, and those they involve in the Third World to yet more of the familiar risks of engagement with the development process" (1995:99).

In order to ameliorate this "familiar risk", a description and discussion of the discursive formations that have governed the development debate to date comprises the first part of this chapter. Discourse or discursive formations can be defined as a collectivity of paradigms, current meanings, attitudes and values (Griggs, pers. comm.) and a connected series of utterances (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1991). This discussion will illustrate that the failure of these previous development approaches has resulted in the key eco-political discourse of the '90's, namely sustainable development, arising as a panacea to resolving the ills confronting the planet and its inhabitants.

This chapter then turns to an exploration of the concept of sustainable development in an attempt to expose some of the weaknesses it has inherited from earlier paradigms, and to highlight some of its strengths. Finally, this chapter identifies a list of criteria and principles which could be used to measure whether development can truly be termed "environmentally sustainable", i.e. is it "able to support, maintain or keep going continuously, give strength to and encourage" (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1991), physical, biophysical, social, economic, historical, cultural and political aspects.

## **2.2 Development: The Formation of a Global Industry**

"Development" has been called the central "organising" concept of our time (Cowen and Shenton, 1995), and this is particularly pertinent given its importance as a concept which "occupies the centre of an incredibly powerful semantic constellation....[yet] at the same time, very few words are as feeble, as fragile and as incapable of giving substance and meaning to thought and behaviour" (Esteva, 1992 cited in Crush, 1995:1). Numerous texts describe development as "the strategy whereby the social and material well-being of people is raised" (Hitchcock, 1992). Yet, even a perfunctory glance at development literature shows that it is not that simple, that there is good and bad development, appropriate and inappropriate development, sustainable and unsustainable development, development that rarely seems to 'work' – at least with the consequences intended or the outcomes predicted (Crush, 1995).

"Development" is not simply an altruistic term born from a desire of those who "have", to help those who "have not". Rather, it is the manifestation of a discourse situated within a global set of power relationships (power *exercised* and power *over*), and social,

cultural and geopolitical material relationships, that have origins, objects, purposes, consequences and agents functioning within the realms of the economic and the political (Crush, 1995). The United Nations has its development agencies, most industrialised countries have development divisions, the World Bank takes development as part of its name, and no Third World nation can expect to be taken seriously without the development label prominently displayed on some part of its governmental anatomy (ibid.). Ideas about development however, do not arise in an institutional, social or political vacuum. Rather, they are assembled within a vast hierarchical apparatus of knowledge production and consumption sometimes referred to as the 'development industry' (ibid.). The industry is itself implicated in the operation of networks of power and domination that seem to constantly seek to decide the way the world actually is, and ought to be. In fact, it is an industry that today has come to encompass the entire globe.

This chapter now moves to a discussion of the trends and discourses that have defined the meaning, application and consequences of "development" during this century.

### **2.2.1 The Discourse of Development and "Underdevelopment"**

The period of "development" is routinely assumed to be the span of history since 1945. However, it is argued that the modern idea of development can be traced to where it was first invented, amidst the throes of early industrial capitalism in Europe (Cowen and Shenton, 1995). The concept of development emerged here to ameliorate the chaos apparently caused by progress, "to create order out of the social disorder of rapid urbanisation, poverty and unemployment" (ibid.). As such, underdevelopment, and the crisis that development attempts to address, was in fact, internalised into development discourse "from the very beginning" (Watts, 1995). Tapscott takes this argument one step further by asserting that the primary concern of development concerns an ongoing process of reinvention to legitimise the illegitimate and to manage the ravages of past policies legitimated in its name (1995).

Manzo (cited in Crush, 1995), states that the desire for accumulation – so central to modern society – only had meaning in a world where "primitive economies" had no desire. Thus, development required the formation of an underdeveloped or non-developed world in order to have meaning (Crush, 1995). Bekker argues that the very existence of the term 'development' required a dichotomy: white/black, developed/underdeveloped, civilised/uncivilised, European/Native, underpinned by a parent/child metaphor, with the West as a model of achievement and the rest of the world as a childish derivative:

*"a common dimension to understanding development seems to be that it always includes a spatial and geographical dimension: centre and periphery, First and Third World, Westernisation, the Northern and Southern hemisphere"* (Bekker, 1989).

As a result, the concept of development has been described as the apparatus that linked “forms of knowledge about the Third World with the deployment of forms of power and intervention, resulting in the mapping and production of Third World societies” (Escobar, 1995). Development then is fundamentally about mapping and making, about the spatial reach of power and the control and management of other people, territories, environments and places (ibid.). Development discourse typically represents whole countries or regions in ‘standardised forms’ as objects of development (Williams, 1995), and this tendency finds fruition in simplistically demarcated units of homogenous swathes of territory that span the globe – the ‘developing world’, the ‘Third World’, the ‘South’. These global spaces are inhabited by generic populations, with generic characteristics and generic landscapes either requiring transformation or in the process of being transformed (ibid.).

Thus, in order to have value, the concept of “development” required a counterpart, “underdevelopment”, which was consequently given form and expression through the vehicle of the Third World<sup>3</sup>, or the South. Harris (cited in Bekker, 1989), describes the birth of the idea of the Third World, thus:

*“In the late 1940’s and early 1950’s, the idea of the Third World was beginning to emerge. At the time it did not refer merely to a group of countries, those territories for so long concealed within the European and American empires, but rather to a political idea ... which found justification and expression in the task of explaining and promoting the planned processes which aimed to improve the lot of residents of this [so-called] Third World”.*

### **2.3 Debates and Trends in Development Discourse**

Clearly then, there are multiple discourses and trends that have affected development paradigms over the years and the next part of this chapter comprises a brief description of the most prominent of these. The chapter focuses on debates and trends that, through their lack of acknowledgement of the environmental limits to growth, have influenced the current paradigm of sustainable development.

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<sup>3</sup> Lea uses the terms ‘centre’ or ‘metropolitan’ for the core western democracies of North America, Europe, Japan and Australasia but excludes the Eastern European states. The remaining countries are collectively described as ‘Third World’, ‘periphery’ and ‘developing’ (with the general exception of mainland China, Cuba and Vietnam)(1988:4). Muthien describes Third World as non-capitalist countries who, through the expansion of world capitalism, were drawn in to form the periphery of advanced capitalist nations. Hence ‘peripheralisation’ or ‘marginalisation’, a process which leads to underdevelopment occurs, a condition identifiable by glaring inequalities, pervasive poverty and inadequate social services (1989:52,53).

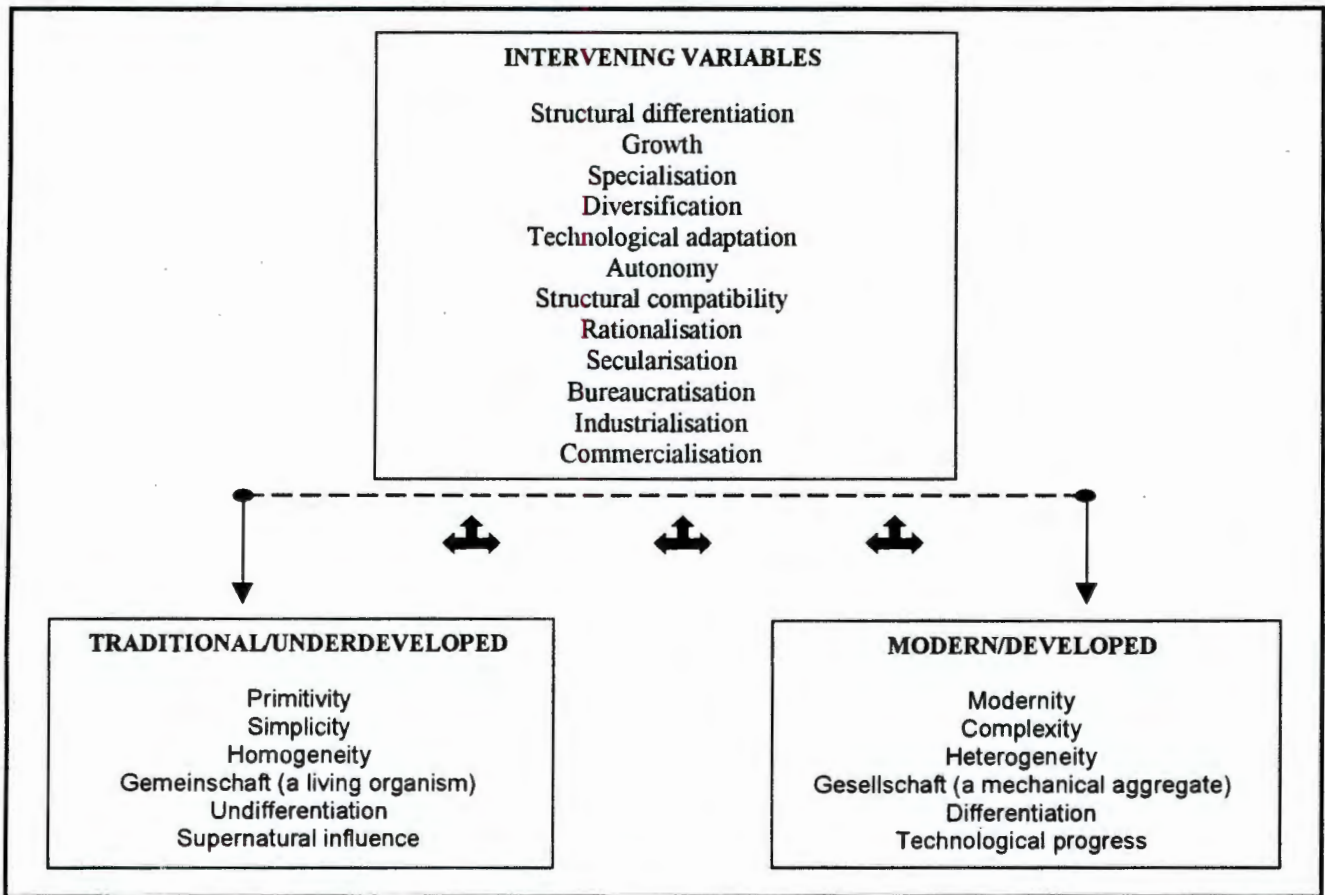
### **2.3.1 The Modernisation Approach**

Having created the concept of development, the most popular way of presenting the solution for the problems and tragedies of Third World underdevelopment, originally centred around what is termed the Modernisation Approach. This approach involved an historical and evolutionary interpretation of the idea of progress, primarily based on the development history of Europe and, to a lesser extent, North America. Also known as the Orthodox Development Economists' View or the Trickle-Down Theory, the Modernist Approach dominated the development paradigm from the end of World War II, until it was discredited in the mid 1950s.

"Modernists" held that the rich North should consume ever more of the world's resources (thus expanding Northern markets), in order to expand markets for the raw materials from the South. The profits from this trade would then "trickle down" from Southern export receipts to the Southern poor (Goodland and Daly, 1993). The expansion of capitalism was thus justified as a process of helping the less developed countries (LCD's) along the road to modernity, not only through the expansion of Northern markets but also through the introduction and diffusion of Western technology, culture and social institutions (Klerck, 1996).

The Trickle-Down paradigm rested on a number of underlying assumptions including that there were no limits (environmental or otherwise), to total growth, there was no opportunity cost to the poor due to increasing consumption by the rich since there was no overall constraint; and finally that increasing the wealth of the wealthy would help the poor get rich faster. Since the reduction of absolute poverty was seen as vital, it was considered counterproductive to worry about increasing consumption of the rich, which in a world without limits was not at the expense of the poor, but to their absolute benefit. In addition, the evolution of Western societies was assumed to be a blueprint or universal programme for development in all societies and consequently, Third World countries were expected to inevitably, gradually attain a developed status as the forces of industrialisation inexorably propelled them towards the modernity of the West. (Coetzee, 1996)

Based on the above assumptions, any lack of development was simply the fault of the country concerned and its failure to initiate the measures aimed at dislocating "traditional" cultures and fostering the entrepreneurial spirit. Vast disparities in the Gross Domestic Products of different nations simply reflected the success or failure of individual countries to assimilate the constituent features of modernity (Klerck, 1996). Implicit in the assumptions mentioned above, was the belief that development was a linear process, a transition on a continuum, with a specific and original state of underdevelopment or traditionality on one side and modernity (or development) on the other, with each characterised by a number of polar dichotomies. This continuum is diagrammatically illustrated in Figure 2.

**Figure 2: The Modernisation Approach to Development**

(Adapted from Coetzee, 1989)

All societies or communities could be placed somewhere on this line of change in terms of a number of variables or indices, an increasing number of which, established an advantageous dispensation based on the degree of modernity that had been reached (Coetzee, 1989). Thus development could be recorded in the direction of total modernisation in proportion to the increase in the acceptance of so-called modern values (ibid.).

The series of typical characteristics regarding two ideal poles of traditionality and modernity, coincide in essence with the Westerncentric and ethnocentric definitions of development with the Western experience providing the example for the way in which change should occur in developing countries (Coetzee, 1989:35). The model of any proposed development in the Third World was clearly saying "look at us and do what we did; then you will become what we are now" (ibid.).

However, the Modernisation or Trickle-Down paradigm lost validity in the face of ever-increasing poverty and environmental destruction for a number of reasons:

- Westernisation (through industrialisation), is by no means a universal pattern, illustrated by the fact that many Third World countries, having started out on a path

of modernisation, did not complete the journey, instead settling into a variety of structures that were neither traditional, modern nor Western.

- Underdevelopment is not an original condition that can be eliminated stepwise in proportion to the addition of components of modernity.
- Societal forms from which developed countries originate, differ substantially from those of the developing world.
- The components of modernisation cannot in themselves sustain growth.
- The components of development as expressed by modernisation, are actually no more than the expression of individual analytical concepts of modernisation.
- If Western development history is taken as the point of departure, it is obvious that an ethnocentric and deterministic model must be the result (?)
- The developed world was never in a state of development comparable to that of the present developing world.

(Adapted from Coetzee and Graaf, 1996).

In spite of the above, the assumptions underlying the Modernisation Approach continue to find expression in the Third World and are in fact inherent in, and thus weaken, the current sustainable development discourse. They are encapsulated in the words of Lawrence Summers, recent chief economist and vice president of the World Bank: "*Economic growth and social progress are related and rising tides do lift all boats*" (cited in Goodland and Daly, 1993). Goodland and Daly state the obvious by explaining that a rising tide in one place implies an ebbing tide somewhere else in the world, and, more pointedly that rising tides do not raise wrecks. At the risk of over-interpreting a metaphor, a rising tide could continuously raise all boats only if the total amount of sea water increased without limit, flooding the earth (Goodland and Daly, 1993).

The Trickle-Down or Modernisation Approach, with its assumptions that there were no environmental limits to total growth and no overall constraints to increasing consumption of the North, can be held partly responsible for much of the environmental degradation currently facing the world. In turn, it also laid the foundation for the current sustainable development paradigm, a paradigm which may, according to Tapscott (1995:177), prove to be "*nothing more than another component in the ongoing process of reinvention legitimising the illegitimate and managing the ravages of past policies legitimated in development's name*".

### 2.3.2 Imperialism and Underdevelopment

As the Third World had not followed the pattern of development in the West, new theories, strongly rooted in the Marxist tradition, began to emerge. These new theories expanded on the ideas of underdevelopment as a direct result of a specific situation brought about by a specific position within the total world structure. Accordingly, they focused on relationships of effective domination or control, political or economic, direct or indirect, of one nation over another and "... *unequal exchange, dependency, domination and exploitation [that] hence accompany imperialism*" (Brown, 1974 cited in Muthien, 1989). "Imperialism", referred to the outward drive of nations to build economic empires through a privileged market position, protected resources and extended opportunities for the profitable exploitation of labour, at their core (Muthien, 1989).

Far from being destined to follow the development trajectory of the West, such Imperialist or Dependency theorists set out to illustrate that the Third World was in fact condemned to a state of perpetual "underdevelopment" (Klerck, 1996). This could only be achieved through the promotion of an international capitalist system where industrial development of the First World was based on the underdevelopment of the Third World. According to Uchendu (1980) quoted in Vorster (1989), capitalism "*deliberately retarded the development of the Third World...and the fortunes of a dependent country were decided by the dominant industrial powers, with the expansion of the capitalist centre being assisted by the transfer of surplus value from the periphery*".

Underdevelopment has been conditioned by, and subjected to, the power centres of the world and comprised not only economic dependency but also effected the cultural, military, political and other aspects of national life. Transnational corporations (defined by the UN as organisations in possession of, or controlling production facilities in foreign countries i.e. countries other than the home country), and their penetration into LDCs were seen as the key to modern dependency, penetrating underdeveloped economies through extractive, manufacturing, commercial and financial transnational conglomerations.

The binary opposition 'traditionality' versus 'modernity' was thus replaced by that of "developed" versus "underdeveloped". Development was turned into development of underdevelopment, the stress upon internal conditions was substituted for an emphasis upon the external determinations of development, and a narrowing of the gap between 'traditional and 'modern' was replaced by a view accentuating the growing division between them (Muthien, 1989). Underdevelopment came to symbolise a poor or impoverished capitalist system in which a tiny "dependent elite" - (usually Third World exporters created and supported by imperialist countries) - enjoyed considerable wealth, control of political and economic power, and thus created nations marked by glaring inequalities, pervasive poverty and inadequate social services.

The interpretation of what comprised "development" remained unchallenged by Imperialist/Dependency theorists. "Underdevelopment" remained the opposite of "development", and as such, industrialised societies, whilst held responsible for creating

conditions of underdevelopment, were still seen as advanced and ideal, thus providing the criteria against which LDC's should be judged (Coetzee and Graaf, 1996).

The Dependency Theory, like the Modernisation Approach which preceded it, did not succeed in breaking the notions of improvement through economic gain attainable through the use of limitless natural and environmental resources. The subjection of the peculiarities of a specific country to some overriding developmental logic did not improve the lot of people in underdeveloped countries (Klerck, 1996), and contributed to extensive environmental degradation..

It is to a discussion of sustainable development that this thesis now turns. The concept of sustainable development has become the focus of contemporary discourse addressing the developmental and environmental challenges that arose as a result of previous development trends.

### **2.3.3 Sustainable Development as Discourse**

Schumacher, in a treatise on the problems of "Western" economics, pointed out that it is inherent in the methodology of economics to ignore "*man's dependence on the natural world*" (quoted in Urquhart, 1995:19). His subsequent formulation of a mode of development firmly grounded in a recognition of this dependence, has been seen as the original expression of "sustainable development". (ibid.).

A growing realisation that environmental degradation and poverty was increasing unchecked, resulted in the launch in 1980 of the first World Conservation Strategy (WCS) (launched by three partners, International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF)). The report recognised that there were environmental limits to growth and that there was a need to synthesise development and conservation (previously regarded as being mutually opposed). Sustainable Development reflected in the WCS, conveyed a broad but central message namely that "*humanity has no future unless nature and natural resources are conserved, but conservation could not be achieved without development to alleviate the poverty and misery of hundreds of millions of people*" (IUCN, 1991).

In 1987, an international initiative that found expression in a report of the World Commission on Environment and Development titled *Our Common Future* (more widely known as The Brundtland Report), provided a more widely applicable definition of sustainable development: "*Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987:43). This is further clarified by the following: Sustainable development is "*development that secures increases in the welfare of the current generation, provided that the welfare of future generations does not decrease*" (Pearce and Warford, 1993). Although by 1989, over 60

definitions of sustainable development had been identified (Audouin, 1996), these two aforementioned definitions can be considered the point of departure for discussions on mainstream sustainable development.

There are however two key elements in the concept of sustainable development that warrant further discussion here, namely: the concept of *needs*, in particular, the essential needs of the world's poor and the idea of *limitations* that are imposed by technology and society on the ability of the environment to meet those needs (Lebel and Kane, 1987 in Audouin, 1996).

The Brundtland report, focuses on the concept of satisfaction of human needs, both today and in the future, thereby indicating a "*strong, people-centred, ethical stance*" (Kirby et al, 1995, cited in Audouin, 1996:10). However, sustainable development differs from previous paradigms only in the sense that meeting human needs is placed in a context of respect for the ecological potential of the environment to meet those needs (i.e. unlimited growth is not possible, therefore meeting needs has to take place without increasing environmental degradation and depletion of natural resources). This emphasis on meeting needs (albeit within environmental limitations) highlights an inherited problem within the Brundtland definition of sustainable development; namely what comprises a need, and who is to determine what are needs? Are they merely the biological minima required to maintain life, or are they the standards the affluent in industrial societies have become accustomed to? As the discussion on Modernity and Dependency theories have shown, determination of what comprises 'need' is value-laden, and the inclusion of the concept of 'need' within the sustainable development paradigm, raises serious ideological questions based on the assumption that West is best, i.e. definition from a Eurocentric and Northern perspective.

Although, the Brundtland Commission acknowledges limits to the environment's ability or potential to meeting needs generated by current socio-economic systems, the report nonetheless calls for a 'new era of growth' (Audouin, 1996), if "*many essential human needs are to be met*" (Reid, 1995 in Audouin, 1996).

So, despite its recognition of limitations in the environment's ability to meeting "needs", the Commission calls for further economic development without questioning the social-economic system, that has resulted in the ecological limitations to meeting human needs ( Audouin, 1996; Adams, 1995).

*"Within mainstream sustainable development discourse, there are no ideological conflicts with the dominant capitalist industrialising model, only debates about methods and priorities"* argues Adams (1995:90). Sustainable development may apply contemporary technology in a different way to achieve different goals (sustainability), yet it doesn't address the ideological question of development that caused environmental degradation in the first place (ibid.). Sustainable development as embodied in the Brundtland report is thus just another call for economic development (Audouin, 1996), and is still based on the historically dominant capitalist industrialising models (Adams, 1995) described in this chapter. Development remains a call for meeting basic needs (as determined by Western value systems), through economic development, albeit within environmental limitations.

Thus sustainable development as described by the Brundtland Report, attempts to integrate environmental considerations with the same development objectives of the past. Like preceding development approaches, sustainable development has been heavily criticised for a number of assumptions about the North and South, based on a concept of mutuality of interests, and a continuing perpetuation of an emphasis on economic growth. It is perceived by some as more of the same rhetoric, merely applying contemporary technology in a different way with the addition of another development objective, sustainability (Audouin, 1996). It too fails to consider either the nature of human needs or the current dominant economic and political systems and their implications for human development. The only noteworthy digression from previous development paradigms is the inclusion of an environmental concern.

The failure of sustainable development to address the inherited ideological and economic assumptions, has created obstacles to integrating environment and development goals. This is reflected in a recent World Resource Institute – Policy Affairs Publication (1995) which bears further testimony to this: *“sustainable development means economic activity that uses nature’s dividends without impairing nature’s capital”* (World Resource Institute, 1995:9)

Consequently, “sustainable development” is no more than “Northern environmentalism” with ideas and images of environmentalism imported into development and *“encoded invisibly....within the simplistic problem-solving spreadsheets’ of development”* (Adams, 1995:98). Adams further argues that technocratic images and strategies have worked their way into the idea of sustainability within development, and the metaphorical power of sustainability in contemporary development lies in its power of ‘escape from the conventionally destructive record’ of past practice. It is just another reinvention of the same things, nothing more than transient labels on a set of power relations which are much more durable than the words used to describe them (ibid.).

## **2.4 Towards the Formation of a Truly Environmentally Sustainable Form of Development**

There can be no doubt that environmental degradation and depletion and poverty are increasing rapidly. However, it is not poverty itself that is causing environmental degradation, but rather the discourses and systems that have informed development, that need to be held responsible.

In the last decade, it has become clear that the whole of humanity is not progressing on essentially the same evolutionary road. Instead of the imposition of values characterising previous trends, this realisation requires that human beings are seen as active participants in their lives, creative beings who have a potential which is not a static and defined entity, but rather something which evolves over a lifetime (Cole, 1994 cited in Audouin, 1996). Consequently, more and more development experts are arguing that economic and material advancement are not to be associated in an

unqualified way with the essence of development, i.e. development and economic growth are not related per se as *“to grow means to increase in size by the assimilation or accretion of materials; to develop means to expand or realise the potentials of; to bring to a fuller, greater or better state”*. (Goodland, 1995:9).

In order to be truly sustainable (i.e. to maintain or keep going continuously, to support, bear the weight of, give strength to or encourage for a long period – Concise Oxford Dictionary), development projects, programmes and strategies must *seek “to expand or realise the potentials of; to bring to a fuller, greater or better state”* the subjects sustainable development professes to be assisting.

There are many development and sociological concepts that can be integrated in order to determine key criteria and principles that can contribute towards achieving truly environmentally sustainable development. Three key concepts and their underlying principles are considered here namely: the Dialogical Intervention Strategy (DIS), Local Agenda 21 (LA21) and Bioregionalism. These are briefly described below as they are integral in informing the development of a core list of criteria and principles. These will in turn be used in a preliminary analysis of the conservancy approach’s contribution to sustainable development and thus conservation.

#### **2.4.1 The Dialogical Intervention Strategy (DIS)**

The Dialogical Intervention Strategy (DIS), is a relatively recent sociological concept offering a number of valuable contributions towards the creation of a truly sustainable form of development. DIS assumes that any person has the ability to become more than he or she is at any particular stage, i.e. to experience “increased humanness”. The concept of “increased humanness” accepts that development should be more than merely striving for material improvement and in fact, does not necessarily imply a significant increase in the material welfare of individuals (Coetzee, 1996). Thus although development projects may aim to bring about material benefits, their primary contribution must be to increase the level of human well-being through for example; increasing social justice, comprehensive consultation and joint decision-making, respect for local ecosystems as well as the local social and cultural patterns and the advancement of people through their own endeavours (freedom of expression and impression).

Progress in the DIS is not quantifiably measurable. Instead, it is dependent on a continuous affirmation of meaning which requires a creative interpretation of growth, progress and development based on the following:

- a desire in individual groups to work towards a specific way of life;
- specific conceptions of reality;
- the establishment of a political will and general human well-being;
- the use of existing economic and social structures in a way that contributes towards full development; and

- an emphasis on the diffusion of the benefits of innovation, knowledge, material investments and general creativity (adapted from Coetzee, 1996: 141-146).

However, the most important implication of the concept of progress here, and one that is key in approaching an analysis of conservancies in general and the Nyae-Nyae conservancy in particular, and their contribution to sustainable development, is that it *places the meaning and specific circumstances within which action takes place at the centre of the analysis*. As a result, the complex fusion of goods, services, information and particularly symbols and meanings make it impossible to predetermine the ultimate destination. Thus, the need for ongoing contact and continuing exchange which leaves the capacity for change wide open is inherent here, and as with the principles of IEM, requires an iterative process that ensures flexibility.

Furthermore, DIS requires that there should be a movement away from an emphasis on constraints (inherent in sustainable development), towards an acceptance of what people within the situation would prefer. Development programmes have to focus on uncovering the people's own definitions of human well-being and the means to produce knowledge are seen to be equally as important as those of material production! Development is no longer merely a mechanism to improve material circumstances, but rather, it is the focus of the aspirations of people, representing the direction defined as the one which is seen to be the most desirable (Coetzee, 1996). No development is possible without participation and the opportunity for making choices by the people, focused on the aspirations and needs of the people as defined by the people themselves (ibid.). Participation and self-reliance, a breaking of the monopoly of knowledge, the assumption that the beneficiaries of development will also have to be its contributors is a key component of DIS.

#### **2.4.2 Local Agenda 21 (LA 21)**

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992, was an international initiative that gave rise to the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (United Nations General Assembly, in Urquhart, 1995) The Rio Declaration comprises a set of principles on environment and development with a particular emphasis on the 'special needs' of developing countries and the need to "eliminate unsustainable patterns of production and consumption" (ibid.). Agenda 21: Programme of Action for Sustainable Development (A 21) forms the core of UNCED, and comprises a comprehensive action plan that seeks to integrate environmental and developmental issues, and is intended to serve as a blueprint for sustainable development into the 21<sup>st</sup> century (UNGA, 1992). Whilst Agenda 21 inherits a number of flaws from previous development paradigms, such as the Eurocentric philosophy of economic growth as essential for sustainable development, it nevertheless places valuable emphasis on the necessity for broad public participation and decentralised decision-making. Recognising that A 21 can only be given effect and implemented at the local level (Kilian, pers. comm.), the International Council for Local

Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) was created to promote “Local Agenda 21” or LA 21 (ICLEI, 1995), through partnerships with cities around the world.

The LA 21 Model Communities Programme (LAMCP), focuses on the need to support community initiative and to ensure that community priorities shape local development (Urquhart, 1995: 138), proposing that ‘sustainable development’ at the local level requires “the equitable provision of basic services in a way that supports community initiative and protects local, regional and global ecosystems” (ibid.) To this end, ICLEI established a mechanism called “Strategic Services Planning” (SSP), which emphasises a democratic and participative process of decision-making and reaching development solutions for a community” (ibid.). In order to adapt to local conditions, LA 21 addresses a number of important elements, namely:

- The formation of partnerships to draw in all stakeholders;
- Community Priority Setting, which should be an iterative process, as priorities change over time;
- Systems auditing – to analyse service issues and allow for the production of integrated and non-symptomatic strategies;
- Drawing up a Strategic Services Plan, which itself has four components: formulating a community vision, developing a strategy, setting targets and drawing up action plans;
- Implementation and monitoring; and
- Evaluation and feedback.

The SSP details guidelines for each of the above components. Stakeholders are required to both *participate* in, and *lead* the planning process. The SSP handbook states that “*what is typically missing in local planning are mechanisms for participation that create ownership of the process by affected citizens*” (ICLEI, 1995:31 described in Urquhart 1995:139).

Historically, as described earlier, LDCs were absorbed by the modern world, a world defined in terms of the traditional definition of modernisation (see fig ?), without considering alternative conceptualisations. Through this process a passive role was forced onto the people concerned: their whole life-structure being determined by outside forces and not by their free will. In this sense, both DIS and LA 21 indicate a great leap forward towards truly sustainable development, by integrating development for the people and of the people, with development by the people. Development is therefore unlikely to succeed unless individuals and local communities are given the power as well as the right to manage their own environment (Martin Holdgate, director general, IUCN, 1991). Unless participation is defined as empowerment and development for the people, by the people, there is a real risk that the poor will once again “be betrayed by the all too familiar development process that substitutes words for deeds, making a mockery of sustainable and enduring development” (ibid.). Thus empowerment becomes an important component of truly sustainable development.

### 2.4.3 Bioregionalism

Bioregionalism is the third and final development concept to be discussed in this chapter in terms of the contribution it makes to truly sustainable development. Within the concept of bioregionalism, communities are seen as being intrinsically linked to their natural environment and definable in terms of this relationship to the local environment (Audouin, 1996). Communities are distinguishable from one another in terms of their unique socio-ecological characteristics. The social and cultural survival of a particular community is determined by the maintenance of the socio-ecological characteristics which gave it its identity in the first place (ibid.). In order to maintain the identity of the community as a whole, development within this paradigm focuses on the maintenance and creation of local resources. Thus the argument that local resource maintenance and enhancement must be the focus of development (Young, 1990, cited in Audouin, 1996).

The structure and identity of a particular community is defined in terms of its locally unique social and ecological characteristics and any activity which decreases the ecological and sociological foundations of life should disappear (Audouin, 1996). Those activities which support the natural foundation of life, improve its quality and enhance self-determination and the creative fulfilment of human potential should grow (Gortz, 1994, in Audouin, 1996). Bioregionalism therefore goes one step further than the DIS or LAMCP by calling for a participatory development strategy based on decentralised decision-making grounded in the local socio-ecological realities of a specific place. This typically involves the following (adapted from Audouin, 1996):

- The social unit of development being defined in terms of cultural and or ecological factors (this could be a bioregion);
- Reliance primarily on local resources and knowledge;
- Development which is defined, implemented and controlled by the residents of local communities and rooted in the community's values and institutions;
- An awareness of the local ecosystem potential and local and global limitations;
- Development which is tailored to the basic needs of a specific community but is not limited solely to meeting basic needs and which does not depend solely on the market;
- A recognition of diversity and the mobilisation of various individuals and groups within the community;
- Linkages (knowledge and resources) to the regional, national and international community which are able to strengthen local institutions and which are sustainable;
- A strategy of self-reliance which should apply at any scale, i.e. the local, regional, national and international (as in groupings of nations such as SADC); and
- Development that is focused on serving the needs of the community, who continually, according to their needs or shared constraints, redefine its orientations.

As with the DIS, development is thus presented as a continual process in which aspirations are met and new ones are generated. However, new aspirations may place increasing demands on the ecological and sociological base of the system and

“ecological necessities have [therefore] to become the basic principles of economic activity” (Gortz, 1994 in Audouin, 1996:42). Any development activity needs to be directed towards enhancing the ecological and sociological potential to overcome the constraints it places in the fulfilment of individual potential (ibid.) in order to achieve truly sustainable development.

## 2.5 The Meaning of Truly Sustainable Development

Truly environmentally sustainable development is an approach, not a package (see Figure 3). It is a locally conceived, flexible, iterative, participatory process based on a clear understanding of local social, ecological, economic and political concerns that views the poor not as the problem, but rather as the solution (Cole, 1994 in Audouin, 1996).

“It seems evident, even tautological, that true environmental sustainability must, in the long term, be a win-win situation as anything less than this would not be capable of maintenance” (Urquhart, 1995:36). This seems daunting and even on a small local scale, with heterogeneous communities, the process may well encompass many compromises, as well as shifts in attitude (ibid.). However, it is through these shifts in attitude that a win-win situation may be approached. The shifting nature of human values (reflected in changing social, political and economic processes), means the process has no end (ibid.). What is sustainable now may not be so in the future – this is a characteristic of the process (ibid.).

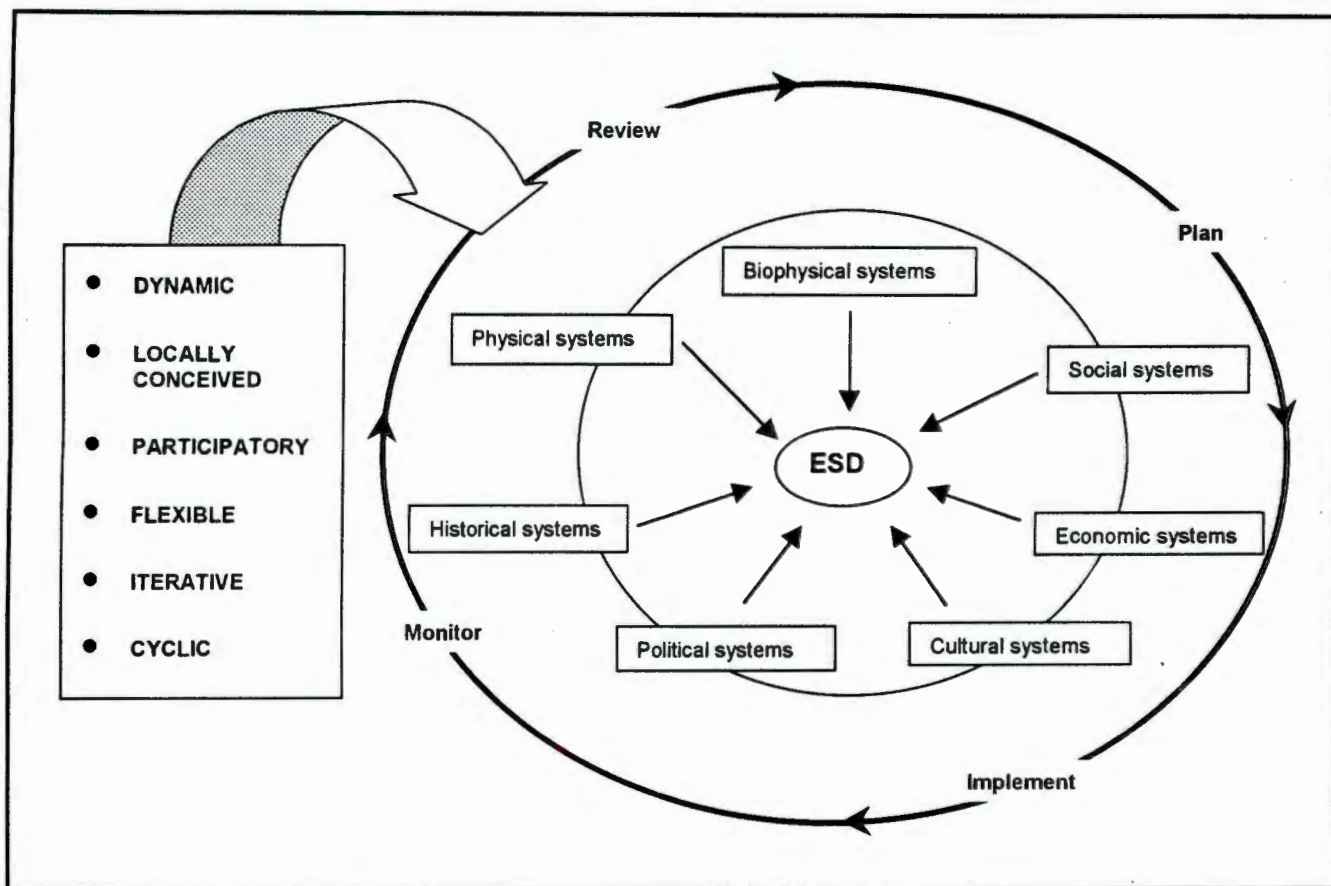
Further, proceeding from the broad definition of environment adopted from IEM in chapter 1, the result and ultimate goal of the development process should be environmental sustainability i.e. sustainability in terms of physical, biophysical, social, economic, historical, cultural and political aspects of the environment (see Figure 3).

For the purpose of this dissertation, a more holistic definition termed environmentally sustainable development (ESD) is proposed:

***Environmentally sustainable development is a dynamic, locally conceived, participatory, flexible, iterative, and cyclic process involving planning, implementing, monitoring and reviewing aimed at increasing potentials (development), to ensure the persistence of desired physical, biophysical, social, economic, historical, cultural and political systems (sustainability).***

(ISO 14001, Oslo Draft, 1995, Audouin, 1996, Urquhart, 1995).

**Figure 3:** A graphic conceptualisation of the components of environmentally sustainable development



### 2.5.1 Criteria for a Qualitative Assessment of Environmentally Sustainable Development

In order to achieve the above, a number of criteria and principles, comprising a combination of key elements of DIS, LA 21, and Bioregionalism, should be present in any environmentally sustainable development approach, project, programme or plan. This list will form the basis for assessing the contribution of the conservancy approach, as illustrated by a case study in the Nyae-Nyae region of Eastern Otjozondjupa, Namibia, to environmentally sustainable development and thus to conservation.

1. *The social unit of development should be defined in terms of cultural and or ecological factors (a bioregion). This will enable the situation-specific identification of those local activities and resources (the "socio-ecological foundations of life"), that define the identity of a particular community. This should ensure that development activities focus on a situation-specific (thus value-free), increasing of potentials through maintenance and enhancement of desired socio-ecological characteristics*

2. *Development must address the aspirations and priorities of local people by uncovering their own definition of human well-being and the direction they themselves define as most desirable – This follows from criterion 1 and further contributes towards ensuring that a locally determined development pattern is followed, which grows from the realities of the locally prevailing socio-ecological conditions. Thus this approach ensures context-specific development in order to avoid the homogenisation of development which is implemented as a standard, blueprint solution.*
3. *Development must promote, and entrench, community participation and the formation of meaningful local-level partnerships – as opposed to mere consultation. Participation implies that partnerships should be formed between stakeholders, to redress historical and inequitable power relations (Urquhart, 1995). Meaningful participation will ensure that communities have a sense of ownership over their development.*
4. *Development must promote empowerment through local control and management with indicators of empowerment being determined by the community members themselves – this criterion necessitates decentralised decision-making. People should have control over their own lives and their environments in order to attain true empowerment. This shifting of the development focus to the local level means that there should be local control over access to resources (ibid.). Local control should be broad-based – in other words, not based on elite village factions or individuals (although this does not imply a lack of recognition of diversity and the mobilisation of various individuals and groups within the community). Formalised local structures, such as representative community development forums, need to be established in order to achieve empowerment, local control and management.*
5. *Although arising as a local initiative, development must have strong links to regional/national scale planning – thus, development should be planned and implemented at village level, within an integrated and holistic development strategy, and within power-sharing partnerships with the regional and national levels. This requires linkages of knowledge and resources at the local level with the regional, national and international community which are sustainable and able to strengthen local institutions. Thus development while avoiding exogenous decision-making, will not encounter marginalisation through its guidance by local-level values. Partnerships between all stakeholders are essential to redress historically inequitable power relations (Theron, 1995, Urquhart, 1995, Audouin, 1996).*
6. *Development must promote capacity building through the provision of skills training in order to ensure that self-reliance is promoted and the goal of human self-realisation is approached. Therefore, any possible educational opportunities should be promoted (although this criterion is inherent in true partnerships)(Urquhart, 1995).*

7. *Development should rely primarily on local resources and knowledge* - this requires an identification of where the fundamental principles at the beginning of cause-effect relationships in nature are being violated and so constraining development based on local resources. This should be followed by an identification of more specialised sub-goals which are based on overcoming the constraints to development through the maintenance or enhancement of local resources i.e. the identification of new ways of using resources to meet needs (Audouin, 1996).
8. *Based on criterion 7, development must not depend solely on the market and the principles driving it, but rather, through sociological activity and ecological maintenance and enhancement of resources, also seek to promote a self reliance that is capable of functioning independently from the market.* Although this is relevant at a local, regional, national and international level (as in groupings of nations such as the Southern African Development Community – SADC), this implies that development must include identification and awareness of the local ecosystem's potential and limitations (Urquhart, 1995, Audouin, 1996).
9. *Development must be tailored to the basic needs of a specific community but is not limited solely to meeting basic needs* – this is both a criterion and a principle of environmentally sustainable development. In order to achieve this, development must be flexible and dynamic, defined, implemented and controlled by residents of a specific community and rooted in community values and institutions. If appropriately empowered (as per criterion 4), and through attaining increasing self-reliance (as per criterion 8), communities should be able to continually, according to their needs, changing values and shared constraints, redefine the orientations of development (Audouin, 1996, Coetzee, 1996, Urquhart, 1995).
10. *Development must be viewed as a process which is not quantifiably measurable.* Instead it should be measured through a continuous affirmation of meaning which requires a creative interpretation of growth and progress through increasing levels of human well-being, based on the community's desire to work towards a specific way of life and conception of reality (Coetzee, 1996, Audouin, 1996).

It would seem that all the components of the broad definition of the term environment adopted in this study viz., physical, biophysical, social, economic, historical and cultural are reflected in the proposed criteria and principles. These components are both constituents of, and form the basis for, the proposed criteria and principles for truly sustainable development. However, based on the awareness that environmentally sustainable development is an approach and an ongoing process as opposed to a package with a clear beginning and end, there is one final component, adopted from the principles of IEM that must be added to the 10 criteria and principles identified above namely that:

11. *Development must be approached as an ongoing, continual learning mechanism which drives the development process forward* – such a concept requires the cyclic, ongoing employment of EIAs, a tool of IEM. This would include evaluation, feedback,

monitoring and an ongoing determination and analysis of alternatives, for local, regional and national level proposals, policies, programmes, projects and plans.

Use of the above 11 criteria and principles of truly sustainable development, i.e. environmentally sustainable development, should thus contribute towards "a solution", which:

*"consists [of] winning from the megamachine, broader and broader spaces in which the 'logic of life' can unfold freely, and in making the system compatible – by its orientations, its techniques, the limits of the space it occupies and the restrictions and rules to which its functioning is subject – with that of the free unfolding of life. This perpetual action of laying down orientations, of shaping and subjecting the system to a rationality which is not its own – that of the personal fulfilment of individuals – will never be finished."*

(Gortz, 1994:12 in Audouin, 1996)

## 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the dominant trends and debates that have informed development this century. It has attempted to illustrate that the current sustainable development discourse, whilst making a valuable contribution to development through the recognition of the finite nature of natural resources and limits to growth, nonetheless inherited a number of flaws from its predecessors. In order to mitigate these shortcomings, three sociological contexts have been combined to facilitate the generation of a list of core criteria and principles for assessing truly environmentally sustainable development. This list of criteria and principles will be applied in chapter 5 to a case study conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae area (in chapter 4), in order to assess the contribution of the conservancy approach to environmentally sustainable development.

The developmental context established, this study now focuses on the context and nature of sustainable development in southern Africa followed by an exposition of the policy, legislative and institutional framework in Namibia.

**CHAPTER 3:**

THE REGIONAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXTS  
FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT:  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT  
COMMUNITY AND NAMIBIA

### 3 REGIONAL AND NATIONAL PARADIGMS FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY AND NAMIBIA

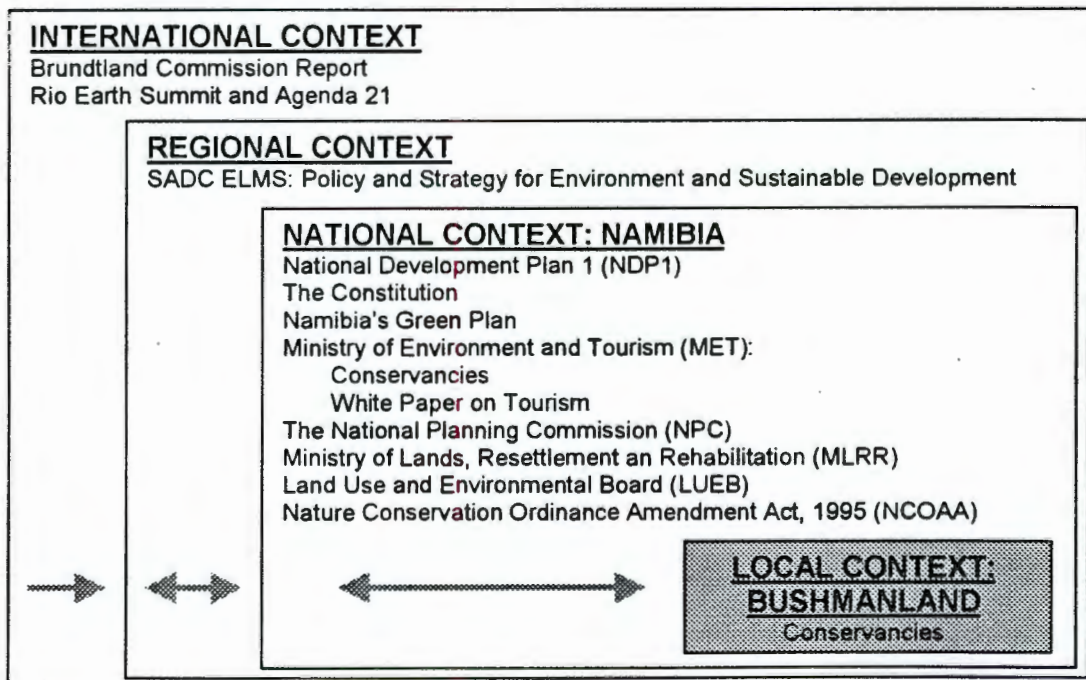
*“What has destroyed every previous civilisation has been the tendency to the unequal distribution of wealth and power.”*

(Henry George: 1839 – 1897)

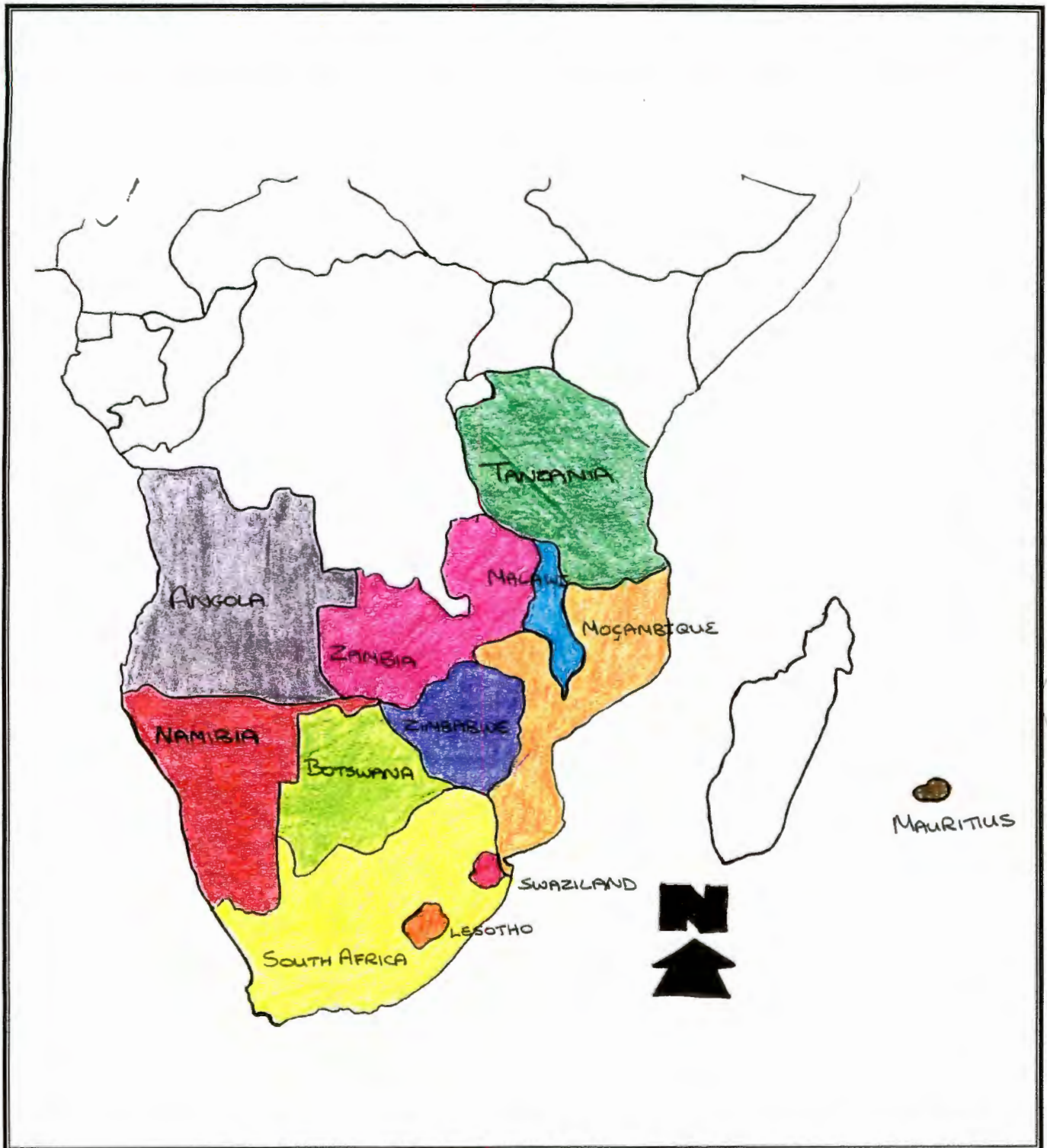
#### 3.1 Introduction

The concept of sustainable development established, this chapter focuses first on the southern African, and then on the Namibian commitment to sustainable development. This will provide the context in which the sustainability of a case study of a local conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae region of Bushmanland in Namibia, can be assessed. Figure 4 below illustrates the international, regional, national and local contexts (including the principle policy and strategy documents of each), for sustainable development. As depicted in Figure 4, the international, regional, national and local contexts for sustainable development are inevitably inter-linked, with each influencing, or being influenced by, the other contexts to varying degrees. It is to an exposition of the southern African development context that this chapter first turns.

**Figure 4: The primary international, regional and national contexts for sustainable development**



**MAP 6: Member Nations of the Southern African Development Community**



31

### **3.2 The Regional Policy and Institutional Context: The Southern African Development Community (SADC) and its Environment and Land Management Sector policy (ELMS)**

*"Regional co-operation is not an optional extra; it is a matter of survival"*  
(SADC ELMS, 1994:3)

The adoption of the Lusaka Declaration on 1 April, 1980, established a regional organisation for economic cooperation known as the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) (SADC ELMS, 1996). Under the SADCC mandate and structure, a Soil and Water Conservation and Land Utilisation Unit (SWCLU), was based within Lesotho's Ministry of Agriculture, Co-operatives and Marketing. In 1990, SADCC broadened the responsibilities of the SWCLU, charging it with the overall responsibility for environmental co-ordination, and renaming it the Environment and Land Management Sector (ELMS). (SADC ELMS, 1994:31).

On August 17, 1992, the SADCC Heads of State signed a declaration and treaty establishing the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). The treaty not only formalised the legal status of SADC, but also marked the member States' commitment to move beyond development co-ordination towards the equitable integration of their economies (ibid.), thus providing *"a new basis and more opportunities for member countries to better manage their multiple transitions and together move towards sustainable development both nationally and regionally"* (SADC ELMS, 1994). Namibia, joined SADC in 1990 (with South Africa and Mauritius joining in 1994 and 1995 respectively). (see Map 6 on page 41).

After several decades of often marginal economic growth, increasing poverty and escalating environmental degradation (brought about largely by unsustainable development programmes and policies), SADC countries are facing a formidable series of critical challenges and transitions. These include:

- A demographic transition toward an optimal size and distribution of population and economic activities in relation to the environment and natural resource base;
- A social transformation towards a more equitable sharing of development opportunities and benefits with priority to the poor majority;
- An economic transition towards equity-led growth with priority to the poor and to protecting the environment and natural resources need for future development;
- An institutional transition towards new national and regional institutional arrangements with priority to integrating economic, equity and environmental imperatives in planning and decision-making within and among different ministries and countries;
- A governance transition towards greater public accountability and participation with priority to new sustainable development partnerships amongst governments, industry and NGOs; and

- A capacity building transition towards national and regional self reliance with priority to accelerated development and use of local know-how, technology and expertise. (as detailed in SADC ELMS, 1994:1):

These challenges or transitions have resulted in the evolution of SADC's principle environmental objectives namely:

- To achieve development and economic growth, alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the peoples of southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration;
- To evolve common political values, systems and institutions;
- To promote and defend peace and security;
- To promote self-sustaining development on the basis of collective self-reliance, and interdependence of Member States;
- To achieve complementarity between national and regional strategies and programmes;
- To promote and maximise productive employment and utilisation of resources of the region;
- To achieve sustainable utilisation of natural resources and effective protection of the environment; and
- To strengthen and consolidate the long-standing historical, social and cultural affinities and links among the peoples of the Region (SADC ELMS, 1996:4).

### **3.3 A SADC ELMS Policy and Strategy for Environment and Sustainable Development**

The 1987 Brundtland Commission Report and the 1992 Rio Earth Summit (referred to in chapter 2), brought about an international shift in the focus and priorities of development actions to include environment and development issues. In keeping with these and other international trends, SADC, during the period 1993-1995, formulated the SADC ELMS Policy and Strategy for Environment and Sustainable Development (PSESD). The PSESD aim is

*“to break away from unsustainable to sustainable development in the SADC region” by ensuring that environmental concerns are “increasingly incorporated as an integral part of the development policies and decision-making of the major economic and sectoral ministries...to ensure national development becomes ecologically and economically sustainable” (SADC ELMS, 1994:i).*

The main goals of the SADC ELMS sustainable development programme, as articulated in the PSESD are: to protect and improve the health, environment and livelihoods of the people in southern Africa, with priority to the poor majority, to preserve the natural

heritage, biodiversity and life-supporting ecosystems in southern Africa, and, to support regional economic development on an equitable and sustainable basis for the benefit of present and future generations (SADC ELMS, 1994). Clearly these goals are in keeping with international trends on sustainable development.

### **3.3.1 Equity-Led Growth in the SADC Region**

The PSESD recognises poverty (as opposed to the poor), as the main cause and consequence of environmental degradation and identifies poverty alleviation as the overriding goal and priority of the SADC Community (SADC, ELMS, 1994). According to the PSESD, the international paradigm considering development and environment, "does not provide a new basis for a new deal for the majority of poor people and countries" (ibid. 1994:ii). The PSESD goes further to say: "*With shrinking options for subsistence and survival, the poverty of the poor majority remains a major cause of the environmental degradation which continues to undermine present and future development possibilities*" (ibid. 1994:31).

Thus, whilst committing itself to the concepts and goals of sustainable development, SADC ELMS (1994), identifies equity-led growth as a central prerequisite to sustainable development:

*"Even from a strictly environmental point of view, new equity-led growth strategies are needed to expand the survival options and development opportunities for the poor majority in order to reduce poverty-driven degradation of the soil, water, forests and biodiversity...without...greater equity, the inter-linked problems of poverty, population growth and environmental degradation will inevitably increase and perpetuate unsustainable development throughout the SADC region"* (SADC ELMS, 1994:25,26).

The assumption of the need for economic growth is therefore not questioned. Rather, it is the kind and content of that growth that is specified in order to achieve sustainability given that "*[f]uture economic growth in the SADC region must particularly become more equitable....more efficient in the use of...natural resources*" if it is to be "*economically, socially and environmentally sustainable*" (SADC ELMS, 1994:26).

SADC ELMS has raised the profile of sustainable development, and in fact aims to achieve political, social, ecological, economic and environmental sustainability through equity-led growth (development) strategies.

### 3.3.2 People and Sustainable Development in SADC

The PSESD document states that

*“the largest resource in the region, the energy and talents of local people who are directly involved every day in the management of natural resources, remained largely untapped because participatory approaches to research, planning, decision-making and implementation were usually lacking” in previous development approaches (SADC ELMS, 1994:).*

Equity-led growth strategies put and keep the focus of development on the poor majority of people and are a top priority and essential first step for moving towards sustainable development in the SADC region. By shifting the focus of development to people rather than projects, equity-led growth has the key goals and attributes “development of the people, for the people and by the people” (SADC ELMS, 1994:26). The PSESD document continues to say that the main purpose of such an approach is “to widen the range of peoples choices” and encourage new approaches to development “that invest in human potential and create an enabling environment for the full use of human capabilities” (ibid.). Equity-led growth strategies (like the DIS described in chapter 2), have gone some way to placing people at the centre of the development process as the prime moving force and subject, rather than the object, of development.

### 3.3.3 Integrating EIA in Decision-Making

The new SADC policy recognises that EIAs represent a significant step towards achieving greater environmental sustainability. However, the PSESD document acknowledges that EIAs alone are not enough to secure sustainable development. Rather, it proposes the use of what is termed in the document as Equity Impact Assessments (Eq.IA). According to the PSESD, this involves a three-fold assessment process:

- Assessing the likely *environmental impacts* of economic policies and activities;
- Assessing the likely *economic impacts* of environmental policies and measures; and
- Assessing the likely *equity impacts* of both economic and environmental policies.

Although the integration of economic, environmental and equity impact assessments (Eq.IA) in all key policy sectors will not make decision-making necessarily any easier, the PSESD suggests that it will improve chances of making better decisions in support of the larger SADC goals, i.e. equity-led growth and sustainable development, by compelling decision-makers to assess and defend their choices in terms of economic, social and environmental sustainability. The intention is that through the implementation and employment of Eq.IA “built into a new equity-led growth and sustainable development strategy”, SADC members can “provide a new basis for a new deal for the majority of poor people and countries in order to secure and sustain our common future” (SADC ELMS, 1994:29).

Thus the SADC operational definition for sustainable development, through the vehicle of the PSESD, makes 2 contributions over and above those outlined in chapter 2 namely:

- The inclusion of **equity** as the third and critical component to integrating environment and development in order to achieve the integrated goals of economic, social and environmentally sustainable development.
- The importance of **broadening the goals of EIAs** to include equity impact assessments, and as such to become Eq.IAs.

The above exposition of the status of sustainable development in the southern African region has helped identify a further requirement for environmentally sustainable development, in essence a 12<sup>th</sup> assessment criterion;

In order to be environmentally sustainable, *development actions, at any level, must satisfy the requirements of an Eq.IA*, i.e. development must increase the equity values and shares for the poor majority and future generations. This is both a prerequisite for, and a condition of, sustainable development in the SADC region.

Having explored the regional trends, this chapter now turns to a national context of sustainable development focusing on Namibia, in order to inform the description of what is occurring at the local level i.e. the conservancy in Nyae-Nyae, Bushmanland.

### **3.4 NAMIBIA'S INSTITUTIONAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: THE NATIONAL CONTEXT**

As a SADC member, Namibia is an integral part of the larger SADC agenda and strategy for equity-led growth and sustainable development in the SADC region. In its recent National Development Plan (NDP1, 1995), Namibia makes a commitment to regional co-operation having "*many common goals with other countries of southern Africa which will be more effectively pursued through economic co-operation and greater integration. Namibia will therefore implement its development strategy within a framework of co-operation within...SADC...*" (NDP1, 1995:56). In order to understand how Namibia hopes to meet its sustainable development requirements and strengthen regional integration, this thesis focuses now on the institutional, policy and legislative framework influencing sustainable development.

#### **3.4.1 Namibia in Focus**

As a new, independent and democratic nation that emerged on March 21, 1990, Namibia has inherited the social, environmental, political and economic consequences

of more than a century of foreign occupation, including an economic structure in which only a privileged minority benefited from the country's natural resources (NDP1, 1995).

Under previous systems of government, a large proportion of the land suitable for arable agriculture or livestock rearing was reserved for white ownership (approximately 5% of the population), and these commercial farms cover about 45% of the country. Much of the rest of the land (40% of the total) was historically divided into "homelands", which now comprise the communal farming areas (MET, undated - a), where the majority of Namibia's predominantly rural population currently reside. With fewer than a third of people living in urban areas (NDP1, 1995), this rural population is dependent on the environment for their livelihoods, with a significant proportion of both formal and informal economic activity depending on the ecological production and integrity of this arid and fragile environment (NPC, 1996). One of the key implications of this arid and fragile environment, is that loss of productivity through human mismanagement takes place rather easily and recovery from environmental degradation takes a long time (NDP1, 1995). Due to its arid and fragile nature, much of this communal land is therefore not suitable for agriculture and livestock farming, and alternative land-use options need to be sought and explored.

### **3.4.2 The Socio-Economic Context**

There is clearly an urgent need in Namibia for development that addresses and minimises these inherited socio-economic and environmental debts and ensures that people are able to meet their basic needs. However, as a country largely dependent on its own environment, with the majority of its population living in rural communal areas and depending on a daily basis on ecological production and thus particularly vulnerable to the effects of environmental degradation, Namibia has a special imperative to achieve environmentally sound and sustainable development activities (MET, 1997).

Namibia has a population of 1.6 million, growing at a rate of over 3% a year (NDP1, 1995). This small population is extraordinarily diverse in language and culture, comprising over eleven different languages or language groups. The country is characterised by the existence of extreme wealth and rampant poverty existing side by side, with high unemployment and illiteracy underlining its "underdeveloped nature" (NDP1, 1995).

Although Namibia's per capita income of nearly US\$ 1,200 places it firmly amongst the middle income countries, these aggregate figures tell only a part of the story. According to 1989 statistics, the wealthiest 5% of Namibians generate more than 70% of the country's GDP, whilst the poorest 55% generate only 3% (MET, undated - a:88). More than two-thirds of the population, moreover, are estimated to have standards of living so low that they live in "absolute" poverty (ibid.). A World Bank report (1991, cited in NDP1, 1995:vii), further confirmed the existence of two "Namibias" within Namibia, with the white-dominated sector accounting for US\$ 16,500 per capita added income

compared with only US\$ 85 per capita income per year for the 70% of the population in the subsistence sector (ibid.). Namibia's Green Plan further states that a 1988 study revealed that about 5% of the population earned 71% of the income, whilst over half the population shared less than 3% of the income. This disparity in income is similarly reflected in housing standards, education and literacy levels and health care.

### **3.4.3 Land Tenure and Communal Land Legislation**

Land tenure and access to and control over resources are important if people are to effectively manage their environment. An understanding of land tenure and land use issues and their history in Namibia is thus necessary.

In pre-colonial times, settlement was confined to areas of reliable water, whilst transhumance<sup>2</sup> was practised elsewhere. However, during colonialism, with the concomitant dispossession of land and the creation of native reserves, traditional land-use practices came under increasing pressure and changed. In many of the communal areas, migratory pastoralism and transhumance grazing systems still predominate, though much restricted compared to pre-colonial systems (Seely et al, 1995). Land enclosure, forced relocation under colonialism and the erection of fences since Independence has reduced people's ability to respond flexibly to a semi-arid environment (M Phil, 1997) Traditional systems are thus maintained by a variety of supplementary activities that supply other income (Rhode, 1994).

As already mentioned, the distribution, management and tenure of land in Namibia has historically been determined by policies of former colonial administrations and falls into two broad categories. Land formerly utilised by indigenous communities was dispossessed and set aside for European settlement and the original owners confined to "native reserves" (Werner, 1994). The South African Government refined this initial division of land and imposed different agricultural policies and levels of support in the two sectors. The result has been the development of "white commercial" farming as distinct from "black communal" farming (M Phil, 1997). Commercial land is owned by individuals under freehold title and comprises some 44% of the country (362 000km<sup>2</sup>), supporting 6 300 farms belonging to 4 200 farmers. In contrast, communal lands comprises 41% of the country (335 400km<sup>2</sup>) and are home to 138 000 households (Dewdney, 1996; Sullivan 1996).

Prior to Independence, allocation of land in communal areas was regulated by a series of 'traditional authorities' or second tier authorities set up by the South African Government (Rhode, 1994). With Independence, the laws regulating these authorities were repealed, their powers removed, and ownership of all land set aside for 'native' populations was vested in the State (Sullivan, 1996). The legal status of land allocation

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<sup>2</sup> Transhumance may be defined as the seasonal movement of livestock between specific areas driven by fodder and water needs (M Phil, 1997:xxii)

and management in the communal areas is thus problematic as there are no regulating laws, and traditional authorities no longer have the power or ability to effectively administer land tenure and administration. As a result, rural communities do not have secure, exclusive tenure over land and natural resources (M Phil, 1997; Dewdney, 1996).

The lack of a clear land tenure arrangement is a disincentive to long term planning and the sustainable use and management of resources (Jones, 1996b). It is also a major contributing factor to land degradation as people seek to maximise, individually, their own benefit. This is at the cost of the long term sustainability of resource use and leads to competition amongst users (Dewdney, 1996). Although land tenure in communal areas is seen as being "communal", it is in fact more like "open access" (M Phil, 1997).

In Namibia, the conservancy approach which provides for communities to be given rights to utilise and manage wildlife once they have formed a conservancy, is proposed as a key initiative to achieving sustainable utilisation of natural resources. This is a step towards community ownership of natural resources. However, in order for natural resource management to be effective, it has been suggested that the question of tenure over natural resources has to be more holistic (Shumba, pers. comm.; Dewdney, 1996; Tarr, pers. comm.; M Phil, 1997).

Having briefly sketched the historic and political character, socio-economic characteristics and land tenure situation in Namibia, this chapter now focuses on the policy, institutional and legislative framework and context for sustainable development in this country.

### **3.5 THE NAMIBIAN POLICY FRAMEWORK**

The cornerstone and over-arching point of reference for this exposition, is the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia, which, making a decisive break from the past, establishes Namibia as a "*sovereign, secular, democratic and unitary State*" founded upon the principles of "democracy, the rule of law and justice for all" (NDP1, 1995:7). It contains a comprehensive guarantee of human rights and freedoms and obliges the State to "strive for the welfare of the people" (ibid.).

#### **3.5.1 The Constitution**

Namibia's Constitution recognises that the country's economy is almost totally reliant on natural resources, both renewable and non-renewable (MET, undated - a). It also goes further to commit Namibia to the principle of sustainable utilisation, and sets the framework for environmental protection and wise resource management in the form of two key environmental clauses (Brown, 1996:18):

*Article 95): Promotion of the Welfare of the People*

The State shall actively promote and maintain the welfare of the people by adopting , inter alia, policies aimed at the following:

- (i) maintenance of ecosystems, essential ecological processes and the biological diversity of Namibia and utilisation of living natural resources on a sustainable basis for the benefit of all Namibians both present and future..." (NDP1, 1995:238).

*Article 91(c): Function of the Ombudsman*

The function of the Ombudsman shall be defined and prescribed by an Act of Parliament and shall include the following: the duty to investigate complaints concerning the over-utilisation of living natural resources, the irrational exploitation of non-renewable resources, the degradation and destruction of ecosystems and failure to protect the beauty and character of Namibia (cited in Muliya, 1996).

The Namibian Constitution therefore commits the country to the dual goals of natural resource conservation and the promotion of the welfare of the people through development. The Namibian can thus be said to have committed itself to an ambitious programme of sustainable development.

### **3.5.2 The National Development Plan 1 (NDP1)**

If the Constitution provides the national context, the National Development Plan 1: 1995/1996 – 1999/2000 (NDP1), which profiles the development aspirations for Namibia during this period, is the principle vehicle for the definition, application, operation, implementation and achievement of sustainable development in this country. This section explores the NDP1 and sustainable development, equity-led growth, the role of tourism, and the view expounded on people and development. These are directly relevant to this dissertation.

#### **3.5.2.1 Sustainable Development**

Defined as the deliberate attempt by Government to co-ordinate economic, [environmental] and social decision-making to influence directly and indirectly economic, [environmental] and social development" (NDP1, 1995:61), the NDP1 aims to turn "Namibia from a developing to a developed, high-income country where full employment, a satisfactory income distribution and the eradication of poverty has been achieved" (NDP1, 1995:73). In recognising that "*in many countries the development process has faltered because the development strategy chosen was economically, financially or environmentally unsustainable, [the Namibian] Government intends to avoid this mistake and the national development strategy is, therefore, designed to ensure sustainability*" (NDP1, 1995:54). Acknowledgement is also given to the fragile nature of the Namibian natural environment and the limitations this places on development options:

*"In an economy which is dependent upon natural resources, a sustained growth in production can lead to the unsustainable use of those resources. Government will strive for sustainability through sound environmental policies and legislation, proper pricing and environmental awareness. Through greater community participation, Namibia will improve the management of its environmental assets and raise the incomes of the rural population" (NDP1, 1995:59).*

In addition, the Namibian Government has, through the NDP1, committed itself to strive towards sustainable land and natural resource use in communal areas. This it hopes to achieve by implementing projects specifically designed for these areas, with the objective of optimising "benefits [income, welfare, equity], both now and in the long term" (ibid.). All sectoral policies and strategies must therefore be based on the principle "that Namibia's environmental wealth is an asset that should not be wasted or exploited for the short-term profit of a few" (NDP1, 1995:238). This aim is recognition of the value of renewable resources, and of their "potential to support equitable and long-lasting growth if and only if they are well managed" (NDP1, 1995:240)

To ensure sustainable development, all agents in development are compelled by the NDP1 to adopt the following perspectives:

- A long-term view – consequences over 20, 50 and more years will be assessed;
- The impact on other sectors, and on other resources required by other sectors;
- The impact on a wider region than the exact location of operation – ecological chains spread far and wide;
- The value of natural resources, whether marketed or not, to individual welfare, the subsistence economy and to national economic growth; and
- The distribution of costs and benefits from environmental resources, and the need for greater equity.

(NDP1, 1995:240)

The NDP1 nevertheless acknowledges that such a mandate cannot be achieved by any one institution or even by the whole Government machinery, but rather requires a combined effort, within an administrative framework, that involves diverse stakeholders; individuals and institutions in the Government, non-government and private sectors, local and international communities (NDP1, 1995:235). It goes on to emphasize that should environmentally, economically and socially sustainable development not be achieved,

*"it is the poorest who will suffer most. Those who cannot afford to pay for food, fuel, fencing, and other materials rely on the natural environment to provide them. Environmental protection is thus essential for food security...and welfare of the poorest. If environmental laws are not changed, inequality in rights to manage and profit from resources will continue. On the other hand, if the economic potential of renewable, resource-based industries*

*is exploited, there is considerable potential for decentralisation of economic opportunities to less developed parts of the country” (NDP1, 1995:238)*

The NDP1 in fact commits itself to *“develop the human and physical resources needed to plan, co-ordinate, protect, develop and implement appropriate environmental policies, strategies, programmes, projects and actions; to ensure wise and sustainable development and environmental protection; to develop an appropriate environmental legislative framework to underpin these objectives and standards.” (NDP1, 1995:245)*

Also significant when seen in the context of this dissertation, is the recognition, given by the NDP1, to cultural diversity. In so doing, it helps mitigate the possible negative homogenising consequences of an emphasis on economic development. According to the NDP1, *“for development to be sustainable it will proceed in tandem with the promotion and advancement of Namibian culture, with an emphasis on unity through diversity” (NDP1, 1995:50).*

#### 3.5.2.2 Equitable Growth

In keeping with SADC's commitment to equitable growth, the NDP1 too emphasises the importance of a policy of growth with equity. To redress previous inequalities, *“resources need to be reallocated to formerly disadvantaged groups and areas” (NDP1, 1995:51).* To this end, subsistence agriculture, tourism, fishing and manufacturing are identified as having the potential and capacity *“to directly contribute to growth with equity” (NDP1, 1995:74).*

#### 3.5.2.3 The Importance of Tourism in Achieving Sustainable Development and Equitable Growth

Tourism is identified in the NDP1 as a fast-growing industry, and one of the main economic sectors with long-term potential to move Namibia in the direction of sustainable development and growth with equity. The tourism sector was declared a priority area by Parliament in 1991, and this was followed by the drafting of a national policy aimed at guiding tourism development and directing it for the achievement of national goals (Muliya, 1996).

In 1992-1993, the Government, assisted by the European Union, commissioned a study to set up the legislative framework for tourism development (Hoff and Overgaard, 1993, cited in Muliya, 1996). The study culminated in the drafting and subsequent enactment of a ***White Paper on Tourism***, approved by Cabinet on 29<sup>th</sup> March 1994. This paper sets the framework for the operational aspects of tourism with the primary objective being the promotion of the potential inherent in Namibian tourism and the consequent utilisation of this potential to contribute towards national and local economic development (Muliya, 1996):

*“Based on its natural endowment, Namibia has a great opportunity to use tourism as a vehicle for development, a vehicle which could have particular power in areas with limited other economic activities. The strategy (contained in the White Paper on Tourism), is to develop tourism into a central economic feature in Namibia, generating employment and income on a sustainable basis (by realising the inter-linked objectives of protecting the biodiversity of Namibia for future generations, and of maximising the economic benefits from tourism), with due consideration to environmental, social and cultural issues” (NDP1, 1995:231).*

Both the NDP1 and the White Paper on Tourism place substantial emphasis on the potential of tourism to help Namibia meet its more qualitative goals of income equity and poverty alleviation. Section 3.18 of the White Paper asserts that, while the key strategic objective of tourism development is *“generating employment and income on a sustainable basis...it is not only the generation of economic benefits which is important but also the dispersion of those benefits to a wider group in society”* (Ashley and Garland, 1994:2). Tourism development in communal areas, where the poorer majority live, has potential to not only increase local incomes and jobs, but also to develop skills, institutions and bring about empowerment of local people. Tourism is therefore a key industry for facilitating greater growth, equity and poverty alleviation in communal areas (NDP1, 1995.). In addition, benefits from tourism in communal areas are seen by many as a key tool for building local support for conservation and sustainable natural resource use (thus a sustainable tourism product) in the communal areas. Ashley and Garland (1994:2) elaborate:

*“The establishment of an economic link between ownership of natural resources, protection and utilisation of game, and income generation in communal areas is of major importance. Tourism must provide direct benefits to local people and aid conservation”.*

#### 3.5.2.4 People and Development in the NDP1

Increasing community participation is another policy direction of NDP1:

*“Increasing people’s responsibility for their own development, ensuring that development activities address people’s actual needs ... will contribute significantly to harnessing the people’s energy in shaping the development of their country rather than being passive recipients” (NDP1, 1995:51)*

Many of the sector/line Ministries have, in an attempt to access people's opinions, included community participation in their policies and strategies and now involve communities in planning, management and implementation of activities. However, the NDP1 acknowledges that this approach is *“relatively new in Namibia and line Ministries ... will need to develop the necessary skills for developing community capacity to identify and implement projects”* (ibid.). The NDP1 goes on to state that *“an equally*

*important approach will be the promotion of participation of communities in needs identification, assessment, planning, monitoring and decision-making” (NDP1, 1995:53), for it is “through greater community participation [that], Namibia will improve the management of its environmental assets and raise the incomes of the rural population” (NDP1, 1995:55).*

### **3.5.3 Namibia’s Green Plan For Environment and Development**

Namibia’s Green Plan, in accordance with the aims and goals of the NDP1 pays particular attention to people and development, sustainable management of wildlife, the role of tourism in achieving sustainable development and the importance of environmentally responsible decision-making, emphasising that a *“healthy environment provides the opportunity of realising the full development potential of a region and country”* (MET, undated - a:1). Renewable natural resources such as plants and animals, are *“the wealth of Namibia...[and] food, shelter and money can be obtained indefinitely from these resources, provided that they are managed wisely”* (MET, undated - a:5). The document accordingly sets out *“an ambitious programme for achieving sustainable development”* in order to *“secure for present and future generations a safe and healthy environment, and a sound and prosperous economy”* (MET, undated - a:172).

In keeping with trends of development for the people, of the people, by the people (as outlined in chapter 2, and the discussion of the PSESD), the Green Plan states that development and progress must be measured *“in terms of the quality of life of the poor and not in terms of GDP alone”* (MET, undated - a:6). The document goes further, saying that if this does not occur, *“sustainable development will remain just a concept to the rich and will be ignored by the poor who effectively will have been destined by the rich to become poorer, [and] more vulnerable to disease in an environment that will degrade to an irreversible low carrying capacity desert”* (ibid.).

The chapter on sustainable use of wildlife contains a commitment from Government to re-empowering rural communal farmers to fully participate and benefit from wildlife management in their areas through conservancy programmes (establishing a conservancy structure for proper management of wildlife within a particular area), and through the revision and redrafting of legislation with particular attention to ownership and rights of wildlife utilisation in communal areas (MET, undated - a).

Tourism is described in the Green Plan as having considerable potential to develop into a sensitive and sustainable industry for the benefit of local communities, the private sector and the country. However, it recognises that *“Namibia’s tourism industry is based largely on its natural resources such as wildlife, wilderness and scenery. A sustainable tourism industry must be managed carefully to complement and broaden this resource base, not undermine it”* (MET, undated - a:70)

More significantly, the Green Plan outlines a number of factors (see discussion and Table 1 in chapter 5), which are necessary before a sustainable tourism industry can be realised. These are:

- A higher degree of community involvement;
- Tourism and environmental conservation must be closely linked;
- Local communities will have to become more closely involved in tourism as well as nature conservation issues. Through tourism linked to nature conservation, local income must be generated and a higher degree of understanding of the value of environmental protection must result (MET, undated - a:74).

The Green Plan also focuses attention on the need for decision-making partnerships with local communities. According to the Plan, *"partnerships equal solutions"*. To this end, the Green Plan commits Government to encourage consultation and to promote joint decision-making with local communities in the management of renewable resources: *"The maintenance of a healthy environment requires legislative changes to enable local communities to share decision-making over natural resources and gain financial benefits from their utilisation"* (MET, undated - a:154,155).

### **3.6 THE NAMIBIAN INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK**

The institutional framework in Namibia is instrumental in hindering, or enabling, the attainment of the goals and aims of sustainable development in this country. The institutions relevant to the dissertation and thus covered in this section, are the Ministry of Environment and tourism, The Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, and the Land Use and Environmental Board.

#### **3.6.1 Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET)**

The Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism was created at Independence but later renamed the MET. Delegated broad responsibilities by Cabinet, the MET established a mission and objectives which reflect the ecological and development realities of the country. The fragility of Namibia's natural ecology and the dependence of Namibia on its ecological production, as well as Namibia's development imperatives, are fully recognised by the MET (Tarr, pers. comm.) and clearly reflected in its mission statement:

*"To maintain and rehabilitate essential ecological processes and life-support systems, to conserve biological diversity and to ensure that the utilisation of natural resources is sustainable for the benefit of all Namibians, both present and future, as well as for the international community" (MET, 1994c)*

The MET's mission is directed by a number of over-arching objectives which are also articulated in the NDP1. These are as follows:

- Promote sustainable development within all sectors and across all regions to ensure that present and future generations gain optimal benefit from the equitable and sustainable utilisation of Namibia's renewable resources;
- Protect biotic diversity and maintain essential ecological life-support systems; and
- Promote participatory, cross-sectoral and integrated programmes to improve understanding of the management of natural resources on a sustainable basis (NDP1, 1995:238)

Additional objectives which contribute to the above, include democratising environmental planning and management and establishing an appropriate policy framework to ensure more sustainable resource management (ibid.). However, acceptance of these objectives requires that the MET have some targets which are more difficult to quantify. These include halting unsustainable over-utilisation of renewable natural resources, providing more Namibians with environmental management skills and allowing local communities to manage and profit from wildlife and other natural resources.

Recognising that previous conservation attempts have limited success because they did not address the needs of the human and social dimensions of natural resource management, the MET has since 1992, promoted the concept of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) (Jones, 1996b). The CBNRM programme emphasises sustainable utilisation of resources such as wildlife, and the involvement of local people and other stakeholders directly in conservation and decision-making (M Phil, 1996). The CBNRM programme is also aimed at providing incentives to rural people to sustainably manage the natural resources (Jones, 1996b). Presently, community management of natural resources is limited to that which falls within the mandate of the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) – that is the right to manage and use wildlife sustainably. It is envisaged that rights over other resources could be devolved by other line ministries to communities to widen the scope of CBNRM (ibid.).

Through CBNRM programmes and other policies, the MET *“supports rational, sustainable and integrated land-use planning in all environments throughout Namibia; the formation of appropriate institutions to ensure that local communities are involved in all consultative and decision-making processes, and undertakes to ensure the maximum sustainable benefit from the land and natural resources are returned to these communities”* (MET, undated - c:66). This dissertation will explore how this is operationalised in chapter 4 which outlines the ongoing process of the establishment of a conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae region of Eastern Otjozondjupa.

### 3.6.2 National Planning Commission (NPC)

Another institution that could have a major influence on the nature of development, and particularly in influencing conditions facilitating the potential success or failure of the conservancy approach, is the National Planning Commission.

The National Planning Commission (NPC) in the office of the President, was established with the mandate to "*plan the priorities and direction of national development...*" (NPC, 1995), and has the responsibility of advising the President on all matters pertaining to economic planning, as well as being responsible for the co-ordination of the NDP1, and the monitoring of national policies, programmes and projects. The NPC has been given the responsibility of overall co-ordination, monitoring and supervision of the implementation of development programmes ( NDP1, 1995). In essence, it is the supreme body for decision-making in terms of the overall co-ordination and appraisal of the activities of all the different line ministries; including appraisal of the environmental implications of development projects (Tjipueja, S. pers. comm.). As such, the NPC has to ensure that different sectoral policies, programmes and projects are implemented in accordance with the national objectives of sustainability.

The NPC is however, not without its problems. It is currently experiencing serious difficulties in fulfilling its mandate and is being undermined by such factors as high staff turnover, inappropriate appointments and lack of suitably qualified staff (Confidential, pers. comm.). This has hampered the coordinating function of the NPC, resulting in duplications and contradictions in various sectoral policies (ibid.).

### 3.6.3 Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR)

Another key ministry is the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR). This ministry was established soon after Independence with the mandate to initiate, facilitate and co-ordinate the land reform process in Namibia, including the development of sustainable resettlement programmes (M Phil, 1996). As the custodian of all land held under communal land tenure as well as unproclaimed land in the rural areas, the MLRR has to co-ordinate its activities with other Government institutions, NGOs and local communities (NDP1, 1995).

As most of the land administered by the MLRR is communal land (comprising over 41% of the country), a policy on communal land is of crucial importance to management of natural resources such as wildlife, water and others. It was not until May 1996 however, that a draft Outline of a National Land Policy was released as a Green Paper for wider consultation (Tjipueja, H. pers. comm.). The absence of a clear policy framework to address the tenure situation in Namibia has made it difficult for Government and the various line ministries to devise a clear or holistic integrated strategy for these areas (Corbett and Daniels, 1996). This lack of a clear strategy for communal areas may

present an impediment to the successful implementation of the conservancy approach, and thus to the proposed conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae region.

While the draft policy vests authority over communal land in Regional Land Boards on behalf of the inhabitants of the communal areas, and proposes various tenure arrangements, ownership of such land still remains State property (Communal Lands Bill, sections 63 and 78 – 83). This reluctance by Government to give secure tenure to local communities, despite strong support for it from various sectors of the Namibian society, remains an outstanding issue (M Phil, 1996). Some senior decision-makers within the MLRR are however of the opinion that all natural resources should remain state property and exclusive tenure to local communities is seen as socially and politically undesirable because it would strengthen ethnic differences and promote ethnic conflict (M Phil, 1996, Tjipueja, H and Shumba, pers. comm.). Without the official endorsement of Government, this issue will remain unresolved and negatively effect any natural resource conservation initiatives proposed for communal land areas.

#### **3.6.4 Land Use and Environmental Board (LUEB)**

As already discussed earlier in this chapter, Namibia has been characterised over the years by fragmented and uncoordinated sectoral planning in the rural areas resulting not only in duplication but also in the dissemination of conflicting messages to rural communities. This in turn has resulted in unsustainable resource exploitation patterns. In the face of the NPC's inability to adequately perform its co-ordinating role, efforts are currently underway in Namibia to establish an independent body which will provide a platform for integrated land use planning, and to act as an advisory body to the NPC and Cabinet (M Phil, 1996).

The proposed Land-Use and Environmental Board (LUEB), would comprise a multi-sectoral forum that would ensure such integration (Shumba, pers. comm.). The LUEB will have two sub-committees for land-use planning, one rural and one urban, and these two committees will be responsible for appraising the social and environmental soundness of all development policies, plans, programmes and projects, and will advise the respective sectors accordingly (M Phil, 1996). It is envisaged that LUEB will have some sort of regional representation, but this will have to be co-ordinated with other structures that are already in place such as the Regional Land Boards (MLRR, 1996).

It is envisaged that the LUEB will be a statutory institution providing an umbrella framework for all sectoral policies, plans and programmes on natural resource management and all land based development (Tarr, pers. comm.). Giving LUEB statutory authority implies that its decisions will have more weight. All relevant ministries, parastatals, local government, the private sector, NGOs and local communities would have representation on LUEB which will be chaired by the NPC and will report to the President.

The LUEB was approved by Cabinet in October 1995, and several drafts of the legislation have already been prepared for discussion. However, correspondence within the MLRR and with other ministries such as the DEA shows that the NPC is not very keen in participating in LUEB. This has been explained as being due to their lack of capacity to run such an institution (Confidential Memorandum, 1996). As a result there has been some delay in the formalisation of the LUEB (Shumba, pers. comm.). At the time of research for this dissertation there had been no further developments with regards to legislation and the role of the LUEB. It may however, once relevant legislation has been finalised, provide the conduit to address some of the natural resource use and management problems that have arisen in Namibia as a result of previously uncoordinated and fragmented sectoral policies. This could be achieved by promoting holistic integration of differing land-use options and natural resource use and management strategies amongst the different line-ministries such as MLRR, DRWS and the MET.

### **3.7 NAMIBIAN LEGISLATION FRAMEWORK**

Namibia does not as yet have a coherent and comprehensive environmental law framework. The Constitutional provisions, together with many outdated statutes, all of South African origin, and old South West African subordinate legislation provide the present legal parameters (Corbett and Glazewski, 1996). However, the need for a detailed law reform process has been recognised and a three-year project to review and revise Namibia's environmental legislation is currently underway (ibid.). The project, which is being undertaken jointly by the MET and the Office of the Attorney General, aims to provide a systematic body of environmental laws (ibid.). Recent amendments to legislation are already beginning to have a positive impact on conservation and development in Namibia, particularly with regards to the conservancy approach and the achievement of its goals.

#### **3.7.1 Nature Conservation Ordinance Amendment Act, 1995 (NCOAA)**

The Nature Conservation Ordinance (No. 4 of 1975) is the most important legislative instrument as far as wildlife management is concerned (Corbett and Glazewski, 1996). The MET recognised that the ordinance discriminated between commercial farmers on the one hand and communal farmers on the other when it came to the use of wildlife. This had alienated people in communal areas from wildlife and contributed to a negative attitude towards conservation (ibid.).

Based on recommendations from the MET, and in accordance with other relevant post-Independence policies, Namibia's Nature Conservation Ordinance 4 of 1975 (NCO) was consequently amended to become the Nature Conservation Ordinance Amendment Act, 1995 (NCOAA), the rationale of this amendment being to:

*"provide for an economically based system for the management and sustainable utilisation of wildlife in communal areas; to provide incentives for wise wildlife resource management; to facilitate both consumptive and non-consumptive wildlife based tourism; and to provide for matters incidental thereto" (NCOAA, 1995:1).*

In essence, the NCO was amended to provide for, and facilitate, the formation of conservancies. (All the amendments to the NCO are contained in Attachment 1).

Section 14(3) was amended as follows: *"The Minister may ... declare an area in a communal area, excluding proclaimed conservation areas, to be a conservancy to enable inhabitants of such conservancy to derive benefits from the management and consumptive<sup>3</sup> and non-consumptive<sup>4</sup> utilisation of wildlife in such conservancy."*

The Act does however require that a number of pre-requisites are met before a conservancy can be requested. Inserted in the Section 28 of the principal Ordinance, 28(1) states that:

*The Minister may, at the request of a community inhabiting a communal area or portion thereof, register an area to be a conservancy provided that he or she is satisfied that:*

- 28(1) (a) a conservancy committee<sup>5</sup> has been established which is representative of the community residing in the conservancy and includes one or more representatives or nominees of the traditional authority;
- (b) such a conservancy committee has a constitution displaying a commitment to, and strategy for, the sustainable management and utilisation of wildlife within the conservancy; and
- (c) such conservancy committee has the ability to effectively manage the income and funds of the conservancy and has an appropriate method for the equitable distribution of benefits to the members of such conservancy derived from consumptive and/or non-consumptive use of wildlife.

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<sup>3</sup> *"Consumptive Use"* as defined by the NCOAA means utilisation by permanent removal of individuals of a wildlife population, or their parts, from or within an area.

<sup>4</sup> *"Non consumptive use"* as defined by the NCOAA shall mean use not entailing the permanent removal of individual members of a wildlife population and shall include use for recreational, educational, research, cultural, aesthetic or related purposes.

<sup>5</sup> *"Conservancy Committee"* means an authority approved by the Minister under section 28A. According to section 28A(2), *"a conservancy committee shall have responsibilities for, and rights to, consumptive and non-consumptive management and sustainable use of wildlife resources on behalf of the members of a conservancy, including hunting and trophy hunting rights, rights to revenues and other benefits allocated to or generated from such management and use, as well as the right to enter into agreements and to retain, manage and distribute its funds and assets"*.

- (d) the conservancy committee has duly applied for registration of the conservancy in a format prescribed by the regulations (as drawn up by the MET)
- (e) the geographic area of the conservancy has been sufficiently identified by way of its physical boundaries taking into account the views of the regional council

Once an application for declaration of a conservancy (see Attachment 2) has been approved and signed by the regional governor, it is passed on to the regional head of the MET. Once approved and signed regionally, it goes to head office for the Minister of the MET's approval. Section 29(3) of the NCOAA goes further by stating that once approved as a conservancy, "*a conservancy committee shall be the owner of all huntable game, huntable game birds and exotic game in a conservancy... as long as such huntable game, huntable game birds and exotic game are lawfully on such conservancy*".

The criteria that must be met in order to have a conservancy approved by the Minister were designed by the MET with the objectives of sustainable development in mind (Met, pers. comm.). If approved and signed it can thus be assumed that, to a certain degree, the conservancy would in fact, meet the requirements of sustainable development (ibid.).

Thus, before a conservancy can be registered, the MET has to be satisfied that:

- The management committee is representative of the community;
- The conservancy has a proper constitution which includes sustainable management and a set of rules as to how the conservancy will operate;
- The committee has the capacity to manage funds adequately and a policy or plan for the equitable distribution and use of funds; and
- The conservancy has a geographical definition which is not disputed.

(Jones, 1995)

From the recent amendments to the NCO, and the rights the new NCOAA accords to communities regarding the management and use of wildlife, it can be understood that conservancy approach has the objectives of:

- Economic and social upliftment;
- Natural Resource Conservation;
- Promotion of equity;
- Devolution and decentralisation of planning and decision-making processes; and
- Increasing economic self-sufficiency in the community and enhancing decreasing dependence on outside and Government assistance.

According to Tarr and Jones (Met, pers. com.) a conservancy is therefore simultaneously a vehicle for sustainable development and for sustainable conservation. Whilst currently only applicable to the use and conservation of wildlife, the conservancy approach contains several important development and management principles in

accordance with the Namibian emphasis and focus on sustainable development (ibid.). As such, the approach has the potential to also be applied to the management of other natural resources in the communal areas such as water. Ideally communities could be devolved rights or ownership over most natural resources in order to develop locally appropriate, integrated and holistic resource management strategies (M Phil, 1996).

### **3.7.2 Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs)**

A key element to the successful implementation of the conservancy approach is the use of EIAs in the planning, assessment and decision-making phases. The MET has formulated an Environmental Assessment Policy which is still in draft form. The policy aims to promote sustainable development and economic growth while protecting the environment in the long term (Tarr, pers. comm.). It seeks further to ensure that environmental consequences of development projects and policies are considered, understood and incorporated in the planning process (DEA, 1995).

Currently however, pending Cabinet approval of the draft policy and subsequent enabling legislation, EIAs are only legally required for mining and energy related projects.

## **3.8 THE LOCAL CONTEXT: NYAE-NYAE INSTITUTIONS**

Having established the regional and national context, it is necessary to briefly outline the institutions at a local level. It is after all, these institutions that will play an important role in the implementation of a conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae region of Eastern Otjozondjupa. They are critical, particularly in terms of their institutional capacity, to determining whether the conservancy approach will make a contribution to sustainable development and thus conservation.

The key institutions that thus warrant discussion here are the Nyae-Nyae Farmer's Cooperative (NNFC) and the Nyae-Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDFN).

### **3.8.1 The Nyae-Nyae Farmers' Cooperative (NNFC)**

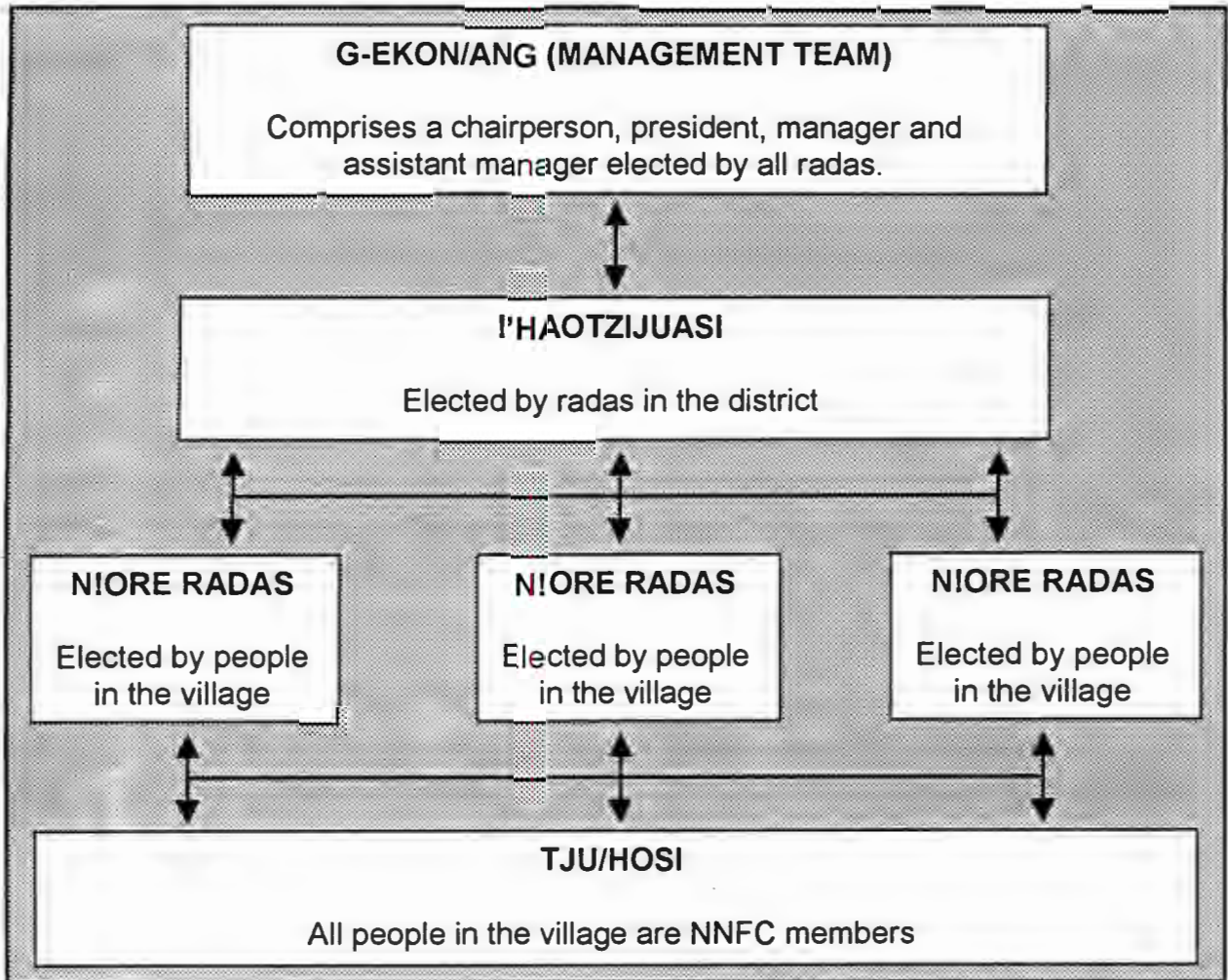
The Nyae-Nyae Farmers' Cooperative (NNFC) emerged in 1982. An American filmmaker, John Marshall, whose family had lived with the Ju/'hoansi during the 1950s, returned to Tsumkwe in 1978 to find the people living in poverty, squalor and social decline (Jones, 1996c). He set up an organisation, the Cattle Fund (which was later to become the Ju/Wa Farmers' Union and then the NNFC), to assist the people to move

away from Tsumkwe, back to their n!oresi (territories) and to develop a mixed form of economy including subsistence cattle farming and dryland cultivation to supplement hunting and gathering (ibid.). As the need for land security increased amongst the people of the Nyae-Nyae (due to factors which will be described in the following chapter), the need to formalise the Cattle Fund became apparent, and the Ju/Wa Farmers' Union (JFU) was established. By 1988, the complexity of issues facing the JFU was such that efforts were required to formalise and institutionalise its organisational structure. Consequently, a set of Statutes were drawn up and the Nyae-Nyae Farmers' Cooperative was established.

Today, the NNFC can be seen as a system of local government developed by the people of Nyae-Nyae. It has been through several years of intense debate and frequent institutional upheaval (Turner, 1996). The NNFC now operates from regional headquarters in Baraka and its operations and daily running are undertaken by the Ju'hoansi (Berger, pers. comm.). The n!oresi (territories) of Nyae-Nyae are organised into four districts, which are represented on the Management Board of the Co-operative. This in turn is answerable to the Nyae-Nyae Resident's council, which meets twice a year.

The NNFC (see Figure 5), comprises a management team (chairperson, president, manager and assistant manager) that works in conjunction with a cooperative made up of two representatives elected from each farming community by that community (n!ore representatives or *radas*). In addition five district leaders are selected from the *radas* to represent sections of the region. The running of the co-operative is a participatory process in which everyone in the region has the right to take part.

**Figure 5: The NNFC Organogram**



(adapted from Hitchcock, 1992:50)

There are a number of principal objectives guiding the NNFC. These are:

- A measure of security against further dispossession;
- The survival with dignity of the Ju/'hoansi people and their participation in the national economy and society;
- The stability necessary to undertake comprehensive, long-term development;
- The means to benefit directly from the control and management of enterprises such as game farming and tourism that use the resources in Eastern Bushmanland; and
- The encouragement of responsibility through accountability to the residents and the land of Eastern Bushmanland and to the national Government.

(NNFC Statutes, 1986, outlined in Hitchcock, 1992)

The NNFC also has a mandate to oversee development activities designed to increase the self-sufficiency and well-being of the people of Eastern Bushmanland. Since its

formalisation, the NNFC's role has expanded greatly in planning and implementing what has become a complex and multi-faceted integrated rural development programme for the vast majority of the Nyae-Nyae region's inhabitants. Over time, it has added to its original economic development and land settlement efforts, a whole series of human resource development activities which range from community-based health education to child and adult literacy programmes. Work has been done through NNFC on recording numerous aspects of Ju/'hoansi language and culture and the results incorporated into the school curriculum and overall planning of the various NNFC programmes. Approximately 86% of all households in eastern Bushmanland are members of the Nyae-Nyae Farmers' Co-operative (Botelle and Rhode, 1995).

### **3.8.2 The Nyae-Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDFN)**

The Nyae-Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia was instituted in 1982 (under the name of the Ju/Wa Bushman Foundation) and developed in symbiosis with the NNFC as an independent, non-profit NGO, to lend financial and technical support to the NNFC (Botelle and Rhode, 1995, Hitchcock, 1992). Its major aim is the support of the self-development of the Ju/'hoansi and other Bushman peoples in Northeast Namibia (NNDFN, 1991). As one NNFC member is quoted as saying, "*the NNFC was the voice of the people and the Foundation worked for them to make sure that their voices were heard by Government*" (Powel, undated).

As a multi-purpose NGO, the NNDFN has been involved in a variety of activities, including agriculture, health, education and income generation. Its work has included the provision of organisational and communication skills to local people and has also provided support for the formation and strengthening of local institutions and promotion of Ju/'hoansi rights. Part of NNDFN's work has involved anthropological research that has proven extremely useful in development of policies relating to land-use and environmental planning in the Nyae-Nyae region. It has also been helpful in helping to shape some of the recommendations made in the efforts to establish a community-based representative organisation (Hitchcock, 1992; Jones, pers. comm.) The Foundation supports initiatives that have the full agreement of the communities involved (Vial, pers. comm.), and operates on the principles of self-help, based on a general philosophy of participation, community empowerment and self-actualisation (Hitchcock, 1992). A particularly important impact of the NNDFN has been its involvement in the land rights issue and its work in environmental planning. It has sought to actively improve relationships between Nyae-Nyae inhabitants and the MET, as well as scientists working on issues such as wildlife management (ibid.).

### **3.9 Conclusion**

Having established the regional context for environmentally sustainable development, and the importance accorded here to equity led growth, this chapter outlined the Namibian national and local context for sustainable development. This dissertation now turns its attention to a case study which entails a description of a currently ongoing project based on the conservancy approach, in the Nyae-Nyae area of Eastern Otjozondjupa (Eastern Bushmanland).

University of Cape Town

## **CHAPTER 4**

**FOCUSING ON THE NYAE-NYAE  
CONSERVANCY: A CASE STUDY**

## 4 FOCUSING ON THE NYAE-NYAE CONSERVANCY: A CASE STUDY

*"History is a record of human progress, a record of the struggle of the advancement of the human mind, of the human spirit, toward some known or unknown objective"*  
(Jawaharlal Nehru)

### 4.1 The Study Area

The Nyae-Nyae area lies south of the Khaudum Game Reserve (a wilderness area of 3 841 km<sup>2</sup> managed by the MET). It forms part of the Kalahari sandveld system, with the extreme eastern corner (the area known as the Nyae-Nyae by local inhabitants), being characterised by a series of seasonal pans and wetlands which serve as a focal point for both people and wildlife (see Map 4). The case study area is a region of particular significance for biodiversity conservation in Namibia (Jones, 1996a). These seasonal pans and wetlands, north and south of Tsumkwe, act as foci of drainage and are significant in terms of providing water during the rainy season. The mixture of clay pans and non porous calcrete makes it unique in the Kalahari area and in years of good rainfall, the clay pans and the large areas of calcrete are inundated.



*Photograph 2: The Nyae-Nyae Pans:  
Home to numerous wildlife species, including the jackal pup pictured above.*

The pans and wetlands, particularly when flooded, attract a large number of water and wading birds, including flamingos and pelicans in the summer months. Endangered Wattle Cranes, snipe, the rare Slaty Egret and many migrants from Europe are found

here when the pans are full (Jones, 1996a; Botelle and Rohde, 1995). During the wetter months, game concentrate around the natural pans which act as breeding sites. The area is home to a number of animal species rare or endangered in Namibia or across the African continent. Elephant, wild dog, leopard and roan antelope are among the key species in need of protection (Jones, 1996a). Other predators include lion, leopard, cheetah and both brown and spotted hyena (Stander, pers. comm.). The Nyae-Nyae is also home to jackals, giraffe, blue wildebeest, red hartebeest and eland and a remnant herd of buffalo cut off from its migration route to the Okavango Delta in neighbouring Botswana through the erection of the border fence (ibid.).

As there are no fences between the park and surrounding land, wildlife including lion and elephant leave the park seasonally in search of fresh grazing and browsing, with the Nyae-Nyae area being part of their seasonal dispersal route. However, the area in which wildlife can roam has been significantly reduced by the construction of the veterinary fence, cutting northern Namibia from the central commercial areas, and the border fence with Botswana in the east (see Map 3). Animals like eland have died after finding their migration routes barred by fences, (although mortalities have not reached the levels seen with species such as the blue wildebeest in similar circumstances in Botswana) (ibid.).

The Nyae-Nyae is characterised by a diversity and abundance of key plant resources, many of which are utilised by the local Ju/'hoansi Bushmen for food. These include morama ( *tsi*, *Tylosema esculentum* – a bean), and mangetti nut (*g//kaa*, *Ricinodendron rautanenii*). Other important plant species include the baobab (*Adansonia digitata*), the tamboti (*Spirostachys africana*) and the marula (*Sclerocarya*). There is an abundance of economically valuable broadleaf hardwood forests including species such as dolfhout (*wild teak*, *Pterocarpus angolensis*) and the Zambezi teak (*Baikiaea plurijuga*). The Nyae-Nyae has become a popular destination for adventure tourists seeking a wilderness experience in remote areas. Large, old baobab trees proliferate, and have been used as campsites by travellers for many decades (Jones, 1996a).

The presence of dry river valleys containing fertile soils and unique vegetation combinations (Botelle and Rohde, 1995.), combined with the relative abundance of water, means that the area has faced continuing pressure from pastoral populations wishing to settle and establish farms in the region (ibid.). In the eastern corner of the Nyae-Nyae region lie the Aha hills, which contain a mineral presence of economic potential long sought after by mining houses (Botelle and Rohde, 1995).

## 4.2 The Peoples of the Region

Eastern Otjozondjupa incorporates the former 'Bushmanland' and Gam, formerly in Hereroland, and as such, is home to two population groups: The Herero (living predominantly in the Gam area), and a Bushman population which consists of two ethno-linguistic groups: the Ju/'hoansi (central !Kung) and the Vasekele and Mpungu

(northern !Kung). It is with the Ju/'hoansi Bushmen that this dissertation is primarily concerned as they are the inhabitants of the area encompassed by the proposed borders of the conservancy. However, before describing the Ju/'hoansi, it is necessary to briefly describe the Herero population of the Gam district in order to illustrate the threat presented to the Ju/'hoansi and the Nyae-Nyae area by the recent resettlement programme.

#### 4.2.1 The Herero and Eastern Otjozondjupa

As one of the most underdeveloped areas of Namibia (Powell, undated), Eastern Otjozondjupa has been the subject of continual confusion and overlap between the



different power structures operating in the region (e.g. the MLRR, the MET and the DRWS). The recent resettlement programme is an example of such confusion clearly illustrating the potential for conflict that exists between regional and local government, between regional government and traditional leaders and between the different interest groups within the region, namely the Ju/'hoansi and the Herero.

The Herero are traditionally nomadic pastoralists who migrated south in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century from Kaokoland due to severe drought. Their history in Namibia consists of many conflicts over land with colonialists and other tribal nations in the later half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (M Phil, 1997). In August 1905, a decisive battle was fought at the Waterberg between the Germans and the Herero, and Herero power was crushed. Many fled to the Ngamiland of former Bechuanaland (now Botswana) (ibid.). During the last 100 years, several attempts were made by

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*Photograph 3: Pictured above:  
A Herero woman, who recently  
returned to Namibia, pauses from her  
activities to glance at the camera.*

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Herero groups to settle in the Nyae-Nyae area. Drought, distance, Ju/'hoansi resistance and harassment from the South African police under South African rule in what was then known as South West Africa, were largely responsible for failure of these attempts (Botelle and Rohde, 1995). However in April 1991, after Namibian Independence (on June 1 1990), the Namibian Government designated three line ministries to facilitate the repatriation of Herero from Botswana, namely the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR), and the Ministries of Home Affairs and Foreign Affairs, based on the new Government's promise to offer citizens displaced by colonial rule and the war of liberation an opportunity to reintegrate into Namibian society (M Phil, 1997).

The Gam area was decided on for the resettlement programme (the site of a permanent spring that had been one of the 12 original water points historically determining the land-use and 'land rights' of the Ju/'hoansi), and the Botswana Government began registering Herero wishing to be repatriated. An initial group of women and children arrived in 1993, 498 in April, followed by a further 1670 in September (M Phil, 1997). Today, people are still moving into Gam, although arrival numbers are decreasing (ibid.). Much opposition and concern was voiced regarding the suitability of Gam as a resettlement area, and the resettlement programme had a minimum of inter-ministerial support (ibid.).

Reasons for the lack of commitment to the project by certain ministries include their lack of involvement from the outset of the project and their disagreement with conditions proposed by the MLRR that contradicted their principles (ibid.). Clashes of interest emerged during the process of planning between those who favoured conservation and those who favoured development (ibid.). Both the MET and the Department of Water Affairs voiced concern that the livestock practices of the Herero were incompatible with the characteristics of the semi-arid and fragile environment of the Gam area.

In addition, the social characteristics of traditional Herero are in direct conflict with those of the neighbouring Bushmen, making the land use practices, leadership structures and economic activities of these neighbours incompatible. The Herero have a strong hierarchical leadership system, strong patrilineal kinship structures, more pronounced gender role differentiation, and more highly-developed skills specialisation than the Ju/'hoansi. Underlying all these characteristics is a social structure based on a pastoral production strategy which encourages the storage of surplus and investment in the future through delayed economic activity. In contrast, Bushman subsistence activity may be typified as non-storing and immediate return (Botelle and Rhode, 1995). The most noteworthy component of this discussion, is that it illustrates the obvious competitive disadvantage inherent in the Ju/'hoansi foraging-based society in relation to materially stronger pastoralists and agriculturalists. A survey published in 1995 clearly states that *"many Herero groups have their eyes firmly fixed on the 'uninhabited' areas of Bushmanland. Furthermore, Herero pastoralists tend not to recognise Bushman rights to land"* (Botelle and Rhode, 1995:viii). This was further substantiated by the findings of the REIA (M Phil, 1997; Botelle and Rhode, 1995).

In virtually every community where the Bushmen and Herero co-exist, the Bushman occupy the lowest social order (Botelle and Rhode, 1995:viii.) and the lessons of history

show that losing control of land means not only a loss of a subsistence economy, but also the loss of the possibility of playing an equal part in developing a mixed economy. "The loss of control over land and natural resources" argue Botelle and Rhode (1995:34), "leads inevitably to menial, low-paid jobs, 'mealie-meal welfare', or begging and prostitution".

The resettlement programme therefore presents a threat not only to the land of the Nyae-Nyae, but also to the subsistence and cultural value that this area has for the Ju/'hoansi. While active opposition to the aims and designs of the project did not materialise, a reluctance to participate, initiate discourse and find solutions occurred (MLRR, 1994), and the resettlement programme went ahead.



*Photograph 4: Land degradation is occurring rapidly around boreholes established in the Gam region.*

The findings of the REIA (referred to in chapter 1), show that the Herero resettlement programme has radically altered the composition of the previously existing Ju/'hoansi of the area: "The existing Ju/'hoansi community have been affected through enforced changes in their means of subsistence and livelihood" (M Phil, 1997:164). This is due to the fact that the Herero have a predominantly pastoralist economy, with livestock, in particular, cattle, providing the major means of subsistence (ibid.). The provision of boreholes in this area has allowed for the perpetuation of this pastoralist economy despite the fact that this is an unsustainable land-use practice in the Kalahari area due to limited grazing. Signs of land degradation are evident in the Gam area despite the fact that the repatriation programme is only three years old and still ongoing (M Phil, 1997). Increasing pressure on the vulnerable natural resource base is also already



*Photograph 5: Land degradation is rapidly occurring in the Gam area due to unsustainable livestock practices of the Herero who have recently been resettled in the region.*

evident, necessitating larger areas for grazing, or loss of livelihood and subsistence. Even though there has been a history of resettlement in Eastern Otjozondjupa, the Nyae-Nyae area remains rich in natural resources and unlike other parts of Namibia, the area has not suffered from decades of overgrazing. Thus, despite the presence of the veterinary fence, Herero, from the Gam resettlement area are moving northwards with their livestock in search of grazing land, into the Ju/'hoansi area, and denial of access is not possible as it is unconstitutional to deny access to resources on ethnic grounds (ibid.).

Further, despite the fact that there is no data on the numbers of wildlife lost as a result of the resettlement programme, "*Gam as a habitat is lost*" (Stander, pers. comm.). Habitat destruction and disturbance has led to changes in species number and composition and since the resettlement is still an ongoing programme further biodiversity loss will continue (ibid.). In addition, some of the animal species, including several Red Data Book species are going to be severely affected by the changes in land use that have occurred as a result of the resettlement programme (Environmental Information Services and EEAN, 1994).

Clearly, the Herero resettlement programme in Gam presents a direct present and future threat to the relatively pristine and 'unspoilt' environment of the Nyae-Nyae area and its Ju/'hoansi inhabitants:

*“Resettlement of the Herero into the Gam area has resulted in an increased pressure on the natural resources and social lifestyles of the Bushmen communities north of the 20 degree latitude veterinary fence. Due to the higher quality of grazing, larger numbers of game and the Bushmen’s lack of political influence, the Herero are still constantly trying to settle in this area” (M Phil, 1997).*

However, as this and the next chapter will go on to discuss, the formation of a conservancy in Nyae-Nyae presents an opportunity for the Ju/’hoansi to manage the land within the conservancy and thus presents the only possible solution to stemming the threat presented by the “open access” land tenure system currently in place in communal areas of Namibia.

#### **4.2.2 The Ju/’hoansi of the Nyae-Nyae**

Evidence suggests that the Ju/’hoansi have inhabited the Nyae-Nyae area, which originally stretched over an area of some 50 000 square kilometres for at least 11 000 years (Powell, undated). During the nineteenth century, the Ju/’hoansi inhabited a much larger area than present day Bushmanland. The centre of this area was known as Nyae-Nyae and extended east into Botswana, south to Gam and Eiseb and north into present day Okavango (see Map 5). They based their land rights on 12 reliable (some permanent and some seasonal) water points found in the original Nyae-Nyae area, and up until 1950, they subsisted solely on hunting and gathering, with mobility being the key to the success of this form of subsistence. Yellen (1990, cited in Hitchcock, 1992) writes that historically the Ju/’hoansi were utilising up to 60 different game species, ranging from guinea fowl to giraffe and over 100 different types of plant food species.

A baseline study conducted by the MLRR suggests that even today, 70% of their subsistence can be attributed to foraging (Botelle and Rhode, 1995). The remaining 30% can be accounted for by produce from gardening, meat and milk from cattle, and to a small degree; purchased food (Hitchcock, 1992). Approximately 3000 Ju/’hoansi live in Nyae-Nyae, in small groups in about 35 settlements scattered around Tsumkwe (Jones, 1996c). These small settlements are based on the n!ore system (traditional land, territory or territorial space).

##### **4.2.2.1 The Ju/’hoansi and Territoriality and Land Tenure**

A n!ore is an area of land generally large enough to provide a band of 30-50 people with water, game and bushfoods in all but the most unproductive years (N!oresi vary in size between 2 000 and 20 000 hectares) (Jones, 1996c; Botelle and Rhode, 1995). Ju/’hoansi territoriality divides all land into either n!oresi or resource areas. Metaphorically speaking, a n!ore equates to a farm, and a resource area is equivalent to various crops, including plant food, game, shrubs for crafts and trees for timber and

firewood (Powell, undated). N!oresi do not have firm boundaries, nor are they defined as such, but rather they regulate social rights and obligations associated with the use of water, plant resources and wildlife (Botelle and Rhode, 1995, Hitchcock, 1992).

Individuals are affiliated to n!oresi on the basis of their birth, parental inheritance, marriage and friendship (ibid.) and an individual's land tenure is an effect of a regional kinship network. Preserving land entitlements through the maintenance of social or kinship networks ensures that these entitlements devolve to children. These extended family groups and kinship ties result in networks of exchange which extend far beyond the immediate band territory (Botelle and Rhode, 1995), providing a means and a control of securing or extending entitlements to natural resources and land.

Entitlements to resources are vested in all band members, who refer to themselves as "those who have each other" (Powell, undated; Botelle and Rhode, 1995:29). These rights are communal in so far as land cannot be sold or given away and the right to settle in a particular n!ore is decided by a core kin group, who act as facilitators for consensus decision making (Powell, undated).

The rights of n!ore members include:

- The right to gather all veldfoods in the n!ore;
  - The right to trap game and initiate poison arrow hunts from the n!ore;
  - The use of n!ore water sources;
  - The right to raise livestock and develop any necessary infrastructure for this purpose; and
  - The right to cultivate crops.
- (Botelle and Rhode, 1995:30)

N!ore rights are subject to the rights of Kxa/ho, a Ju/'hoansi term which means literally "sand surface" (ibid.) Today, anyone who refers to him or herself as Ju/'hoan is assumed to possess the rights of kxa/ho, which are:

- The right to drink the waters of the land, particularly in times of drought;
- The right to travel freely through the land and to drink water, hunt and gather while on a journey;



*Photograph 6: Pictured above: A Ju/'hoansi woman of indeterminate age.*

- The right to shoot and follow wounded game anywhere on the land; and
- The right to gather key bushfoods anywhere, including mangetti nuts and morama beans

(NNFC Statutes cited in Botelle and Rhode, 1995:30; Powell, undated:25)

Marshall and Ritchie (cited in Botelle and Rhode, 1995:31), thus explain:

*“The n!ore system provides a flexible yet generally agreed method for adapting socially and numerically to make good use of unpredictable wild resources.....One reason the n!ore system works so well is precisely that it is not merely an atomised aggregate of land-using groups, but rather an interlocking, inter-co-operating entity environmentally and socially.”*

These cultural or social aspects of territoriality and resource control are deeply entrenched and numerous anthropological and ethnographic studies conducted over the past 20 years reveal that the Ju/'hoansi have maintained and adapted the n!ore system to modern circumstances and it is still used as the basis for land allocation and resource use (Jones, 1996c). Most importantly here for the scope of this dissertation is that this system has displaced the 'open access' regime which the inhabitants of the region inherited after Independence (Botelle and Rhode, 1995; Powell, undated.). Rights and control of N!oresi are not only culturally recognised and enforced by individuals, but are now constituted institutionally within the NNFC.

#### 4.2.2.2 The Ju/'hoansi and Decision-Making

Unlike the Herero hierarchical decision-making system Ju/'hoansi political activity traditionally occurs at band level, where any adult or adolescent can participate in decision-making processes affecting the band as a whole. Many factors contribute to the power of individuals to control the decision-making process, such as their relationship to the core kin group, age and experience, or personal qualities setting them apart as wise or skilful (Botelle and Rhode, 1995). Ju/'hoan decision-making is often characterised as consensual. Leadership operates through compromise based on acute perception of the band mood with the objective of creating opportunities for specific goals to be realised at an appropriate time (Botelle and Rhode, 1995). Decision-making takes place in the context of a value system which actively discourages overt displays of individual achievement in favour of group cohesion (ibid.). In contrast to pastoral or agrarian societies where the status of leaders is often dependent on wealth in a stratified order, the Ju/'hoan leaders lead by virtue of kinship ties to resource areas and/or personal qualities associated with sharing and consensus values (ibid.)

#### 4.2.2.3 The Ju/'hoansi Economy

Bushman subsistence activity may be typified as non-storing and immediate return (Botelle and Rhode, 1995), and despite the fact that malnourishment is not common

even amongst children, *“the fact is that many people are living from hand to mouth, from one day or one week to the next, and there is little prospect that this will change in the near future”* (ibid. 51)

The Ju/'hoansi's engagement in the formal economy currently and historically, is negligible. A limited number of elderly people are receiving a pension of approximately N\$200 a month from the Namibian Government and only a very small percentage of the population is engaged in formal employment, a figure that probably does not exceed a total of 50 people (Hitchcock, 1992). Even if there were more formal work opportunities in the region, in general the Ju/'hoansi have no access to the job market. This can be attributed to the fact that only a very limited number of Ju/'hoansi have received formal schooling (ibid.).

Until Christmas day, 1959, the approximately 1200 Ju/'hoansi of Namibia were the only inhabitants of central Nyae-Nyae. However, since 1960, a number of events have transformed the region from a predominantly Ju/'hoansi hunter-gathering society, to the present mix of different population groups and a diverse mixed economy combining crop farming, livestock production, cash incomes, food aid and hunting and gathering.

### 4.3 Towards the Formation of a Conservancy

*“When I want to understand what is happening today  
or try to decide what will happen tomorrow, I look back”*

(Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr)

No period in time exists in isolation, nor independently from its past. Numerous historical events in the Nyae-Nyae area have contributed towards bringing the region and its people to the present state – to a point in the region's history in which the implementation of the conservancy approach is imminent. In order to understand the events that have led to the present, it is useful for the purposes of this dissertation, to briefly touch on the history of the Ju/'hoansi since 1960.

At the end of 1959, the South African Administration officially opened an administrative post at Tsumkwe (Jones, 1996c) and actively encouraged the Ju/'hoansi of the Nyae-Nyae area to move here which they began to do in 1960: “At first we didn't want to go to Tsumkwe but we talked about it and decided it was a better life for us, and we should learn to live like other people” (Ju/'hoansi community member quoted in Hitchcock, 1992:26). During the 1960s and 1970s, many Ju/'hoansi gravitated to Tsumkwe as a result of promised wage labour, agricultural training and health care.

In 1976, the Bushman “homeland” was established in Namibia as a result of the Odendaal Commission. Ju/'hoansi hunting territory was reduced to 30% of its original size, and the people were left with only one of nine permanent water areas (Botelle and Rhode, 1995; Jones, 1996c.). This further accacerbated the mass movement into

Tsumkwe, and by 1978, 60% of Bushmanland's population were living in Tsumkwe (Botelle and Rhode, 1995).

The high population densities and low rates of employment at Tsumkwe, combined with the availability of alcohol, resulted in social, economic and health problems (Hitchcock, 1992). The degree to which people in Tsumkwe could depend on wild foods declined as resources were decimated and depleted in the vicinity of the settlement and the diet deteriorated as people became increasingly dependent upon food purchased from the local store and maize meal rations provided by the administration (ibid.). Social tension and disintegration increased, reciprocity systems were disrupted and people refused to share what few resources they were able to obtain (Botelle and Rhode, 1995). Infant mortality increased and demographic data shows that by 1981, the death rate exceeded the birth rate (Hitchcock, 1992). Ritchie (1987, cited in Hitchcock, 1992), explains:

*"By the late 1970s, Ju/'hoansi groups in Tsumkwe were realising that they would have to go back to their land if they hoped to hold on to it. They also realised that they would have to develop more intensive forms of economy to add to hunting-gathering in order to survive on a reduced land area. This marked the beginning of a political awakening, further fuelled by the establishment of an South African Defence Force military base in the areas and the stationing in Tsumkwe of about 150 Ju/'hoansi soldiers and their dependants from the "Bushman Battalion".*

As Ritchie notes above, the idea to move back to their n!oresi came from the people themselves. It was a kind of a push-pull process: *"Tsumkwe was an unpleasant place to be, which provided the push factor, while the pull factor came from their n!oresi, the places where ancestors were buried and the Ju/'hoansi could live in contentment"*.

During this time, the Directorate of Nature Conservation and Recreational Resorts (DNCRR) began developing plans for a national park in the area. As already described in chapter 3, John Marshall, an American film maker who had lived with the Ju/'hoansi during the 1950s and returned to Tsumkwe in 1978 to find the people living in poverty, squalor and social decline (Jones, 1996c), launched a controversial but successful campaign to prevent the park being established. Marshall strongly opposed the Government's plans for developing a national park in the area, arguing that it would deprive people of their land rights. Although various plans for the park were developed, all would have meant that the Ju/'hoansi lost control over their last remaining land. Proclamation would have given the state absolute control over the area, and the people would have lived there subject to the whim or prevailing conservation approach of officials (ibid.).

In early 1981, a Cattle Fund was planned and formalised in 1982 by Claire Ritchie and John Marshall with the motto of "Helping people to help themselves" by assisting them to move back to their n!ores and to develop a mixed form of economy including cattle farming and dryland cultivation to supplement hunting and gathering (Jones, 1996c;

Hitchcock, 1992), and the Ju/'hoansi population of eastern Bushmanland began moving out of Tsumkwe to settle back on their traditional lands or n!oresi. Marshall's campaign left a great deal of bitterness and increased antagonism between the DNCRR and the Ju/'hoansi (Hitchcock, 1992). The Directorate believed that its legitimate attempts to create a game reserve had been sabotaged and in some instances the Ju/'hoansi occupied boreholes which had been provided by the Government for wildlife. This caused conflict over the use of water and led to increased antagonism between the directorate and local people (Jones, 1996c). The DNCRR also objected to Marshall's methods of resettling people on their n!ores.

As already described earlier in this dissertation, this period of uncertainty in Nyae-Nyae over the land tenure situation as a result of the proposed game reserve, and the desire of the Ju/'hoansi to move back to their n!oresi, sowed the seeds for what became the Ju/Wa Farmers Union (JFU) (Hitchcock, 1992).

In October 1986, a constitution was drafted for the JFU and a management committee elected. The lack of formal governmental structures amongst the Ju/'hoansi meant that the move towards representational democracy was something of a challenge, and the egalitarianism inherent in the Ju/'hoansi system mitigated against individuals accruing power or authority (Hitchcock, 1992:38). However, it marked the beginning of the move towards setting up local representative structures, a process that was to make the eventual conservancy proposal a reality. The process by which the JFU management committee was elected is best described in the words of Claire Ritchie (quoted in Hitchcock, 1995:36):

*"It is clear that people are taking this seriously. They feel the importance of what they are doing for themselves. The concept of nominating and voting....is alien....in the beginning everyone votes for every candidate"*

In the end, a young literate man was elected because "Ju/'hoansi lay great store by the ability to read and write...pieces of paper have great symbolic importance" (Ritchie cited in Hitchcock, 1992:36).

The establishment of the JFU was a turning point in the history of the Ju/'hoansi being a people's organisation that emphasised consultation, information dissemination and decision-making about development strategies (Powell, undated). It was to become a forum for addressing policy issues such as what to do about gaining secure access to land, how to cope with outsiders wanting to move into the area, and ways to work out distribution of livestock (ibid.). The organisation played a significant role in consciousness raising, communicating new understanding and skills needed to re-establish Ju/'hoansi communities capable of determining their own social, political and economic future (Hitchcock, 1992). The JFU also wished to develop an institutional capacity and to have a voice at national level especially regarding land tenure and security, and local government issues. A major issue which the JFU had to address from the outset was how to ensure that everyone had an equal say about decision making. Given the consensus-based system of the Ju/'hoansi, it was important that

everyone was heard. As a member of the JFU noted in late 1986 (quoted in Hitchcock, 1992:36), *"This isn't just us here speaking. I know that all Ju/'hoansi around think the same way ... to hurry up and help, and help us build up our n!ores. Because that's the only way we will have any strength to build up our life, our future."* The discussions in the JFU meetings underscored the significance which people attached to land and resource rights, realising that the settlements they were re-establishing represented their best hopes for maintaining access to a portion of their ancestral territory (Powell, undated).

By 1988 the complexity of the issues facing the JFU was such that efforts were required to formalise and institutionalise its organisational structure and leadership system. Consequently, a set of Statutes were drawn up and the Nyae-Nyae Farmers' Co-operative (NNFC), which was referred to earlier, was established. As already described, but worth reiterating here for the purpose of continuity, the Nyae-Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia was instituted at the same time and developed in symbiosis with the NNFC, as an independent, non-profit NGO, to lend financial and technical support to the NNFC (Botelle and Rhode, 1995, Hitchcock, 1992). Its major aim was and is, the support of the self-development of the Ju/'hoansi and other Bushman peoples in northeast Namibia (NNDFN, 1991). As one NNFC member is quoted as saying, *"the NNFC was the voice of the people and the Foundation worked for them to make sure that their voices were heard by Government"* (Powell, undated:58)

After Namibian Independence, a major change occurred in the relationship between the Ju/'hoansi and Nature Conservation. *"What had been a problematic set of relationships evolved into a cooperative and mutually reinforcing interaction"* (Hitchcock, 1992), and it became clear that despite past conflict there was much common ground over land and resource use in the area (Jones, 1996a, 1996c). By 1991, relationships had improved sufficiently for the MET, together with members from the NNDFN and the NNFC, to cooperatively conduct a socio-ecological survey (Powell, undated). The stated objectives of the survey were as follows:

- To begin the process of establishing mutual trust between the people and the ministry in order to set up a joint consultative body; and
- To begin the process of jointly drafting a land use plan for the region which would ensure sustainable human development, while at the same time, maintaining essential ecological processes and biodiversity. (Socio-Ecological Survey, 1991 cited in Powell, undated)

Results of the survey, which involved extensive consultation with Ju/'hoansi and others in Bushmanland regarding local use of resources and key resource areas (Hitchcock, 1992, Jones pers. comm.), were compiled and made available to the NNFC. The response was a request for a planning committee in Bushmanland that included local people, the various NGOs operating in the region, Government representatives and scientists. The survey produced a number of recommendations, the most important of which, in light of this thesis, are extracted from Jones (1996c), and summarised below:

- It was recommended that the Ministry should draft a national policy allowing people in communal land to own game in the same way as commercial farmers. The

Ministry should introduce legislation to give effect to the policy. Urgent attention should be given to establishing ways in which the income from trophy hunting and other forms of wildlife utilisation such as tourism could be channelled back to the community. This resulted in the Ministry drafting the conservancy policy, with recommendations for amendments to the Nature Conservation Ordinance;

- It was also recommended that local people be allowed to take part in decision-making concerning natural resource management and that a system be put in place in which local people would benefit from conservation and tourism. This was later to be entrenched in the NDP1 and the White Paper on Tourism;
- A joint committee should be set up between Ministry officials in Bushmanland and local leaders to discuss problems, seek solutions, exchange information and plan joint action. This committee would also act as a forum for decision-making;
- That a system of community game guards be established, with guards being appointed by the community;
- That the *n!ore* system should be recognised as the basis for land tenure in Nyae-Nyae, and this should form the foundation for land use planning;
- That a practical programme for coping with problem animals be worked out in conjunction with the local people;
- That research be carried out into game numbers, and potential wildlife utilisation projects in Nyae-Nyae; and
- That a clear policy be established for Ministry personnel working in Eastern Bushmanland which provided guidelines for communication and cooperation with local people.

The inception of the Environmental Planning Committee (EPC) in 1992 satisfied the first objective of the 1991 survey (Powell, undated). The EPC's primary purpose was to oversee and co-ordinate the regional implementation of natural resource utilisation and land use planning activities in Eastern Bushmanland (Hitchcock, 1992). These efforts were co-ordinated at a local level by the NNFC. Membership of the EPC committee, which also acted as a forum for discussion of environmental issues, included community representatives from Eastern and Western Bushmanland, representatives from several Government ministries (MET, MLRR, Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development, Ministry of Local Government and Housing – MLGH), NGOs (the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia – ELCIN), scientists (including Dr P Stander who was/is studying predator-people interactions in Bushmanland) and the NNFC and NNDFN. *The formation of the committee was a recognition that regional land use planning and natural resource management would be conducted as a partnership between the local community and the various line ministries* (Jones, 1996c; Powell, undated). The EPC also created an enabling forum where the Ju/'hoansi could air their land related needs and aspirations to the line ministries (Powell, undated, Hitchcock, 1992).

Due to remaining suspicion and mistrust by parties on all sides, a neutral Liaison officer was appointed, to float between the relevant organisations. The primary tasks of the liaison officer included facilitating communication between all parties, assisting in

obtaining information for decision-making on natural resource management, identifying community training needs, establishing, co-ordinating and giving logistical support to a system of community game guards and helping to identify future activities in natural resource-based development.

Representing a major intra- and inter-community voice, the NNFC became increasingly involved and after a national conference on Land Reform was attended by NNFC representatives, the body became recognised as being the equivalent to the traditional authority for Bushmanland.

Thus, the inception of the EPC in 1992, the Government's commitment to include local needs and aspirations in regional land use planning processes and the promise of policy and legislative reform (the conservancy policy and amendments to the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 1975), together with a strong local government structure in the form of the NNFC and NNDFN, provided a strong foundation for participative and co-operative development initiatives in the region. Combined with a strong natural resource base, the above created good conditions for working towards the formation of a conservancy in this area. The impetus for natural resource planning efforts in the Nyae-Nyae region was the realisation that resources were under threat of exploitation by outside forces unless the people themselves began to direct resource control and according to a study conducted by Hitchcock, one of the topics addressed most frequently during the course of discussions was the need for legally defined land and resource rights.

June 1993 saw the start of a US \$14 million support programme for CBNRM in Namibia, known as the Living in a Finite Environment Programme (LIFE), funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and the MET (Jones, 1996a; 1996c, Turner, 1996). The LIFE programme is administered by WWF-US in partnership with two other US-based organisations, World Learning and Management Systems International, and a Namibian NGO, the Rossing Foundation. The LIFE programme provides sub-grants for the implementation of CBNRM projects by Namibian NGOs and the MET and for support organisations at the national level. It provides technical assistance to the projects and administers the grants. LIFE is coordinated by a steering committee, which is dominated by Namibians, and which takes decisions by consensus (Jones, 1996c).

The Nyae-Nyae area was chosen as one of four target areas for the LIFE programme and a problem analysis was conducted during the first two months after the projects inception with the objective of identifying which factors hindered co-operative planning and management from the perspective of both community and regional interests. (Powell, undated).

The Ju/'hoansi community participated both in development and implementation of the problem identification and assessment methods used during this analysis, and consequently, through their participation, were able to formalise how they perceive and interpret the land and the natural resources (Powell, undated). Furthermore, the

community's participation in the assessment served to nurture their ability to co-operate as a number of decision-making units (ibid.).

The assessment aimed to sensitise the planning and management activities of regional interests, to the needs and aspirations of the community by providing insights into how the community itself perceived and interpreted land and natural resources (Powell, undated). During the course of the study, data was generated representing how the community classified and demarcated its land. These insights were used to lay the foundations for the development of alternative methods to demarcate and classify land in a manner more closely attuned to the nature of the community's perception and interpretation of land (ibid.). Tailor-made tools and metaphors were developed as mechanisms to assist the community in expressing real needs and problems. (Detailed description of these methods are beyond the scope of this thesis. However, they are documented in detail in a document by N.S. Powell entitled *Participatory Land Use Planning: Methods Development Incorporating the Needs and Aspirations of Indigenous Peoples in Natural Resource Management: A Case from Eastern Bushmanland, Namibia.*)

The problems identified during the course of the study include the following:

- Hereros say to us, "stop saying this is your N!ore, this is Government land!"
- Tourists should inform the N!ore owner if they are going to drive around in our area;
- Tourists must be more sensitive to villagers;
- Many ostriches were killed at the Nyae-Nyae Pan, we saw the vehicle tracks;
- Hereros are just coming into our N!ore and helping themselves; and
- Nature conservation water points have been responsible for elephants and lions.

These fears were clearly well grounded based on the following facts unearthed by Powell during the course of the study (undated):

*"Every year, Bushmanland becomes a more and more popular destination for tourists. Many of the tourists leave the official roads and drive unchecked across the landscape in pursuit of game. They also frequently camp in N!oresi without consulting N!ore owners. There have been numerous incidents of illegal poaching and harvesting in the area and there have also been cases of outsiders harvesting Tambutti wood in N!oresi. Probably one of the community's greatest fears is the threat from illegal settlers. The Gam resettlement area is already depleted of feed and water is very limited. Eastern Bushmanland on the other hand has abundant water and good grazing, and thus the threat of returnees or some other group settling in Bushmanland is very real. The problem identification assessment revealed that only one out of the six settlements were happy to receive settlers in their N!ore. One cannot spend a week in the Nyae-Nyae area without hearing stories about wildlife related problems such as elephants destroying bushfood areas and windmills and making it dangerous to go out hunting. During the course of the study, all participating settlements considered the MET to have exacerbated wildlife related problems. For example they said*

*that the MET had constructed too many game watering points and these were put in inappropriate places, too near to valuable plant resources."*

As a result of the above findings, a number of project objectives emerged. These included the development, implementation and assessment of methods that generated information to assist the community in:

- managing local natural resources on a sustainable basis;
- identifying new sustainable land use alternatives and enhancing the sustainability and productivity of existing land use practices;
- articulating their needs, aspirations and concerns relating to land and natural resources to regional and national level planners at regional forums; and
- sensitising their land planning and management activities to the needs and aspirations of the community.

(Powell, undated:39)

The findings of the community lands assessment study, together with the relatively pristine nature of the Nyae-Nyae region and its abundance of wildlife combined with the fact that the area was a LIFE project target region, set a perfect scene for the formation of a conservancy here. Although detailed discussion of conservancy development with communities was delayed until there was some certainty that policy and legislation would be approved, 1995 saw the beginning of focussed consultations on conservancy formation with people in the Nyae-Nyae area. A number of CBNRM community rangers had already been appointed and, working with the MET and external consultants appointed by the NNDFN and NNFC, a further extensive survey was conducted to consult communities in order to identify and determine resource areas of importance to the Ju/'hoansi (WWF pers. comm.; NNFC. pers comm.). Areas of importance were identified, and included those used frequently, as well as those used less often such as during times of drought. The MET using global information systems (GIS), mapped all these areas and drew up provisional boundaries for the proposed conservancy. Through a process of extensive meetings with communities, conducted by the CBNRM co-ordinators and Rada members, managed by the NNFC and assisted by the MET, the proposed boundaries were refined and agreed upon democratically and participatively.

The process is best explained by in the words of Mr Benjamin /Aice, who is a member of the Nyae-Nyae community and a CBNRM co-ordinator (originally appointed by the community as a translator and later elected by the community to represent them through the NNFC):

*"We went through a lot of things to get to this point, many, many meetings and a process of discussing the organisation of the NNFC and NNDFN and the Rada meetings. Through community meetings with the Rada and many Board meetings we were able to pass the message of the MET onto communities and the communities realised that the only way to benefit from their natural resources was through the legislation recently passed on conservancies. Assisted by the Met, communities therefore decided to go for it.*

*"It was difficult for us as programme staff to present to communities to make sure if boundaries were okay because of limitations of writing in showing where the resource area is. We used maps and took it back to them, but these were just names and numbers and lines – also difficult for them to understand. So instead we used pictures. For example, if the resource area was a wildlife hunting area, we used little pictures of animals, if it was for wild foods, we used pictures of foods.*

*"After many discussions and meetings the conservancy idea was approved by the Radas....Radas are actually the elderly people – each community has Radas within their villages – if there is a problems in the area, the Radas try to deal with it first. Then the Radas brought the message that the people in the villages wanted a conservancy.*

*"First we tried to find ways to encourage them of the benefits – there was much doubt because they thought that the Government would still have control even if we have the rights to wildlife and tourism. They wanted to know when it (the conservancy) will come and how long we must wait. Through the help of Institutional Development Consultants (someone who the NNFC employed), we were able to answer the questions together.*

*"We conducted a trip to places where already people benefited from conservancies, Chobe and Campfire. Approximately 20 people from the NNFC, chosen by the NNFC management board meeting by elections because they would be able to present the collected information, went to these places. From there people were really showing a bit of understanding and we were able to share with people who were not there with us.*

*"We are looking forward now to seeing the conservancy approved, but the first thing is the people can see benefits already in about four ways: The problem of people moving in from other areas into our area. We have tried to mention reasons why we don't want people to come in but it was very difficult. But by saying we are looking forward to approval of a conservancy, we can give people a reason why they can't come...this is empowerment. We want to be able to benefit from our resources – we don't want people coming in and destroying our resources. The community is now in a position of strength to deal with problems on the ground. We will only get in touch with Government if we can't deal with it, the people are now in a position to fend for themselves.*

*"With tourism there is a kind of competition in the area with outsiders here. With the conservancy we will know who is coming and when. We have had the problem of people coming and just taking pictures before asking the community.*

*"We can't see yet what problems will occur but we will learn and solve them as we go along. We have elected a management committee who will be able to deal with internal conflicts as well as general management problems. Even with benefits, we are aware of problems that may arise such as alcoholism. We have drawn up a plan, we will have to keep revising it as problems arise, we will keep developing it."*

*"The conservancy policy has been developed by the community itself. We can all see some problems already with the management of the conservancy such as in terms of hunting. We will have to review the policy for example like the management of resources like game. It will be an ongoing process of revisiting."*

*(/Aice, pers. comm.).*

As Mr /Aice explains above, the decision by the Ju/'hoansi people of the Nyae-Nyae to work towards the formation of a conservancy was a lengthy process involving extensive community participation, involvement, consultation and raising of awareness. The determination of the proposed conservancy's boundaries, the election of a conservancy committee and the completion of the conservancy application, is designed and legislatively enabled, to be a community initiative that occurs from community-level upwards, in a process that increases the empowerment, capacity and development of the community concerned. A senior manager with the NNFC who wishes to remain anonymous further elaborated



*Photograph 7: A Ju/'hoan woman:  
Showing local crafts to tourists.*

*"Currently we can see no tangible results because the conservancy is still in process. We have had lots of meetings, but nothing yet that the community has experienced.*

*"However, in terms of empowering the community, the conservancy committee is 100% Ju/'mkwe speaking and there are also women in the group. There has been a lot of community empowerment, there are no outsiders involved on the management committee, just temporary consultants. As soon as the conservancy is finalised we will have the power to hire and fire as consultants as necessary. We will build capacity this way and so we will never be imposed upon.*

*"We see some projected problems. For example the projected funds for the conservancy project if all goes well will be not less than N\$1 million per year which the community will have to deal with. Will it be a philosophy of dependency syndrome or will it be a philosophy of money that we can manage ourselves? This is a very dynamic process and we have no way of knowing what will happen. Once money is in a person's hand you can not tell them what to do.*

*"It is unfortunate that the conservancy has come so late. Commercial farmers have been able to benefit for years but the community has been bearing the costs of natural resources and wildlife with no benefits. But there are disadvantages and advantages to everything and if there are more advantages than disadvantages then we must go ahead. Such a lot of money in such a small community can be a disaster. We need to have some community projects for example a small clinic in some villages. We are thinking about maybe if everyone can agree, to give everyone a little amount of money and then try to build something from which everyone can benefit.*

*"We feel that the national programme has worked to amend legislation so that rural people can be given real ownership and management control of wildlife and other economically significant resources over which the Ministry has jurisdiction (i.e. the development of a policy and legislative framework to which enables a channelling of the economic, political, social and ecological benefits associated with conservation, back into the hands of communities)*

*"The conservancy has many more benefits than disadvantages even if there are many questions that I can't answer about what will happen tomorrow, I don't know."*

(NNFC, anon. pers. comm.)

At the time of the above interviews (early July, 1997), the Ju/'hoansi community's conservancy application had just been signed and approved by the regional governor and was currently with the MET awaiting the Minister's approval. However, as it meets all the criteria detailed in the NCOAA, there is no reason why the application should be

denied, and it is expected that the conservancy will be declared and established within the month (Tarr, pers. comm.).

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

Having explored the process and events leading to the imminent application of the conservancy approach in the Nyae-Nyae area of Eastern Otjozondjupa, the next chapter focuses on a qualitative assessment of the approach's contribution towards environmentally sustainable development and thus to conservation. To this end, the criteria and principles listed in chapter 2 will be employed to assist in the identification of possible impediments, weaknesses and strengths inherent in the approach, its application, and consequent contribution to environmentally sustainable development and conservation.

University of Cape Town

## **CHAPTER 5**

**QUALITATIVE ASSESSMENT  
OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE  
NYAE-NYAE CONSERVANCY TO  
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

## **5 QUALITATIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NYAE-NYAE CONSERVANCY TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

### **5.1 Introduction**

It is clear from chapter 3, that Namibia possesses a legislative and constitutional commitment to sustainable development, recognising that "in many countries the development process has faltered because the development strategy chosen was economically, financially or environmentally unsustainable" (NDP1, 1995:54). This chapter attempts to determine whether or not the conservancy approach contributes to truly sustainable development and thus to sustainable conservation. In order to answer this question, the core list of criteria and principles generated in chapter 2 are employed to assess the approach's relative contribution to sustainable development. This chapter applies these 12 criteria to the conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae area (described in chapter 4). The aim of this approach is to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the conservancy approach as a vehicle to achieving sustainable development. This will assist suggestions towards improving the conservancy approach's contribution to sustainable development which will be described and discussed in chapter 6.

The Nyae-Nyae conservancy, as mentioned in chapter 4, is due to be approved and formally established in the very near future. Therefore it is clearly too early to discuss conclusively the strengths and weaknesses of the approach and its application within the case study area. Never-the-less, this chapter does offer some preliminary insights into the merits of the conservancy approach by flagging issues and considerations both at a generic level and at a specific level (i.e. the Nyae-Nyae conservancy).

### **5.2 Qualitative Application of Criteria and Principles of environmentally Sustainable Development to the Nyae-Nyae Conservancy**

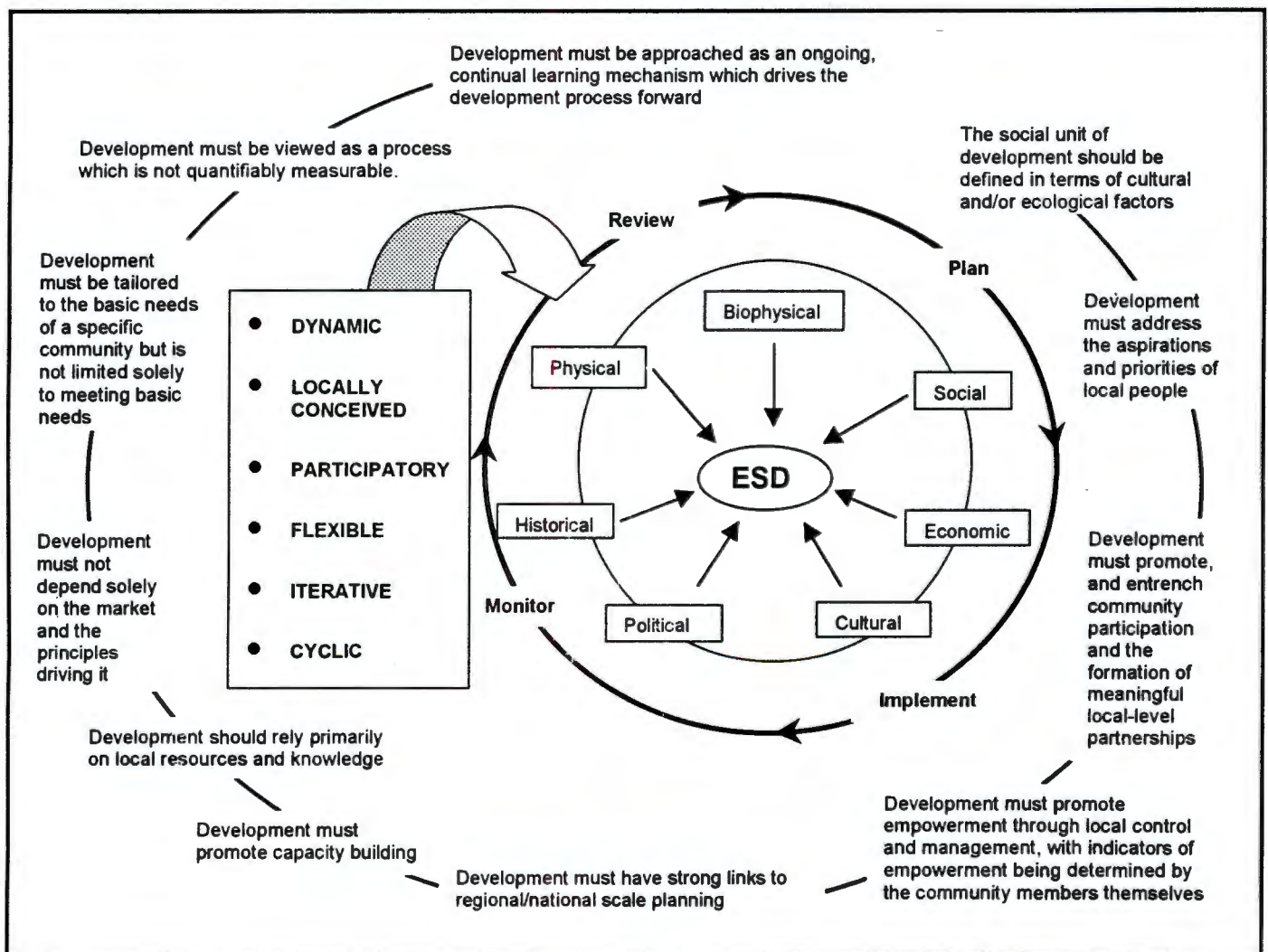
#### **5.2.1 Assessment Methodology**

As described in chapter 1, the predominant style of investigation for this dissertation occurred within a qualitative paradigm, which concentrated more on discovery than on scientific verification. This chapter thus, is a descriptive assessment and discussion. The conceptual, analytical and categorical components and criteria of explanation were developed from the data itself, rather than from preconceived and quantifiable techniques, and much of the information used was generated using personal communication, primary sources and primary data. The assessment therefore draws predominantly from the information presented in chapters 3 and 4, namely, the

Namibian national context, and the local context (the Nyae-Nyae), for sustainable development and the conservancy approach.

Based on the criteria and principles generated in chapter 2 ( and presented in the form of a diagrammatic summary in Figure 6 below), this assessment will use a standardised format to facilitate clarity: Each criterion or principle will be posed as a question, followed by a rationale. A qualitative assessment will then be presented in the form of a discussion, which will culminate in a preliminary finding.

**Figure 6: Graphic summary of criteria and principles of truly sustainable development**



## 5.2.2 Development defined in terms of a bioregion

### QUESTION:

Is the social unit of development defined in terms of cultural and or ecological factors (a bioregion)?

### RATIONALE:

This will enable the situation-specific identification of those local activities and resources (the "socio-ecological foundations of life"), that define the identity of a particular community. This should ensure that development activities focus on a situation-specific (thus value-free), increasing of potentials through maintenance and enhancement of desired socio-ecological characteristics

### DISCUSSION:

Ecologically, as highlighted in the previous chapter, the Nyae-Nyae area has long been recognised as having particular significance for biodiversity in Namibia by virtue of the seasonal clay and calcrete pans that serve as a focal point for wildlife and birds. The area is also characterised by a diversity and abundance of key plant resources. It is these pans, and the wildlife and plant life of the region they support, that have defined the ecological and cultural characteristics of the local Ju/'hoansi inhabitants who employ a predominantly hunter-gatherer subsistence lifestyle. The Ju/'hoansi have based their cultural land rights on these pans, and even today 70% of their subsistence can be attributed to hunter-gathering activities supported by the ecology of the area. (Botelle and Rhode, 1995). All land in the Nyae-Nyae area has been accounted for by the Ju/'hoansi, being either a n!ore or resource area (it was described earlier in this dissertation that n!oresi can be compared to a farm, and a resource area to various crops: plant food, shrubs for crafts and trees for timber and firewood). These n!oresi do not have firm boundaries, nor are they defined as such, but rather they regulate social and cultural rights and obligations associated with, and based on the use of, water, plant resources and wildlife (Botelle and Rhode, 1995; Hitchcock, 1992; Powell, undated.).

Too often in natural resource management planning, there has been a tendency to identify the natural resource unit and then to try and fit a social unit to it (Turner, 1996:31). However, due to the remote nature of the Nyae-Nyae area and the fact that up until recently it was inhabited only by the Ju/'hoansi, the social unit of development could be easily defined in terms of cultural and ecological factors. Due to historical land separation and definition, this parcel of communal land was at the time of the inception of the Namibian national CBNRM programme and the conservancy approach, inhabited only by the Ju/'hoansi. Thus in Nyae-Nyae, the conservancy "community" whilst being large and widely dispersed, was homogeneous, comparatively well structured and self defined. This situation was further enhanced by the n!ore system which "provides a flexible yet generally agreed method for adapting socially and numerically to make good use of unpredictable wild resources ... [It] is [therefore] not merely an atomised aggregate of land-using groups, but rather an interlocking, inter-cooperating entity

environmentally and socially" (Marshall and Ritchie quoted in Botelle and Rhode, 1995:31).

Through a land assessment, insights were gained into how the community perceived and interpreted land and natural resources, and the rlore system and resource areas were recognised as the basis and foundation for defining the boundaries of the conservancy here. The community participated in ensuring that all major resource areas were included within these boundaries.

### **PRELIMINARY FINDINGS:**

Albeit seemingly by chance, the social unit of development in the Nyae-Nyae conservancy area can be said to have been defined in terms of cultural and ecological factors (a bioregion). This has both been enabled by, and resulted in, the situation-specific identification of those local activities and resources (the "socio-ecological foundations of life"), that define the identity of a particular community – in this case the Ju/'hoansi.

A conservancy has as one of its primary goals, the conservation of wildlife and wild plants, and in the case of the Nyae-Nyae, the pans of the region which support this biodiversity. These in fact form the biological foundations for the socio-cultural and socio-ecological characteristics of the Ju/'hoansi. The formation of a conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae area will therefore, in all likelihood, ensure that development activities focus on a situation-specific (thus value-free), increasing of potentials through maintenance and enhancement of desired socio-ecological characteristics.

### **5.2.3 Development and local aspirations and priorities**

#### **QUESTION:**

Does development address the aspirations and priorities of local people by uncovering their own definition of human well-being and the direction they themselves define as most desirable?

#### **RATIONALE:**

This follows from criterion 1 and further contributes towards ensuring that a locally determined development pattern is followed, which grows from the realities of the locally prevailing socio-ecological conditions. Thus this approach ensures context-specific development in order to avoid the homogenisation of development which is implemented as a standard, blueprint solution.

#### **DISCUSSION:**

A key priority of the Ju/'hoansi, particularly since the time spent in Tsumkwe, has been to attain some form of land security. (This is a concern shared by Southern Africa's San peoples as evidenced by a recent article in the Cape Times describing the plight of a

peoples who have lived in this region for thousands of years. This article is included as Attachment 3. It illustrates that the conservancy approach's application in the Nyae-Nyae area has the potential to make a significant contribution to the local Ju/'hoansi's definition of human well-being and to development that is consistent with the direction they themselves define as most desirable.)

Surveys and assessments in the region over the last decade, have highlighted locals' concerns about land and resource security – the ecological foundations of Ju/'hoansi life. This desire to secure land is evident in the comments of a Ju/'hoansi speaker at a JFU meeting in late 1986: *"I know that all Ju/'hoansi around think the same way ... to hurry up ...and build our n!ores. Because that is the only way we will have any strength to build up our life, our future"* (quoted in Hitchcock, 1992:36).

Literature also points to other problems related to the 'open access' land situation in Namibia and the consequent insecurity experienced by the Ju/'hoansi. These were discussed in detail in chapter 4. Key amongst these are:

- The inability to deny access to outsiders coming into n!ores and resource areas. For instance, studies revealed that one of the community's greatest fears concerned the threat from "illegal" settlers. The abundance of water and good grazing in the Nyae-Nyae, compared to the overgrazed surrounding regions, means that the threat of returnees or some other group settling in the Nyae-Nyae is very real.
- The impact of increasing tourist numbers. Every year the Nyae-Nyae area becomes a more and more popular destination for tourists, many of whom leave official roads and drive unchecked across the landscape in pursuit of game and camp in n!oresi without consulting n!ore owners. There have also been numerous incidents of illegal poaching and harvesting in the area and n!oresi.

As described by Mr Benjamin /Aice (and detailed in chapter 4), a conservancy allows the Ju/'hoansi to address these problems and concerns in the following manner:

*"[in the past] we have tried to mention reasons why we don't want people to come in but it was very difficult. But by saying we are looking forward to [the] approval of a conservancy, we can give people a reason why they can't come ... we don't want people coming in and destroying our resources...the people are now in a position to fend for themselves.*

*"With tourism there is a kind of competition in the area with outsiders here. With the conservancy we will know who is coming and when. We have had the problem of people coming and just taking pictures before asking the community."*

Combined with the desire for some form of land and resource security, was the need to have a voice at national level in order to have some say in their own development. Although this function was, and still is, served by the NNFC, the formation of a conservancy further strengthens the Ju/'hoansi's ability to have a say in their own development and destiny:

*"In terms of empowering the community, the conservancy committee is 100% Ju/'mkwe speaking ... there has been a lot of community empowerment, there are no outsiders involved in the management committee, just temporary consultants. As soon as the conservancy is finalised we will have the power to hire and fire consultants as necessary. We will build capacity this way and so we will never be imposed upon."*

(senior manager, NNFC, pers. comm.).

Consequently, the formation of a conservancy in Nyae-Nyae can be said to be a move in the right direction in terms of addressing the primary aspirations and priorities of local people as defined by uncovering their own definition of human well-being and the direction they themselves define as most desirable – i.e. some form of land and resource security that will enable them to control the influx of outsiders. It will also give the local Ju/'hoansi a say in tourism and tourist behaviour in the area and in order to protect their n!ore and resource areas in a manner that allows them to continue living the way they choose.

#### **PRELIMINARY FINDINGS:**

The current communal land system in Namibia means that the only way presently available to achieve the above was through the establishment of a conservancy in the area. In addition, the conservancy committee, which was elected by the community themselves, affords the Ju/'hoansi the authority and empowerment they desire to have a say in their own destiny, without imposition from outside sources.

From the above discussion, it can be seen that the conservancy approach, as applied in the Nyae-Nyae area, meets locally defined development priorities and aspirations. Further, it currently ensures context-specific development, based on the local activities and resources (the "socio-ecological foundations of life"), that define the identity of the Ju/'hoansi community, and in so doing, manages to avoid to a large degree, the homogenisation of development which is implemented as a standard, blueprint solution

#### **5.2.4 Development and the promotion of meaningful local-level partnerships**

##### **QUESTION:**

*Does development promote, and entrench, community participation and the formation of meaningful local-level partnerships – as opposed to mere consultation?*

##### **RATIONALE:**

Participation implies that partnerships should be formed between stakeholders, to redress historical and inequitable power relations (Urquhart, 1995). Meaningful participation will ensure that communities have a sense of ownership over their development.

## DISCUSSION:

In the Bushmanland project, Government recognition of community institutions was a key issue in terms of enabling the emergence of a legitimate community natural resource management institution (Jones, 1996c). Such institutions needed to be legitimised by both the community and Government in order to be in a position to contribute to successful management of resources. Hitchcock (1992:133) points out that *"official recognition of local resource management institutions like the NNFC [was] crucial for establishing legitimacy and sustainability"*.

In the Nyae-Nyae there has been considerable progress towards Government recognition of the NNFC as a legitimate resource management and local governance institution. This was following presentations given by the Ju/'hoansi at the National Conference on Land Reform in 1991. The Namibian President and the Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation recognised the legitimacy of the NNFC as being equivalent to a traditional authority in eastern Bushmanland (Jones, 1996c; Hitchcock, 1992). This was a major step forward, especially as the Ju/'hoansi egalitarian society had experienced difficulty interacting with Government who sought some form of representative or traditional leadership structure through which to work (ibid.).

The establishment of the NNFC filled this vacuum by creating a body which would meet the requirements of Government and other outsiders, while trying to conform to the peoples' own traditional social and leadership structures and relationships (Jones, 1996c; Hitchcock, 1992, Turner, 1996; Powell, undated).

Further legitimisation of the NNFC came about through its involvement in the Environmental Planning Committee (EPC), which created a forum through which to talk directly to the Ministries of Environment and Tourism, Agriculture, and regional and local government, in a formalised way. The EPC constituted a partnership between local, regional and national level stakeholders, and its very formation was a recognition that regional land use planning and natural resource management would be conducted as a partnership between the local community and the various line ministries (Jones, 1996c, 1996a; Powell, undated). The EPC also created an enabling forum where the Ju/'hoansi could air their land related needs and aspirations to the various line ministries concerned (Powell, undated; Hitchcock, 1992).

The conservancy approach, legally requires the formation of a local selected conservancy management committee. Through such a locally chosen committee, the community is given *"responsibilities for, and rights to, consumptive and non-consumptive management and sustainable use of wildlife resources...including hunting and trophy hunting rights, rights to revenues and other benefits ... as well as the right to enter into agreements and to retain, manage and distribute its funds and assets* (NCOAA, 1995, section 28A(2)).

## PRELIMINARY FINDINGS:

This implies a real partnership between stakeholders, particularly in this case between the community and the MET. Once recognised, a conservancy, through the legislation

described above, not only promotes, but in fact ensures, the formation of local level partnerships as opposed to relationships of a merely consultative nature. However, this is dependent to a large degree on community representative organisations (and the conservancy management committee), remaining representative of, and accountable to, their constituent community. As long as this is ensured, the requirements detailing the formation of a conservancy committee contribute substantially to ensuring the formation of true partnerships that redress historically inequitable power relations.

The inception of the EPC in 1992 (described in chapter 4), together with a local government structure in the form of the NNDFN and the NNFC, provided a strong foundation for participative and co-operative development in the region. Through the formation of the conservancy, the community, has not only been given ownership over the management and rights to use of wildlife, but in so doing, have been given ownership, to a large degree, over their own development.

### **5.2.5 Development and the promotion of empowerment**

#### **QUESTION:**

*Does development promote empowerment through local control and management, with indicators of empowerment being determined by the community members themselves?*

#### **RATIONALE:**

This criterion necessitates decentralised decision-making. People should have control over their own lives and their environments in order to attain true empowerment. This shifting of the development focus to the local level means that there should be local control over access to resources. Local control should be broad-based – in other words, not based on elite village factions or individuals (although this does not imply a lack of recognition of diversity and the mobilisation of various individuals and groups within the community). Formalised local structures, such as representative community development forums, need to be established in order to achieve empowerment, local control and management.

#### **DISCUSSION:**

The Ju/'hoan people are recognised by anthropologists to be strongly egalitarian (Hitchcock, 1992), but as Jones asserts, egalitarianism and a lack of leadership hierarchy, should not however be confused with a lack of leadership (1996c). Clan groups have their own leaders, but they do not form part of a collective leadership structure beyond the clan level (ibid.).

This did however pose problems for the Ju/'hoansi in their relations with Government and other outsiders, who looked to a leadership hierarchy to represent the community in decision-making, negotiations and lobbying. It has also been consistently used by other groups and the State to take advantage of and exploit the San (Jones, 1996c).

Recognising this problem, the Cattle Fund (predecessor of the NNDFN), encouraged the Ju/'hoansi to form their own organisation, the Ju/Wa Farmers' Union (JFU), in 1986, which in 1990 renamed itself the NNFC. Hitchcock defines the overall goal of the JFU as being to establish self-sufficient communities that were capable of determining their own political, social and economic future, as well as to be a body that would have a say in national level forums on issues effecting Eastern Bushmanland, particularly on land and local government matters. Accordingly, between 1988 and 1989 the organisational structure and leadership system of the JFU was formalised in a set of statutes. These provided for membership of all persons who speak Ju/'hoan or call themselves Ju/'hoan and are over the age of eighteen. People who had lived in the area for more than ten years could also become members and individuals could apply formally to the union to become a member (Hitchcock, 1992; Jones, 1996c), and thus to have their voice heard. This is indicative, in theory at least, of broad-based (in other words, not based on elite village factions or individuals) local control. Since the inception of the Bushmanland CBNRM programme in 1991, there has been an ongoing process of institutional development within the Ju/'hoansi society, which has been both difficult and problematic for the people concerned (Turner, 1996, Jones, 1996c). They have had to move very quickly from a situation where decision-making was vested at the n!ore level, to coping with multi-layers of decision-making and representation.

The Ju/'hoansi have in fact struggled with several critical issues. Hitchcock and Jones (1992, 1996c), point out that in its early days, the JFU was concerned to ensure that everyone had an equal say in decision-making. In the cases where Government officials or outsiders did not have time to visit every settlement, preliminary meetings were held at local level so that the representatives who would meet outsiders could present local opinions. Thus the Ju/'hoansi went to great lengths to reconcile the emergence of regional level leaders, who needed to be responsive to the demands of outsiders, with their own non-hierarchical approach to decision-making. Increasingly, the demands of outsiders for 'leaders' who could speak on behalf of the 'community' have led to the Management Committee of the NNFC being viewed by outsiders as representatives of the Ju/'hoansi.

Despite several years of attempts to institutionalise decision-making however, there are individuals in the community who do not appear to recognise the right of anyone else to speak on their behalf. Biesele (1994, cited in Jones, 1996c), argues that the desire to create a local level community representative body, has led to the application of an imposed international stereotype of leadership and community management, and that not enough attention was paid to the people's own processes of consensual decision-making. She concludes that Western "political correctness", designed to rectify developmental mistakes of the past "can blind itself to what is really going on in developing societies. It is easy for an ideological perspective to see itself in its own image" (Biesele, 1994, quoted in Jones, 1996c:24).

### **PRELIMINARY FINDINGS:**

The approval of the Nyae-Nyae conservancy will mean that it has complied with, and attained, the requirements detailed in the NCOAA (1995, section 28A(1)(a)) namely:

*That a conservancy committee has been established which is representative of the community residing in the conservancy and includes one or more representatives or nominees of the traditional authority...*

However, due to the complexity of the Ju/'hoansi decision-making and leadership processes and structures, it is not clear whether the conservancy committee, although comprising 100% Ju/'hoansi members, is in fact considered by the community to be a legitimate and representative decision-making and leadership structure. Nonetheless, the fact that it has given the community a voice and power at regional and national levels, is an indication of empowerment. The right to control access to their land and natural resources is also considered to be a sign of increasing empowerment that gives the community back the control of their own lives.

Whether accepted as legitimate or not by all members of the Ju/'hoan community, the NNFC may thus, for the purposes outlined this criterion, be viewed as a community development forum, that has attained and achieved empowerment, local control and management, for without it, the conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae area would never have progressed as far as it has. It is worth noting here however that it has been noted in the context of the eastern Bushmanland conservancy that *"the only truly democratic model in Nyae-Nyae ... will have to build on traditional strengths, and will probably not be 'representative' in the western sense of the word"* (Wyckoff-baird quoted in Jones, 1996c:39).

### **5.2.6 Development and linkages to regional/national planning**

#### **QUESTION:**

*Does development have strong links to regional/national scale planning?*

#### **RATIONALE:**

Development should be planned and implemented at village level, within an integrated and holistic development strategy, and within power-sharing partnerships with the regional and national levels. This requires linkages of knowledge and resources at the local level with the regional, national and international community which are sustainable and able to strengthen local institutions. Thus development while avoiding exogenous decision-making, will not encounter marginalisation through its guidance by local-level values. Partnerships between all stakeholders are essential to redress historically inequitable power relations (Theron, 1995, Urquhart, 1995, Audouin, 1996).

## DISCUSSION:

The Nyae-Nyae project was originally established with the MET as the lead agency, but with the understanding that the NDNFN and the NNFC would continue to play a supportive role in the field. The CBNRM programme did not arise as a local initiative, but rather was a national initiative undertaken by the MET. However, the decision by the MLRR to use eastern Bushmanland as a pilot area for its land use planning programme was made following a request by the NNFC through the EPC, and the findings of this survey were to an extent responsible for the area being chosen as one of the four regions in Namibia to receive funding from the LIFE programme (which as discussed in chapter 4, is funded by the USAID, WWF-US and the MET, and administered by WWF-US in partnership with two other US-based organisations, World Learning and Management Systems International, and a Namibian NGO, the Rossing Foundation).

Jones (1996c), in his discussion paper *Institutional relationships, capacity and sustainability* describes how both the Namibian CBNRM national programme and the local project in eastern Bushmanland are based on a approach of cooperating partner institutions, each fulfilling certain roles and responsibilities. Success is dependent on each partner institution (the three major partners here being identified as the MET, and the community through the forums of the NDNFN and the NNFC), being able to deliver the goods. Thus, whilst not arising as a local initiative, the CBNRM programme was a national response to meeting both local priorities and aspirations (some form of land and resource security for the Ju/'hoansi and a means for them to benefit from these natural resources), and national priorities and aspirations (conservation of the region's biodiversity). Cabinet approval of the MET's CBNRM 'conservancy' policy and the preparation of legislation to give it effect (the NCOAA of 1995) is indicative of an integrated and holistic development strategy. The fact that the conservancy committee (which has to prove community representivity before the conservancy is signed and approved by the MET) is given responsibility for, and rights to, consumptive and non-consumptive management and sustainable use of wildlife resources, on behalf of the members of the conservancy (NCOAA, 1995, section 28A(2)) comprises a power-sharing partnership with the regional and national levels. As the conservancy committee is made up 100 percent by local Ju/'hoansi people, wildlife management will involve linkages of knowledge and resources at the local level with the regional and national level.

The international community is involved through the LIFE programme. According to Jones (1996c) and personal communications with management at the NNFC and the WWF, the LIFE programme provides sub-grants for the implementation of CBNRM projects by Namibian NGOs and the MET and for support organisations at the national level. It provides technical assistance and administers the grants. LIFE is co-ordinated by a Steering Committee, which is dominated by Namibians, and which takes decisions by consensus (Jones, 1996c, WWF pers. comm.; NNFC, pers. comm.)

The development of the LIFE programme has therefore brought international NGOs directly into the partnership as well as brought interaction with a major bilateral donor, USAID (Jones, 1996c). Although the project was funded by USAID with WWF-US

ostensibly managing the project, in practice, the project was managed and implemented locally within Namibia by Namibian organisations, and WWF, although supposedly responsible for technical supervision, essentially provided a conduit for funds to reach the project (ibid.). However, during late 1994, LIFE provided further technical assistance by appointing Barbara Wyckoff-Baird to assist with general administrative and logistical support. This proved very beneficial and provided an extra dimension to outside support which was not present before (Jones, 1996c).

#### **PRELIMINARY FINDINGS:**

Thus it would appear that local, national and international partnerships concerning the Nyae-Nyae conservancy are sustainable and able to contribute towards enhancing and strengthening local institutions. Development while avoiding exogenous decision-making through its guidance by local-level values, should therefore not encounter marginalisation. Further, partnerships between all stakeholders that are essential to redress historically inequitable power relations exist in the case of the Nyae-Nyae conservancy.

#### **5.2.7 Development and the promotion of capacity building**

##### **QUESTION:**

*Does development promote capacity building?*

##### **RATIONALE:**

Development must promote capacity building through the provision of skills training in order to ensure that self-reliance is promoted and the goal of human self-realisation is approached. Therefore, any possible educational opportunities should be promoted (although this criterion is inherent in true partnerships)(Urquhart, 1995).

##### **DISCUSSION:**

With regards to the question of conservation and natural resource management, it should be noted here that CBNRM is usually applied to modern approaches which emphasise devolution of control to communities. The Ju/'hoansi community has in fact been sustainably managing the natural resources in the Nyae-Nyae area for centuries and the idea of communal management of resources is not new. As Mr Mathambo Ngakaeaja, a representative of the Kuru Development Trust in Botswana stated "*The San have killed fewer animals in all those thousands of years than the Government (Botswana and Namibia) has with its vet fences*" (Quoted in the Cape Times, July 16, 1997 – See Attachment 3). Thus, conservation capacity building is not a requirement here, although communication of the MET's requirements and management preferences will occur in accordance with the current partnerships agreement and standing.

Tourism is an important component of the development and conservation potential of a conservancy. It is widely acknowledged that without successful tourism initiatives, some of the incentives for conservation fall away, i.e. the economic incentive associated with conservation in order to attract tourists. There are three fundamental types of tourism activities in Eastern Bushmanland that provide the tourist appeal of the region namely wilderness tourism, cultural tourism and research tourism (Garland, 1994).

Currently, despite much discussion, little has been achieved to date in giving local people control over tourism on their land. It is too early yet to know whether the approval of the conservancy application will change this situation although according to legislation, once a conservancy has been established, any tourism ventures are subject to the involvement and approval of the local conservancy communities.

A number of basic scenarios are possible. It is worth briefly looking at the contribution these could make towards the promotion of capacity building through the provision of skills training and the promotion of any possible educational opportunities in order to ensure that self-reliance and other goals of sustainable development namely; increased welfare, economic growth, empowerment, equitable distribution of benefits and resource conservation, are fostered.

- Operators could establish upmarket lodges which do not involve the community. This form of enterprise may bring a significant boost to local economic activity by offering employment opportunities, but distribution of benefits will in all probability be limited to employees of the lodge. Such an enterprise would therefore have a low impact on promoting conservation because benefits and understanding of the source of revenue are not widely dispersed. No institutional development or capacity building would occur.
- A private investor could develop a tourist enterprise on Nyae-Nyae communal land and reach some revenue-sharing agreement with the community living on that land. Revenue sharing contributes to equity and poverty alleviation through community income (Ashley and Garland, 1994). Through gaining responsibility and control of the revenue-sharing process, a community may experience a degree of empowerment. Depending on the scale, distribution and understanding of the revenue-share, a positive impact on conservation is possible. No institutional development or capacity building would occur.
- A private investor collaborating with the community in a profit sharing venture. In such a scenario, the community could have entitlements to profits or lease payments and may or may not be closely involved in the management. However, community members are not involved in day to day operations of the enterprise (Ashley and Garland, 1994). Such a venture would have a potentially high impact in terms of both local economic growth, and in terms of poverty alleviation and equity enhancement, because of the high level and wide distribution of benefits. Growth in community earnings, skills and institutions as the joint venture evolves could be empowering. Institutional development and capacity building therefore may occur. The community

has much greater control over developments because it begins with resource rights and can negotiate terms. Depending on the distribution of revenue and benefits, this form of venture can have a significant positive impact on encouraging conservation because the conservation link to earnings is relatively transparent – i.e. the link between income and tourism appeal of the resource base.

- The community could decide to develop its communal resources for tourism purposes through its own common enterprise. According to Garland and Ashley, such a venture exists in Bushmanland at the Makuri campsite, and offers both camping and cultural services.

Although such an enterprise may provide only a small injection to the local economy, earnings would be kept within the local economy either at a household or community level. Thus the scale of benefits can be viewed as significant. Due to a potentially wide distribution of income, welfare effects are high, as is the potential for educational and institutional capacity enhancement. Such an enterprise has a high potential for engendering empowerment as the community controls the venture. Although average income per household may be small, benefits can be clearly linked to natural resource conservation such as wildlife and tourism, and are widely dispersed among the community.

#### **PRELIMINARY FINDINGS:**

Table 1 (adapted from Ashley and Garland, 1994:25) illustrates the contribution which each type of enterprise makes towards *development that promotes capacity building through the provision of skills training, empowerment and conservation.*

**Table 1: Relative contribution of 4 tourism venture scenarios to sustainable development and conservation**

|                                      | <u>Upmarket development: No revenue sharing</u> | <u>Upmarket development: Revenue sharing</u> | <u>Joint venture development</u> | <u>Community development</u> |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <b>LOCAL CAPACITY ENHANCEMENT</b>    |   |  |                                  |                              |
| Development of skills                | —   | —  | =====                            | =====                        |
| Development of local capacity        | —   | —  | =====                            | =====                        |
| Development of local institutions    | —   | —  | =====                            | =====                        |
| <b>COMMUNITY ECONOMIC GROWTH</b>     |   |  |                                  |                              |
| Dispersal of benefits                | —   | —  | =====                            | =====                        |
| Economic rate of return              | —   | —  | =====                            | =====                        |
| <b>EMPOWERMENT</b><br>Community has: |   |  |                                  |                              |
| - Ownership                          | —   | —  | =====                            | =====                        |
| - Control                            | —   | —  | =====                            | =====                        |
| - Rights to earning                  | —   | —  | =====                            | =====                        |
| <b>ENCOURAGE CONSERVATION</b>        |   |  |                                  |                              |
| Significant                          | —   | —  | =====                            | =====                        |
| Widely dispersed                     | —   | —  | =====                            | =====                        |
| Perceived link to resource base      | —   | —  | =====                            | =====                        |

**KEY**

- No potential contribution —
- Small potential contribution —
- Medium potential contribution =====
- High potential contribution =====

From Table 1, it can be seen that joint ventures and community developments offer the greatest potential for contributing towards capacity building, skills development, development of local institutions, equitable income distribution, empowerment and conservation. Private developments not only do not contribute to these objectives, but may in fact undermine them by disempowering communities.

Thus, community involvement in joint tourism ventures and community tourism related development initiatives and projects, which comprise an integral part of the conservancy approach, can clearly have positive impacts in terms of the sustainable development requirements of capacity building, skills enhancement and education. However, in the Nyae-Nyae case study, due to the youthfulness of the conservancy approach's application here, this is still theoretical and has yet to manifest and prove itself in practice or real terms.

### **5.2.8 Development and local resources and knowledge**

#### **QUESTION:**

*Does development rely primarily on local resources and knowledge?*

#### **RATIONALE:**

This requires an identification of where the fundamental principles at the beginning of cause-effect relationships in nature are being violated and so constraining development based on local resources. This should be followed by an identification of more specialised sub-goals which are based on overcoming the constraints to development through the maintenance or enhancement of local resources i.e. the identification of new ways of using resources to meet needs (Audouin, 1996).

#### **DISCUSSION:**

By its very nature, the conservancy approach as a vehicle of development relies primarily on local resources, both human and ecological. The cause-effect relationship that could be identified as constraining development based on local resources was the policy of previous governments to exclude people from their land in the name of conservation, and to confine them to progressively smaller parcels of their ancestral land because of the Bantustan and separate development policy. The fact that the State historically claimed ownership of all wildlife, thereby effectively condemning the hunter-gatherer Ju/'hoansi to criminal poachers if they continued living the way they had for centuries was also a fundamental principle at the beginning of the cause-effect relationship with nature that was being violated and so constraining development based on local resources. By giving people back their rights again to sustainably use and manage their natural resources, as well as by giving them back some kind of land security through the vehicle of conservancy formation, the primary constraints to development based on local resources can be seen to have been addressed and partially eliminated.

The conservancy both requires and has as one of its primary functions and goals, the maintenance and enhancement of local ecological resources. As game numbers begin increasing as a result of the conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae, maintenance and enhancement of local resources will occur. In addition, giving the community back ownership and the rights to sustainably utilise their wildlife resources again, will facilitate

a rebirth of sorts of the socio-cultural and socio-ecological lifestyle of the Ju/'hoansi. This can thus be seen as contributing to the maintenance and enhancement of the local human resource in terms of facilitating the maintenance and enhancement of the cultural identity of the Ju/'hoansi. The identification and implementation of various tourism-based venture in the area comprises identification of new ways of using resources to meet needs.

However, another violation of a fundamental principle at the beginning of cause-effect relationships in nature that has resulted in diminishing wildlife numbers concerns the question of land-use practices on neighbouring and adjacent communal areas. The resettlement programme in Gam provides an excellent example of a cause-effect relationship in nature. The inappropriate land use employed here is resulting in vast habitat destruction (M Phil, 1997) and Gam as a habitat is lost (ibid.). This will invariably have consequences for the adjacent Nyae-Nyae conservancy.

#### **PRELIMINARY FINDINGS:**

In order to counter this problem, land-use planning needs to occur regionally and in a more holistic fashion, especially regarding the policies, programmes, plans and projects of the different line ministries. Unless this occurs, the lack of holistic and integrated land-use planning will comprise a major obstacle to the potential of the conservancy approach to meeting the requirement of sustainable development as detailed in criterion 11 in chapter 2. However, it is beyond the scope of the conservancy approach to successfully address this problem in isolation. The promotion of the Namibian LUEB (as described in chapter 3, section 3.6.4), in conjunction with the employment at a national, regional and local level of various types of EIA, may provide the only redemption here. However, this will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

#### **5.2.9 Development and a self reliance capable of functioning independently from the market**

##### **QUESTION:**

Based on the previous criterion, does development depend solely on the market and the principles driving it, or rather, through sociological activity and ecological maintenance and enhancement of resources, does it also seek to promote a self reliance that is capable of functioning independently from the market?

##### **RATIONALE:**

Although this is relevant at a local, regional, national and international level (as in groupings of nations such as the Southern African Development Community – SADC), this implies that development must include identification and awareness of the local ecosystem's potential and limitations (Urquhart, 1995, Audouin, 1996).

### **DISCUSSION:**

The formation of a conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae allows the Ju/'hoansi to return to their socio-ecological traditions and the socio-cultural practices of a hunter-gather subsistence society. As game numbers increase and the land and its natural resources are protected from outside use, over-exploitation and possible degradation, the conservancy will promote a self-reliance that is capable of functioning independently from the market, in that the Ju/'hoansi will be returning to the lifestyle they have pursued for centuries and still wish to continue pursuing. Dependence on a cash income and economy will be voluntary rather than essential.

### **PRELIMINARY FINDINGS:**

The conservancy approach applied in the Nyae-Nyae area, both through permitting the Ju/'hoansi to pursue their sociological activity, and through the ecological maintenance and enhancement of natural resources on which their hunter-gatherer subsistence lifestyle has depended for centuries, promotes a self reliance that is capable of functioning independently from the market.

However, although the Ju/'hoansi have been managing their natural resources sustainably for centuries, development should nonetheless include identification and awareness of the local ecosystem's potentials and limitations. To date, no ecological assessment has been completed in the Nyae-Nyae area, and this must occur in order to determine answers to questions and considerations concerning the tourist carrying capacity of the various areas within the conservancy's boundaries, numbers and types of game that may be hunted commercially, etc.

### **5.2.10 Development and meeting basic needs**

#### **QUESTION:**

Is development tailored to the basic needs of a specific community but not limited only to meeting these needs?

#### **RATIONALE:**

This is both a criterion and a principle of environmentally sustainable development. Consequently, development must flexible and dynamic, defined, implemented and controlled by resident of a specific community and rooted in community values and institutions. If appropriately empowered (as per criterion 4), and through attaining increasing self-reliance (as per criterion 8), communities should be able to continually, according to their needs, changing values and shared constraints, redefine the orientations of development (Audouin, 1996, Coetzee, 1996, Urquhart, 1995).

#### **DISCUSSION:**

The conservancy approach, by the very nature of the requirements of its formation, may be seen to be both a bottom-up and top-down development initiative. The bottom-up

component of its formation and consequent application, may be construed as tailoring the initiative to the basic needs of a specific community. However, it is clearly not limited solely to meeting basic needs, i.e. the rights of the Ju/'hoansi to some form of land security and the right and ability to pursue the hunter-gatherer lifestyle of their choosing.

As explained by Mr Benjamin /Aice development will have to be flexible and dynamic, defined, implemented and controlled by resident of a specific community and rooted in community values and institutions:

*"We can't see yet what problems will occur, but we will learn and solve them as we go along ... We have drawn up a plan, we will have to keep revisiting it as problems arise, we will keep developing it...We can all see some problems already with the management of the conservancy such as in terms of hunting. We will have to review the policy for example like the management of resources like game. It will be an ongoing process of revisiting"*

(/Aice, pers. comm.)

#### **PRELIMINARY FINDINGS:**

Clearly then, the local conservancy committee (comprising 100 percent Ju/'hoansi people), understands development must flexible and dynamic, defined, implemented and controlled by the residents of a specific community and rooted in community values and institutions (the NNFC and conservancy committee). Only the community can be in a position to define what comprises a need for them at any given time. "Need" (as illustrated in chapter 2) is a relative concept, intricately linked to a point in time in a particular cultural context. It is a concept that is likely to constantly evolve and change as a development initiative is implemented and progresses. One of the primary reasons for the initial creation of the NNFC was the promotion of self determination and self-reliance of the Ju/'hoansi. Through the formation of the conservancy and the conservancy committee, the NNFC has been further empowered to promote increasing self-reliance and as such, to continually, according to changing and evolving needs, changing values and shared constraints, redefine the orientations of development.

#### **5.2.11 Development as a non-quantifiable process**

##### **QUESTION:**

*Is development viewed as a process which is not quantifiably measurable?*

##### **RATIONALE:**

Development should be measured through a continuous affirmation of meaning which requires a creative interpretation of growth and progress through increasing levels of human well-being, based on the community's desire to work towards a specific way of life and conception of reality (Coetzee, 1996, Audouin, 1996).

**DISCUSSION:**

It is too early yet to judge the ability or success of the conservancy approach's contribution towards meeting the above principle. However, to date, there has clearly been a desire on behalf of the community to work towards a specific way of life, evident in the struggle for self-determination that has manifested in the formation of the NNFC and other community organisations. This has culminated in the formation of a conservancy committee and the application to the MET to have the Nyae-Nyae area declared a conservancy, which may be seen as indicative of the community's desire to work towards a specific way of life and conception of reality.

**PRELIMINARY FINDINGS:**

Both Ju/'hoansi community organisations and the MET partially view the implementation of the conservancy as a process which is not quantifiably measurable. The formation by the Ju/'hoansi of a conservancy committee and subsequent conservancy application is an expression of the community's desire to work towards a specific way of life.

**5.2.12 Development as an ongoing learning mechanism**

**QUESTION:**

*Is development approached as an ongoing, continual learning mechanism which drives the development process forward?*

**RATIONALE:**

Such a concept requires the cyclic, ongoing employment of EIAs, a tool of IEM. This would include evaluation, feedback, monitoring and an ongoing determination and analysis of alternatives, for local, regional and national level proposals, policies, programmes, plans and projects.

**DISCUSSION:**

The local community, the MET and the LIFE stakeholders view the development of the conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae as an ongoing, continual learning mechanism which will drive the development process forward (This has already been elaborated on in criterion 9).

**PRELIMINARY FINDINGS:**

To date, EIAs have not been employed in the application of the conservancy approach in the Nyae-Nyae area in any way. There is no indication that they will be used in the future. This constitutes a major shortcoming in the application and implementation of the conservancy approach as a vehicle for sustainable development and thus conservation. Currently, EIAs are not employed either at the local level, nor with regards to evaluation, feedback, monitoring and an ongoing determination and analysis of alternatives, for local, regional and national level proposals, policies, plans, programmes and projects. This has resulted in conflicting and contradictory land-use practices in the region that

may amount to an impediment to the conservancy approach's ability to contribute to sustainable development and conservation. This fact comprises the primary focus and concern of the recommendations which will be discussed in the following chapter.

### **5.2.13 Development and satisfying equity requirements**

#### **QUESTION:**

*In order to be environmentally sustainable, do development actions, at any level (national, regional and local), satisfy the requirements of an Eq.IA?*

#### **RATIONALE:**

Development must increase the equity values and shares for the poor majority and future generations. This is both a prerequisite for, and a condition of, sustainable development in the SADC region and Namibia.

#### **DISCUSSION:**

As described above, no form of EIA or Eq.IA has been undertaken with regards to the conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae. However, according to section 28A(1)(c) of the NCOAA of 1995, before a conservancy application is approved by the Minister of the MET, the conservancy committee must show that it *"has the ability to effectively manage the income and funds of the conservancy and has an appropriate method for the equitable distribution of benefits to the members of such conservancy derived from consumptive and/or non consumptive use of wildlife"*. This may be seen to partially contribute towards fulfilling the requirements outlined above. However, as described by a senior manager of the NNFC and a member of the conservancy committee:

*"We see some projected problems. For example the projected funds for the conservancy project if all goes well will be not less than N\$ 1 million per year which the community will have to deal with. Will it be a philosophy of dependency syndrome or will it be a philosophy of money that we can manage ourselves? This is a very dynamic process and we have no way of knowing what will happen. Once money is in a person's hand, you cannot tell them what to do... Such a lot of money in such a small community can be a disaster. We need to have some community projects, for example, a small clinic in some villages. We are thinking about maybe if everyone can agree, to give everyone a little amount of money and then try to build something from which everyone can benefit" (anon. pers. comm.).*

#### **PRELIMINARY FINDINGS:**

In theory, the conservancy approach, by its very nature is designed as a development initiative that aims to increase the equity values and shares for the poor majority and

future generations. The NCOAA, 1995 bears testimony to this in that it was amended to enable and facilitate the formation of communal conservancies in order "*to provide for an economically based system for the management and sustainable (which by current definition implies benefits for present and future generations), utilisation of wildlife in communal areas...*" (NCOAA, 1995). However, the absence of the use of EIAs and Eq.IA renders this concept theoretical as there is no means of anticipating what outcomes will occur when the theory is put into practice.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

This chapter concentrated on qualitatively assessing and discussing the value of the conservancy approach as a vehicle for sustainable development. To this end, 12 key criteria and principles of environmentally sustainable development were employed (refer to summary table on the following page). Based on the preliminary findings generated by this qualitative assessment, the conservancy approach, both generically and specifically as implemented in the Nyae-Nyae region, clearly does contribute towards sustainable development. The focus of the following chapter turns to recommendations towards strengthening the conservancy approach's contribution to environmentally sustainable development and thus to conservation.

**Table 2: Summary of qualitative assessment, based on 12 criteria and principles, of the conservancy approach's contribution to environmentally sustainable development.**

| CRITERIA/PRINCIPLES  | DISCUSSION  | PRELIMINARY FINDING  | MEETS CRITERIA & PRINCIPLES |
|--|---|--|-----------------------------|
| <p>Criteria/principle 1:<br/>Is the social unit of development defined in terms of cultural and ecological factors (a bioregion)?</p>                    | <p>The seasonal and calcrete pans of the Nyae-Nyae region support a large variety of natural resources (plants and wildlife). These form the basis of, and determine, the Ju/'hoansi subsistence hunter-gatherer lifestyle and the concomitant cultural norms, values, belief systems and behaviours of these peoples. Due to historical land separation and definition and the remote and underdeveloped nature of the area, the part of the Nyae-Nyae region that falls within the boundaries of the proposed conservancy, is inhabited only by the Ju/'hoansi.</p> | <p>By chance, the area is home to a homogeneous group of people, the Ju/'hoansi. The ecological and cultural factors of the Nyae-Nyae region are inextricable bound together. A locally appropriate and situation-specific lands assessment was used to identify all Ju/'hoansi major resource areas and it was ensured that these were included within the boundaries of the proposed conservancy. Thus, albeit perhaps by chance, the social unit of development in the Nyae-Nyae conservancy has been defined in terms of cultural and ecological factors.</p>                                      | <p>✓</p>                    |
| <p>Criteria/principle 2:<br/>Does development address the aspirations and priorities of local people?</p>  | <p>Primary priorities of the Ju/'hoansi included the need to attain some form of land tenure and security, and to have a voice at national level. In order to have a conservancy declared it is legislatively required to form a locally elected and representative conservancy committee. Once a conservancy is established, this conservancy committee is recognised at a national level as a legitimate community representative structure and voice.</p>  | <p>The formation of a conservancy addresses the Ju/'hoansi's desire for some form of land and resource security that will enable them to control the influx of outsiders. This control will enable them to have a strong say in determining to live the way they, as a community, find most desirable. In addition, the formation of a conservancy and conservancy committee, gives the Ju/'hoansi a voice, and recognition, at national level. The formation and approval of the Nyae-Nyae conservancy is thus development that addresses the aspirations and priorities of the local Ju/'hoansi.</p> | <p>✓<br/>?</p>              |
| <p>Criteria/principle 3:<br/>Does development promote and entrench community participation and the formation of meaningful local-level partnerships?</p> | <p>The conservancy approach legally requires the formation of a locally selected conservancy management committee prior to the establishment of a conservancy. Once a conservancy is established, the community is given responsibility, ownership and rights to manage and use wildlife resources in consultation with the MET.</p>  | <p>The conservancy approach, both generically and specifically in the Nyae-Nyae conservancy, promotes and entrenches community participation and the formation of meaningful local-level partnerships. This is dependent however, to a large degree on community organisations remaining representative of, and accountable to, their constituents.</p>  | <p>✓<br/>?</p>              |

|  |   |   |              |
|--|---|---|--------------|
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 4:</b><br/>Does development promote empowerment through local control and management?</p> | <p>The members of the Nyae-Nyae conservancy committee are all Ju/'hoansi. Through the formation of a conservancy, the Ju/'hoansi are given the right to control access to their land and to the natural resources on this land. This is viewed by the community as a sign of increasing empowerment and a means of gaining increasing control over their own lives. The formation of a conservancy and conservancy committee also gives the Ju/'hoansi recognition and a voice at national level regarding issues concerned with the area of the conservancy.</p> | <p>The conservancy approach, by its very nature, and the associated legal requirements, promotes empowerment through local control and management.</p>  | <p>✓ ?</p>   |
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 5:</b><br/>Does development have strong links to regional/national scale planning?</p>    | <p>The conservancy approach as implemented in the Nyae-Nyae, is part of a national-level CBNRM undertaken by the MET. In addition, the Nyae-Nyae conservancy is funded by LIFE, a joint USAID, WWF and MET programme.</p>   | <p>The Nyae-Nyae conservancy has strong links to regional and national scale planning, as well as international links through the involvement of the LIFE programme stakeholders. However, the lack of a holistic land-use plan in Namibia, and the absence of meaningful communication and coordination between different line ministries regarding national natural resource management and planning, comprises a threat to development that is based on the conservancy approach.</p>  | <p>✓ ⇄</p>   |
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 6:</b><br/>Does development promote capacity-building?</p>                                | <p>It is unlikely that the Ju/'hoansi, who have been managing their natural resources sustainably for centuries, require capacity-building in this regard. However, tourism related activities ventures and initiatives, an integral component of the conservancy approach, have much potential to promote capacity building.</p>   | <p>Numerous options exist regarding the development of tourism ventures. It would appear that only joint ventures between the community and an investor, or community ventures, have any real potential to contribute towards capacity building, skills development, local institutional development and empowerment.</p>   | <p>✓ ⇄ ?</p> |
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 7:</b><br/>Does development rely primarily on local resources and knowledge?</p>          | <p>By its very nature, the conservancy approach as a vehicle of development relies on local resources, both human and ecological. It has as one of its primary functions, the maintenance and enhancement of local ecological resources.</p>  | <p>By giving people back their rights to use and manage their natural resources, as well as by providing some form of land tenure through the vehicle of the formation of a conservancy, the primary constraints to development that is based on natural resources and knowledge, can be seen to be addressed and partially eliminated. However, the lack of a regional and national integrated and holistic land-use plan, unless addressed, will comprise a major obstacle to the conservancy approach's reliance primarily on local resources and knowledge.</p> | <p>✓ ?</p>   |

|  |   |  |                            |
|--|---|--|----------------------------|
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 8:</b><br/>Does development promote a self reliance capable of functioning independently from the market?</p>                       | <p>The formation of a conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae will allow the Ju/'hoansi to return to their socio-ecological traditions and the socio-cultural practices of a hunter-gatherer subsistence society. Game numbers should increase, as should other natural resources protected from outside use.</p>  | <p>Formation of a conservancy will promote a self-reliance that is capable of functioning independently from the market by permitting the Ju/'hoansi to return to their predominantly hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Dependence on a cash income and economy will be voluntary rather than essential.</p>                            | <p>✓</p>                   |
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 9:</b><br/>Is development tailored to the basic needs of a specific community, but not limited solely to meeting basic needs?</p>   | <p>The conservancy approach integrally includes a bottom-up approach which may be construed as tailoring the national CBNRM initiative to the basic needs of a specific community. Need is a relative concept that evolves and changes as development progresses. The conservancy committee is in a position to continually redefine the orientations of development according to the evolving needs, changing values and shared constraints of the community. Further, they recognise that development through the formation of the conservancy is an ongoing process.</p> | <p>In the case of the Nyae-Nyae conservancy, the NNFC and the conservancy committee, both legislatively and nationally recognised as community representative bodies, are in a position to ensure that development, whilst being tailored to the basic needs of the community, is not limited solely to meeting basic needs.</p> | <p>✓</p>                   |
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 10:</b><br/>Is development viewed as a process which is not quantifiably measurable?</p>  | <p>The conservancy committee has stated that the Nyae-Nyae conservancy as a development initiative is a dynamic process that needs to be constantly revisited and developed. Members of the MET also recognise this and are working with the conservancy and its formation accordingly. No end point to the initiative has been determined.</p>   | <p>The conservancy approach, both generically and specifically as applied in the Nyae-Nyae region, is seen by all stakeholders as a process which is not quantifiably measurable.</p>  | <p>✓</p>                   |
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 11:</b><br/>Is development approached as an ongoing, continual learning mechanism which drives the development process forward?</p> | <p>As described above, development is viewed by all stakeholders as an ongoing, continual learning mechanism which drives the development process forward.</p>  | <p>The absence of some form of Impact Assessments and some form of monitoring and auditing procedure, comprises a weakness within the approach, both generically and specifically.</p>   | <p>✓<br/>◄<br/>X<br/>?</p> |

|  |   |  |          |
|--|---|--|----------|
| <p><b>Criteria/principle 12:</b><br/>Does development satisfy equity-requirements?</p> | <p>Before a conservancy can be approved, the conservancy committee must show that it has the ability to effectively manage the income and funds of the conservancy and that it has an appropriate method for the equitable distribution of benefits to members of such a conservancy.</p> | <p>The absence of the use of EIAs and Eq.IAs renders this purely theoretical a there is no means of predicting or anticipating the economic and equity impacts, outcomes and consequences of the formation of the Nyae-Nyae conservancy. This comprises a weakness of the conservancy approach, both generically and in its employment in the Nyae-Nyae.</p> | <p>X</p> |
|--|---|--|----------|

**KEY TO SUMMARY TABLE**

|     |   |                                 |   |
|-----|---|---------------------------------|---|
| Yes | ✓ | Partially                       | ◄ |
| No  | X | Too soon to assess conclusively | ? |

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STRENGTHENING THE CONSERVANCY APPROACH'S ABILITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

## **6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STRENGTHENING THE CONSERVANCY APPROACH'S ABILITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

*"The land we have is today reduced and we must protect it as best we can.  
Those who live on the and know it well are its best protectors."*

(Tsamkxao =Oma, past president of the NNFC)

### **6.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter, through a qualitative assessment based on 12 core criteria and principles, illustrated that the conservancy approach has the potential to make a significant contribution to environmentally sustainable development and conservation. The lack of a significant consideration of the principles of Integrated Environmental Management (IEM) to the application of a conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae area comprises a major weakness in terms of the conservancy approach's contribution to environmentally sustainable development and thus conservation. Consequently, this chapter turns to briefly exploring the relevance of the principles underpinning IEM (which were outlined earlier in chapter 1) for the conservancy approach. More specifically it explores the use of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs), as a means of strengthening the conservancy approach's contribution to sustainable development. This chapter concludes with the proposal that IEM and EIAs are merged with the tools of Environmental Management Systems (EMS) as outlined in the new ISO 1400 documents and regulations.

### **6.2 Adapting the IEM Procedure for use with the Conservancy Approach**

IEM, as mentioned in chapter 1, is designed to ensure that the environmental consequences of development proposals are understood and adequately considered during the planning process (Department of Environmental Affairs, 1992), in order to facilitate sound and informed decision-making. This is achievable through following a series of steps (see Figure 1) as outlined in the IEM procedure. Subsequent courses of action can then be chosen, based on a clearer knowledge of the possible resultant implications. By identifying possible impacts of the use of the conservancy approach, both generically as a vehicle for sustainable development, and specifically, as implemented in the Nyae-Nyae region, actions can be devised which mitigate the negative and enhance the positive ramifications. Central to the notion of IEM is that its underlying principles (which were outlined earlier in chapter 1) should direct the planning of a conservancy, rather than being considerations to be addressed after a decision has been reached to implement the conservancy approach in a particular area.

Underpinned by the above, the IEM procedure, which comprises three stages, is a approach **intended to serve as a guide**, not as a mechanistic series of steps to be followed unthinkingly. Different aspects, elements and components of the conservancy approach, depending on their particular scope and nature, will require that different components of this IEM procedural model feature more, or less, prominently.

The objectives and principles of IEM can be achieved initially through the use of an EIA, (often referred to as an Impact Assessment or IA), which entails the identification, analysis and evaluation of the environmental impacts of a planned activity (McCallum, 1996). The facilitation of this procedure, rather than impeding the development process, is aimed at resolving or mitigating any negative impacts and enhancing the positive impacts which may arise (Department of Environmental Affairs, 1992).

However, in the case of the conservancy approach, in order to meet the criteria and principles of environmentally sustainable development, it is not sufficient merely to undertake an IA. This concept is too broad and too vague. Thus it is suggested that the conservancy approach, both generically and as a specific initiative in an area such as the Nyae-Nyae, adopt a **threefold** IA process. The employment of the following three forms of assessment, will ensure that the approach is indeed a vehicle for sustainable development:

- **A Social Impact Assessment (SIA),**
- **An Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), and**
- **An Equity Impact Assessment (Eq.IA)** (which may include an Economic Impact Assessment (Ec.IA)).

Each of the above IAs focus on specific elements of a development initiative or project. Although they are closely interrelated and interdependent, each has been designed for a specific purpose and has distinctive strengths. In some cases, a stronger emphasis on one or the other may be required. It is however suggested that all three must occur to some degree in the planning, assessment and decision-making life cycle of the conservancy approach. In addition, the use of a fourth tool is suggested, namely a **Cumulative Impact Assessment (CIA)**, to holistically ascertain the medium and long-term effects and impacts of the implementation of a conservancy. It is therefore suggested that the IEM procedure, as described in Figure 1 (page 9), be adapted to include these four forms of assessment as discrete tools (albeit that they are interdependent and interrelated), as illustrated in Figure 7 on page 119.

A brief description of the principle functions of each particular form of assessment follows below.

#### 6.2.1.1 Social Impact Assessments (SIAs)

SIAs are concerned with ensuring that development projects should: alleviate poverty and meets basic needs as determined by the people who comprise the focus of the development initiative, increase local participation in decision-making; protect basic

human rights; maintain rural and cultural values; improve conditions of discriminated social categories; reduce incidence of disease; provide equity in host community; provide equal job opportunities and increase options for employment (UNEP, 1994). Anything contrary to this comprises a negative impact of a development initiative and alternatives must be explored.

This is particularly relevant to the Nyae-Nyae conservancy. An injection of a substantial amount of revenue generation (approximately N\$1 million per annum), is anticipated once the conservancy is approved. A SIA should be undertaken in order to ascertain the possible social impacts, both positive and negative, that this development may have on the local, predominantly hunter-gatherer, Ju/'hoansi community. Unless an SIA is undertaken, there is no means of anticipating the social and cultural consequences that the implementation of the conservancy approach may have. Whilst there will no doubt be many social benefits as a result of an injection of cash into this community, possible negative cultural and social impacts (such as alcoholism) may also result.

Social impacts and benefits should therefore be identified through the use of a SIA **prior** to the implementation of a conservancy. These must be considered during the planning and decision-making phases, and alternatives, management plans and mitigation measures devised. Ongoing monitoring, follow-up, verification of predicted impacts and consequent management measures comprise an important component of SIAs. The process should therefore not end with implementation of the project.

#### 6.2.1.2 Equity and Economic Impact Assessments (Eq.IAs and Ec.IAs)

Development projects, in order to contribute towards equity-led growth and sustainable development, should improve the welfare of the people within the project area, by increasing and introducing:

- fair distribution of incomes through the creation and improvement of employment opportunities;
- improved standards of living and diversification of the economic base;
- long-term balanced economic growth;
- improved food security; and
- a consideration of opportunity costs and comparison of the net future benefits with alternative projects

(UNEP, 1994).

In other words, an Equity Impact Assessment or Economic Impact Assessment must determine, through identification and consideration of positive and negative impacts, whether a particular project, proposal or initiative is best suited for an area or whether another project would realise more equity. This is particularly relevant to the Nyae-Nyae area and to the conservancy approach in general, particularly when exploring the various options for developing tourism ventures and initiatives (four basic scenarios - have been outlined in the previous chapter in section 5.2.6). For example, through the

use of an Eq.IA, different ventures may be assessed in order to determine which is best able to improve the welfare of the Ju/'hoansi through the attainment of the above-mentioned objectives. One form of venture may be more appropriate than another in terms of meeting the requirements of equity-led growth as a prerequisite for environmentally sustainable development. Unless an Eq.IA is employed, there is no mechanism for determining the equity implications (whether negative and positive impacts), of a particular development proposal or initiative in order to facilitate better decision-making regarding attainment of the equity requirement of truly environmentally sustainable development.

Additionally, prior to approval, it is legislatively required that a *"conservancy committee has an appropriate method for the equitable distribution of benefits to the members of such a conservancy"* (NCOAA,1995). This requirement could be strengthened and validated by the use of an Eq.IA at a generic level of the conservancy approach.

#### 6.2.1.3 Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs)

As already discussed, any development initiative must maintain and enhance the natural resource base and environmental productivity of an area, including physical and biophysical aspects, in order to be environmentally sustainable. All positive and negative impacts on environmental productivity and the natural resource base within the boundaries of a proposed conservancy should therefore be identified in the planning, assessment and development stages of a proposed conservancy if the above aim is to be achieved. To date, no comprehensive ecological study has been conducted in the Nyae-Nyae area. Unless such a study is undertaken as part of a comprehensive EIA, no means exists to predict, and subsequently manage and monitor, the environmental implications and consequences of implementing the proposed conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae. Unless an EIA is undertaken, there can be no baseline from which to measure whether a conservancy is achieving its goal of maintenance and enhancement of the natural resource base.

#### 6.2.1.4 Cumulative Impact Assessments (CIA)

There is a fourth Impact Assessment, a **Cumulative Impact Assessment (CIA)**, which is increasingly recognised as essential for the achievement of sustainable development. In Namibia, for example, all agents of development are compelled by the NDP1 to adopt the following perspectives:

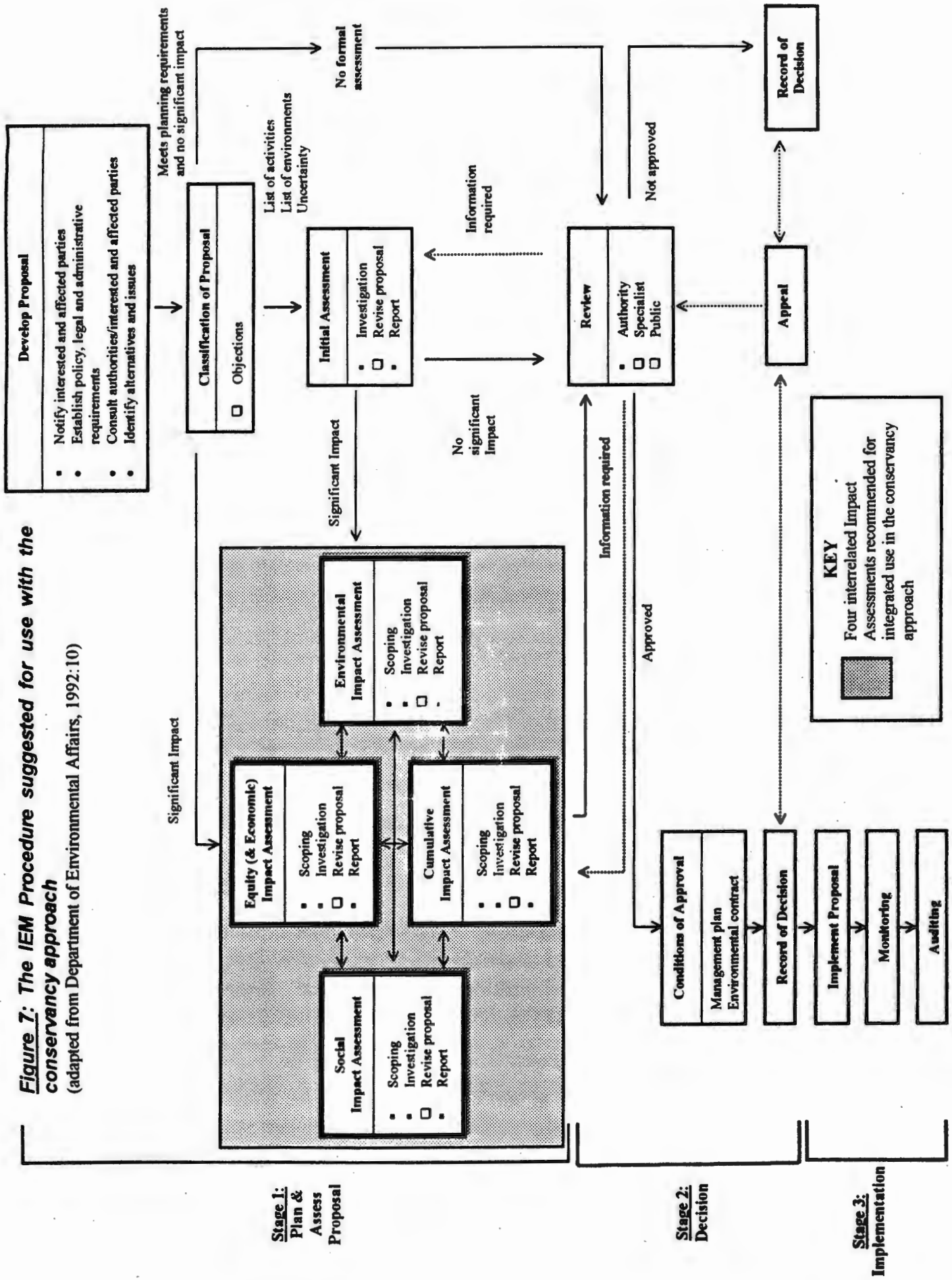
- A long-term view – consequences over 20, 50 and more years must be assessed;
- The impact on other sectors, and on other resources required by other sectors; and
- The impact on a wider region than the exact location of operation – ecological and socio-cultural chains spread far and wide.

(NDP1, 1995:240).

These requirements may only be met through the employment of a CIA. Informed by the findings of an EIA, SIA and Eq.IA, a CIA would seek to holistically understand the effects and consequences of the conservancy approach, both generically and specifically in the Nyae-Nyae region, over the medium and long-term. Unless a CIA is employed, it is possible that the conservancy approach may fail to meet the above NDP1 requirements and thus fall short of achieving environmentally sustainable development.

It is therefore suggested that the IEM procedure, as described in Figure 1 (page 9), be adapted to include these four forms of assessment as discrete tools (albeit that they are interdependent and interrelated), as illustrated in Figure 7 on page 119.

**Figure 7: The IEM Procedure suggested for use with the conservancy approach**  
 (adapted from Department of Environmental Affairs, 1992:10)



### 6.3 Use of Environmental Management Systems (EMS) to Strengthen the Conservancy Approach

An express purpose of IEM is environmental protection through environmental management. Detailed information is available on the planning, assessment and decision phases of a development proposal. However, although included in the IEM procedure, very little detail is provided about 'Stage 3: Implementation', in available EIA literature. Thus the employment of a interactive combination of the various forms of IAs falls short of two of the requirements detailed in this dissertation, namely that::

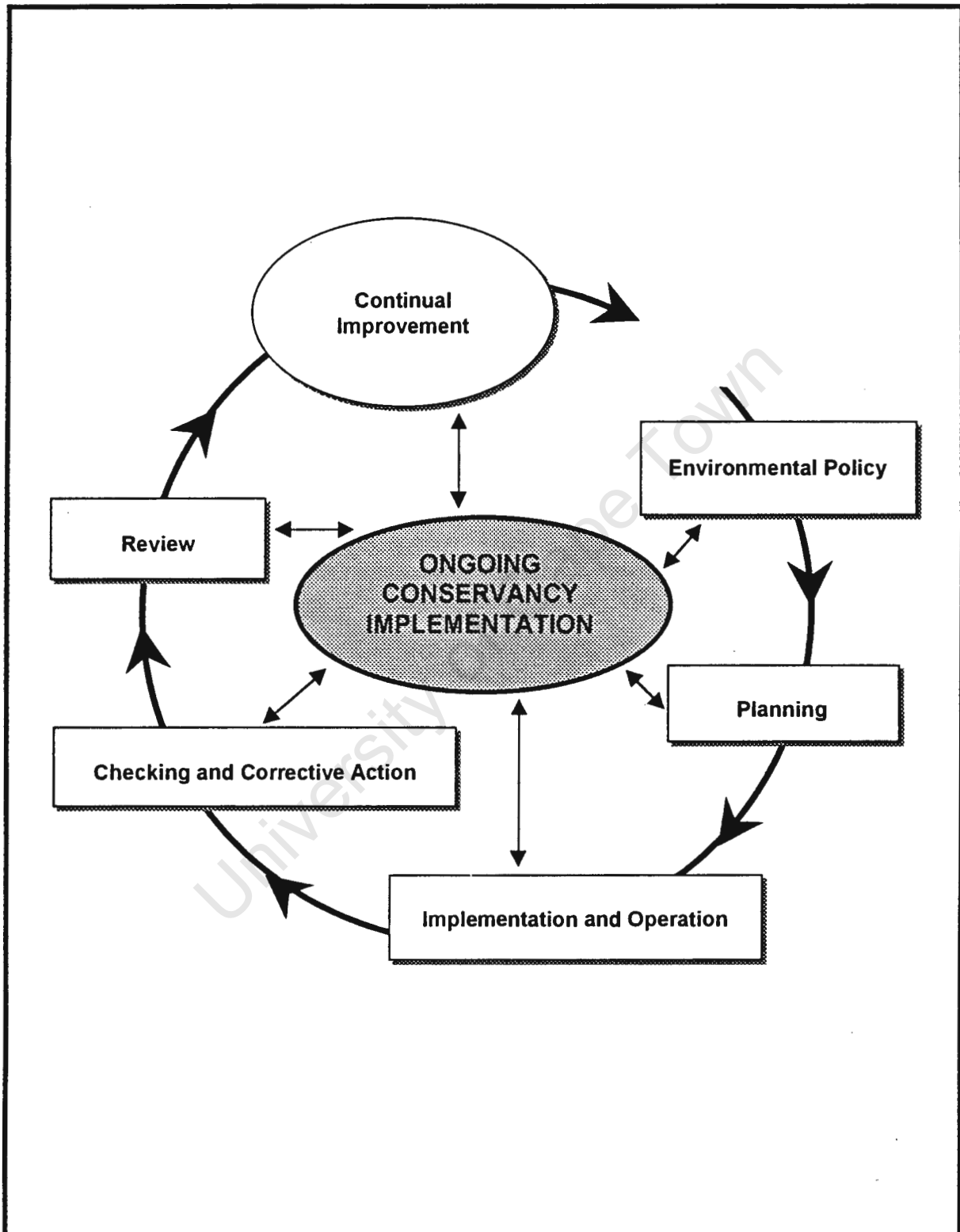
- Development must be viewed as a process which is not quantifiably measurable. Instead it should be measured through a **continuous affirmation** of meaning which requires a creative interpretation of growth and progress through increasing levels of human well-being, based on the community's desire to work towards a specific way of life and conception of reality; and
- Development must be approached as an **ongoing, continual learning mechanism** which drives the development process forward – such a concept requires the **cyclic, ongoing employment of EIAs**, a tool of IEM. This would include **evaluation, feedback, monitoring** and an **ongoing determination and analysis of alternatives**, for local, regional and national level proposals, policies, plans; programmes and projects;

In order to address these shortcomings, it is recommended here that a process known as an Environmental Management System (EMS), as outlined by *ISO 14001* (International Organisation for Standardisation, 1995), be incorporated into the IEM procedure described in Figure 7.

EMS focuses on managing the activities and impacts of a proposal's implementation in a dynamic cycle of planning, implementation, checking and reviewing. Although originally designed and intended for use within the corporate environment, this process is appropriate for use with projects, plans and proposals associated with the conservancy approach. A description of the EMS model is provided in Figure 8, and suggestions as to how each component can be applied to the conservancy approach follows.

In order to meet all the requirements for sustainable development as described in this thesis, it is recommended that the conservancy approach include a combination of IEM (particularly the various Impact Assessments), and EMS. This combination of IEM and EMS, could give rise to a new acronym – namely **IEMS**, for Integrated Environmental Management Systems (Hill, 1996). This integration of elements of the IEM and EMS procedures should encompass the whole life-cycle of the conservancy approach, i.e. planning, decision-making, implementation and ongoing monitoring and reviewing. This process is graphically depicted in Figure 9 and described further below.

Figure 8: The EMS Model (adapted from International Standards Organisation, 1995)



### 6.3.1 Environmental Policy

Once the suitability of a conservancy has been established through employment of the relevant IAs, a decision to proceed has been reached by the community and other stakeholders, and conditions of approval have been agreed upon (in this case, in the form of a signed conservancy application as detailed in the NCOAA, 1995), an Environmental Policy should be drawn up. Based on the objectives of the conservancy's establishment, this policy should be drawn up by the community or a recognised representative body, in the case of the Nyae-Nyae, by the conservancy committee. This policy should aim to ensure that every member of the Ju/'hoansi community understands what the implementation of a conservancy intends achieving, and how and why it should achieve these goals.

### 6.3.2 Planning, Implementation and Operation

The planning component of the EMS should include monitoring procedures and targets and levels to be achieved once the conservancy is implemented, as well as the time frame within which these must occur. In order to be appropriate to the local context, it is essential that these procedures and targets are underpinned by indigenous (Ju/'hoansi) social, economic, political and legal systems, conditions and orientations and the local cultural value system. It is imperative throughout the design and implementation of the EMS process that locally appropriate methods of collecting, presenting and disseminating information be developed and employed. The design of the EMS for a conservancy must draw upon the experiential knowledge of local people, which can then be used in a complementary fashion with any scientific data that may be necessary.

The EMS plan must therefore include explicit, detailed and realistic mitigation, monitoring and management components, with strong attention to monitoring not only physical and biophysical components, but social and economic impacts as well. Obviously these must be situation-specific. In the case of the Nyae-Nyae, such an EMS plan should be appropriate to the Ju/'hoansi management and cultural context. In addition, a collectively agreed on procedure to identify impacts and aspects of the conservancy should be described, in order to enhance effective management and control. Plans should centre around specific objectives and targets agreed upon by the Ju/'hoansi community (perhaps the conservancy committee) and the MET, and should identify and address relevant training needs and capacities. In addition, they should include checking and corrective action.

### **6.3.3 Checking and Corrective Action (Monitoring)**

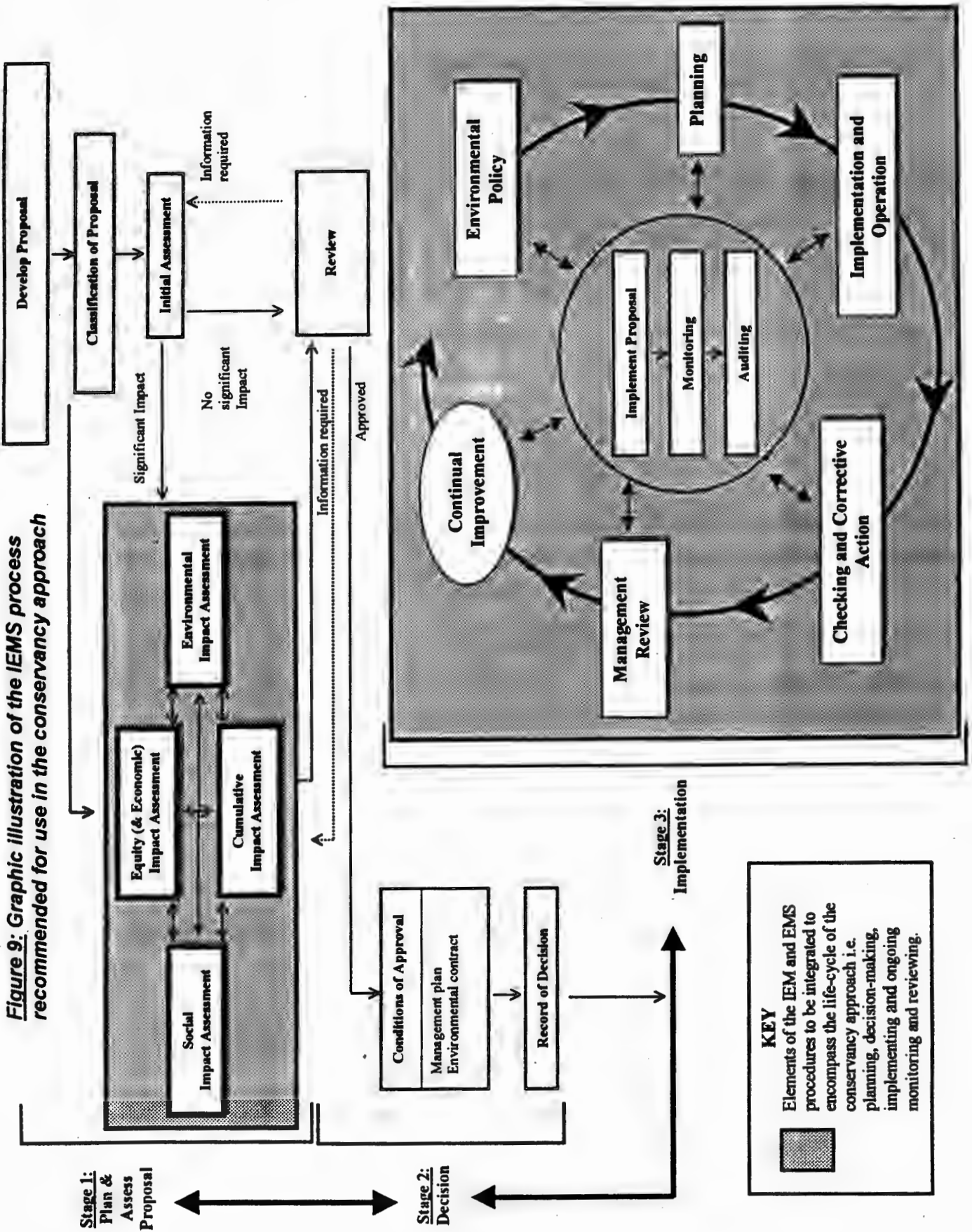
The employment of an EMS as an integral component of the conservancy approach, requires commitment from all stakeholders. Clear guidelines as to what should be done, and by whom are thus necessary and should include verification of impact predictions (both positive and negative), appraisal of mitigatory measures, adherence to agreed upon and approved plans, and compliance with the conditions of approval of the conservancy. Checking and corrective action (monitoring), thus ensures that the requirements of the conditions of approval of the conservancy are met. As the conditions of approval for a conservancy as detailed in the NCOAA, 1995, are designed to ensure sustainable development, checking and corrective action should focus on ensuring this end is being met through the implementation of a conservancy

Checking and corrective measures and actions thus comprise a reassessment of the conservancy approach in light of what occurs during implementation. As "those who live on the land and know it well are its best protectors", monitoring, undertaken in a partnership between the community and the MET, should ensure that the criteria and principles of environmentally sustainable development (as described in chapter 2), are met.

### **6.3.4 Management Review**

Management reviews should be undertaken by the conservancy committee in conjunction with the community, and in consultation with the MET. However, until there is evidence of sufficient capacity in the Nyae-Nyae conservancy to undertake this review, the MET and/or the conservancy committee may choose to enlist the help of external consultants or specialists. (This may also be a requirement of other stakeholders such as international and other donors.) The findings of a management review should be used to effect changes to improve the conservancy's management, implementation and consequent contribution to sustainable development.

**Figure 9: Graphic illustration of the IEMS process recommended for use in the conservancy approach**



## 6.4 Conclusion

The conservancy approach as applied in the Nyae-Nyae area of Eastern Bushmanland makes a substantial contribution towards sustainable development, and in so doing, to conservation of wildlife and other natural resources on this land. Thus, through its application in the communal lands of Namibia, the approach can be said (although not conclusively) to be on the way to achieving its principal goal, namely *"to promote sustainable environmental management, rural development and improved income and livelihoods for rural families and communities"* (MET, undated – c:8), i.e. to achieving sustainable development and environmental conservation. A major impediment to the attainment of these goals is nevertheless evident due to the absence of an IEMS at any point in the life cycle of the conservancy approach and its application.

This chapter has hence suggested that an IEMS be employed to encompass the whole life-cycle of the conservancy approach, both generically as an integral component of the approach, and specifically, in the Nyae-Nyae conservancy. Such an IEMS should not only be used with regards the development, assessment, decision-making and implementation phases of a conservancy, but also as an ongoing mechanism to ensure that any subsequent, related initiatives (such as tourism ventures or decisions regarding distribution and use of income generated by the conservancy), are in keeping with the dual goals of sustainable development and conservation. This, it is suggested, will make a substantial contribution towards strengthening the conservancy approach as a vehicle of environmentally sustainable development.

**CHAPTER 7**  
**CONCLUSIONS**

## **7 CONCLUSION**

This dissertation is based on the assumption that in order to achieve its goals, conservation should make a meaningful contribution to development i.e. should contribute towards improving the livelihoods of local communities and the wellbeing of the Namibian nation as a whole.

In order to establish whether the conservancy approach is able to achieve effective conservation, it was thus necessary to first establish whether the approach is a vehicle for sustainable development. To this end, through an exploration of past and current trends informing development in the Third World, a core list of criteria and principles of sustainable development were created in chapter 2. These criteria and principles were applied to the conservancy approach in a qualitative assessment (chapter 5) based on a case study in the Nyae-Nyae region of Eastern Otjozondjupa.

This assessment generated a number of preliminary findings which indicate that the conservancy approach is indeed a vehicle for environmentally sustainable development and thus has considerable potential to make a meaningful contribution to effective conservation. However, the lack of a significant consideration of the principles of IEM both generically within the conservancy approach, and specifically in the conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae in Namibia, comprises a major weakness in terms of the approach's contribution to sustainable development.

Accordingly, chapter six recommends that an Integrated Environmental Management System (IEMS) procedure, containing elements of the EMS and IEM process, should be used. This should be a fundamental component of the conservancy approach and should be used as a cyclic ongoing auditing, evaluation and adaptation mechanism during the application, implementation and monitoring of a conservancy. The employment of such a system throughout the life-cycle of the conservancy approach, whether generically or specifically in the Nyae-Nyae, could assist in strengthening the approach's contribution to sustainable development and consequently, conservation.

### **7.1 Future Threats to the Nyae-Nyae Conservancy**

It is not sufficient however, to merely apply the IEMS procedure to the conservancy approach in order to achieve sustainable development. The absence of a holistic regional land use plan, and the current lack of coordination and articulation between the different line ministries in Namibia, has resulted in a dearth regarding comprehensive policies governing land use and natural resource exploitation. Consequently, a number of threats exist to the conservancy approach's ability to achieve sustainable development and conservation, and examples of these may already be seen in the Nyae-Nyae area.

As mentioned in chapter 3, the NPC was originally established to co-ordinate the policies, plans and programmes of the different line ministries. It has however, not managed to fulfil this function. There is no indication that it may do so in the future.

The resettlement programme in the Gam area that borders the Nyae-Nyae conservancy has been described as "a mass dumping programme" (DRWS, anon. pers. comm.), that has resulted in natural resource degradation and habitat loss (Stander, pers. comm.). The erection of fences by settlers in the Gam area has resulted in the loss of approximately 20 giraffe who it is believed, were chased onto the fences and killed by Hereros using horses and guns (Berryman, pers. comm.) The resettlement programme, which was initiated and implemented by the MLRR, thus presents a direct threat to the Nyae-Nyae conservancy. The Ju/'hoansi only have control over the consumptive use of wildlife on their land but the ecological chains here are dependent on areas beyond the boundaries of the conservancy.

The provision and maintenance of a water supply for the people and the livestock in the region has recently become the responsibility of the Directorate of Rural Water Supply (DRWS). No communication exists between the DRWS and the MET. However, "*the provision of boreholes is also a conservation issue as more water points mean more people*" (Berryman, pers. comm.). "*The boreholes themselves are not a problem, but the fact is that they encourage migration to the area which means more hunting and poaching*" (ibid.). Water is also a natural resource and the fact that its use and management is not integrated in some manner with the conservancy approach, but rather remains the responsibility of a non-associated line ministry, presents a further threat to successful implementation of the conservancy approach and the achievement of its goals and objectives. Already, Herero and their livestock are moving in to the southernmost villages of the Nyae-Nyae area, claiming the need for water for their livestock (Vial, pers. comm.). Even if they do not stay and allow their animals to graze, trampling has a "huge impact on the grasses and fragile soil" of the area and the Ju/'hoansi claim that they cannot grow gardens anymore as the cattle destroy them on their way to watering points (ibid.). It is unconstitutional in Namibia to deny anyone on communal lands access to water.

It is clear therefore that the policies, plans, programmes and projects of the different line ministries (in this case the DRWS, the MLRR and the MET), often conflict with, and undermine, each other. In many situations, a given project or programme will render some people worse off, whilst contributing towards improving the lot of others. This is inconsistent with principles of sustainable development, such as equity and improvement of welfare, as encapsulated in the NDP1.

In order to strengthen the conservancy approach's value as a vehicle of sustainable development, it is suggested that the IEMS model be used, not only at a local development level, but also for policies, programmes, plans and projects nationally and regionally at a strategic planning level. Each line ministry should be held accountable, through legislated enforcement of the use of the IEMS, for the consequences of their policies programmes, plans and projects. Each line ministry should also be held

responsible for determining the feasibility of their programme under long-term sustainability criteria regarding Namibia's development. It is at this strategic level that the cumulative impacts of programmes, and a succession of such programmes, need to be studied and addressed (ibid.).

The conservancy approach's contribution (as well as that of any other development initiative involving natural resources and people), to sustainable development could be enhanced by broader inter-ministerial co-operation. Effective co-ordination is required for development policies at national, regional and local levels in order to achieve sustainable development. As social, economic and environmental issues are inter-related and inseparable, the establishment of LUEB (see chapter 3), with representatives from all relevant line ministries, could act as a holistic and multi-disciplinary team. LUEB could fulfil a necessary watchdog function, ensuring the use of IEMS to promote the idea that all development initiatives are part of a holistic and integrated approach based on effective co-ordination.

In the case of the Nyae-Nyae conservancy, the MET could assume responsibility, through the LUEB, for ensuring, through the use of IEMS, that regional development is integrated and does not conflict with, nor threaten, the achievement of sustainable development and conservation through the implementation of the conservancy approach.

Through the inclusion of an IEMS within the framework of IEM, the conservancy approach, both generically, and as employed and implemented in the Nyae-Nyae region, may make a substantial contribution to environmentally sustainable development. In so doing (and this brings this dissertation back to its starting point and inherent intention), the conservancy approach is a valuable vehicle for conservation.

# POSTSCRIPT

## POSTSCRIPT

At the beginning of the journey represented by this thesis, the Ju/'hoansi were grappling with issues concerning the completion of an application for approval of a conservancy (see Attachment 2) in the Nyae-Nyae. During the compilation of this thesis, this application was successfully completed and signed by the Eastern Otjozondjupa regional councillor and subsequently the governor. A final telephone call to Windhoek confirmed that the application is still with the regional head of the MET. Approval and legal declaration however appears imminent. Once approved by the regional head of the MET, all that remains according to the Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1975, is for a certificate of declaration of a conservancy to be approved by the Minister of the MET (see Attachment 4). It should thus be no more than a few weeks before the Nyae-Nyae conservancy becomes a reality. History has been described as a record of the struggle towards some known or unknown objective. Whether the Nyae-Nyae conservancy will manage to contribute to sustainable development, and more importantly to conservation of the Nyae-Nyae area and all its inhabitants, at the end of the day, remains for time to tell.

There are numerous other considerations that were beyond the scope of this dissertation that warrant exploration and further investigation (particularly once the conservancy is officially declared). These include following up on the goals, objectives and anticipated consequences of the establishment of a conservancy in the Nyae-Nyae, with particular reference to social, environmental, equity, economic and cumulative impacts and consequences. In addition, a closer analysis of current land use planning in Namibia would be of value, as contradicting policies currently threaten the potential contributions the conservancy approach may offer. Political considerations also have a bearing on the approach's ability to effectively achieve its dual objectives of conservation and development. A study of the tensions within Namibian politics would also be valuable. Finally, the question of ecotourism, including such considerations as carrying capacities, capacity building and enhancement, and ecological and social consequences will also have a direct effect on whether the conservancy approach will continue to be a vehicle with considerable potential for conservation and development.

It is strongly felt by the author however, that the suggestions contained in this dissertation have some value for strengthening the conservancy approach's ability to achieve its dual objectives. Namibia is in a unique position, having a small population and many, as yet, unspoilt wilderness areas. Accordingly, the country needs to recognise and take cognisance of the dynamics, properties, fragility, opportunities and limitations of this unique environment, and this is currently particularly relevant to the Nyae-Nyae area. Design, planning and implementation of all development activities must protect and enhance this sensitive environment. Ill-advised or short-sighted development activity may cause or contribute to additional environmental degradation, and in so doing, place additional obstacles in the paths of development and conservation. Unless planning and decision-making are informed holistically, "progress" or "development" may prove to be nothing more than the exchange of one problem for another.

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# **PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS**

### Personal Communications

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# ATTACHMENTS

# **ATTACHMENT 1:**

Nature Conservation Ordinance Amendment Act, 1995.



"Non consumptive use" shall mean use not entailing the permanent removal of individual members of a wildlife population and shall include use for recreational, educational, research, cultural, aesthetic or related purposes;

"Minister" means the Minister of Environment and Tourism

"Wildlife Council" means an authority registered by the Minister under section 28B

Amendment of section 14  
of Ordinance 4 of 1975.

2. Section 14 of the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 1975, is hereby amended by the insertion of the following subsections 14(3) and 14(4) after subsection 14(2):

(3) The Minister may, subject to section 28A, declare an area in a communal area, excluding proclaimed conservation areas, to be a conservancy to enable inhabitants of such conservancy to derive benefits from the management and consumptive and non consumptive utilisation of wildlife in such conservancy.

(4) The Minister may designate a Wildlife Council, for an area designated by him or her as provided in section 28B, and falling within a communal area, excluding proclaimed conservation areas, and areas registered as Conservancies under section 28A, to enable inhabitants of such area to derive benefits from the management and consumptive and non consumptive utilisation of wildlife in such area.

Amendment of section 28  
of Ordinance 4 of 1975.

3. Section 28 of the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 1975, is hereby amended by the substitution for paragraph (a) of subsection 1 of the following paragraph:

(a) "Subject to the provisions of chapter IV and to section 28A and 28B no person shall, without the written permission of the [Cabinet] Minister hunt any huntable game, huntable game bird or exotic game or any other wild animal on any land including communal land owned by the [Government of the Territory or a representative authority] Government of Namibia.

Insertion of section 28A in  
Ordinance 4 of 1975 -  
Conservancies.

4. The following section is hereby inserted in the principal Ordinance after section 28:

28A (1) The Minister may, at the request of a community inhabiting a communal area or portion thereof, register an area to be a Conservancy, provided that he or she is satisfied that:

- (a) a conservancy committee has been established which is representative of the community residing in the conservancy and includes one or more representatives or nominees of the traditional authority, whether established in terms of section 2 of the Traditional Authorities Act 17 of 1995, or otherwise, in conformity with section 10(2)(c) of that Act;
- (b) such conservancy committee has a constitution displaying a commitment to, and strategy for, the sustainable management and utilisation of wildlife within the conservancy;
- (c) such conservancy committee has the ability to effectively manage the income and funds of the conservancy and has an appropriate method for the equitable distribution of benefits to the members of such conservancy derived from consumptive and/or non-consumptive use of wildlife;
- (d) the conservancy committee has duly applied for registration of the conservancy in a format prescribed by regulations;
- (e) the geographic area of the conservancy has been sufficiently identified by way of its physical boundaries taking into account the views of the Regional Council.

(2) Subject to the provisions of subsection (3), and subject to quotas agreed to by the Minister, a conservancy committee shall have responsibilities for, and rights to, consumptive and non-consumptive management and sustainable use of wildlife resources, on behalf of the members of a conservancy, including hunting and trophy hunting rights, rights to revenues and other benefits allocated to or generated from such management and use, as well as the right to enter into agreements and to retain, manage and distribute its funds and assets.

(3) The provisions of Chapter III of the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 4 of 1975, insofar as they apply to owners or lessees of land, but excluding provisions regarding fencing, shall *mutatis mutandis* apply to Conservancies and Conservancy Committees.

(4) Should the Minister at any time be of the opinion that the conditions under which a conservancy was declared in terms of subsection (1) are not being met, he or she may vary or impose such further conditions regarding such conservancy or rescind his or her registration of the conservancy, provided that

representations are invited from the conservancy committee concerned by notice of not less than 30 days prior to such imposition, variation or rescission.

Insertion of section 28B in  
Ordinance 4 of 1975 -  
Wildlife Councils.

5. The following section is hereby inserted in the principal Ordinance after section 28A:

**28B (1)** The Minister may, after consultation with the communities concerned, register Wildlife Councils in respect of communal lands or designated portions thereof, excluding privately owned measured farms, proclaimed conservation areas, and areas designated as conservancies under section 28A.

(2) The functions and duties of a Wildlife Council shall be to manage on a sustainable basis, and to co-ordinate the consumptive and non-consumptive utilisation of wildlife in the designated area, including revenues and other benefits allocated to, or generated from, such management, not falling within conservation areas or conservancies referred to in section 28A and subject to quotas agreed to by the Minister and the provisions of the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 4 of 1975.

(3) The provisions of Chapter III of the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 4 of 1975, insofar as they apply to owners or lessees of land, but excluding provisions regarding fencing, shall *mutatis mutandis* apply to Wildlife Councils.

(4) Should the Minister at any time be of the opinion that the conditions under which a Wildlife Council was declared in terms of subsection (1) are not being met, he or she may vary or impose such further conditions regarding such conservancy or rescind his or her declaration of the Wildlife Council, provided that representations are invited from the Wildlife Council concerned by notice of not less than 30 days prior to such imposition, variation or rescission.

Amendment of section 29  
of Ordinance 4 of 1975.

6. Section 29 of the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 1975, is hereby amended by the insertion of the following subsection 29(3) after subsection 29(2):

(3) A Conservancy Committee or a Wildlife Council, shall be the owner of all huntable game, huntable game birds and exotic game in a conservancy, or area under the jurisdiction of Wildlife Council, as the case may be, as long as such huntable game, huntable game birds and exotic game are lawfully on such conservancy or area under the jurisdiction of such Wildlife Council.

Amendment of section 84  
of Ordinance 4 of 1975.

7. Section 84 of the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 1975, is hereby amended:-

(a) by the addition of the following sub-paragraph after paragraph (y):

(z) the conditions relating to the establishment, registration, constitution and procedures applicable to Conservancies and Conservancy Committees under section 28A;

(b) by the addition of the following sub-paragraph after paragraph (z)

(aa) the conditions relating to the establishment, registration, and procedures applicable to Wildlife Councils under section 28B;

Short title.

8. This Act shall be called the Nature Conservation Ordinance Amendment Act, 1995.

## **ATTACHMENT 2:**

Application for declaration of a conservancy.  
Government Gazette, November 18, 1996.

Form 1

**REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA**

**MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM**

**NATURE CONSERVATION ORDINANCE, 1975**

**APPLICATION FOR DECLARATION OF A CONSERVANCY  
(Section 24A/regulation 155B)**

1. Name of conservancy: .....

2. Name of chairperson: .....

Address: .....  
.....  
.....

3. Description of the geographic boundaries of the area in respect of which the application is made:

(a) if the conservancy has been surveyed, please append a description of the boundaries in the Schedule and a sketch-map/plan; or

(b) if the conservancy has not been surveyed, provide a description of the physical geographic boundaries or markers. (Append the description on a separate sheet if there is insufficient space on this form).....  
.....  
.....  
.....

4. Endorsement by Governor of the region:

I, in my capacity as .....of the .....  
Region certify that to the best of my knowledge there is no reason why the boundaries of the area stated above should not be accepted as the boundaries of the .....conservancy and have satisfied myself that the area concerned is not subject to any lease or is not a proclaimed game park or nature reserve.

.....  
Signed: Governor

.....  
Date

5. Please attach the following to this application -

- (a) a copy of the conservancy committee constitution;
- (b) a list of names, including identity numbers and addresses of the conservancy committee members;
- (c) a copy of the register containing names, identity numbers and addresses of members of the community in respect of which this application is made.

6. Representative nature of the conservancy committee.

Briefly describe how your committee was chosen and by whom:

.....

.....

.....

.....

7. Name of Treasurer: .....

Financial accounting experience: .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Approved/Not approved .....Permanent Secretary

8. Management and distribution of conservancy funds.

Briefly describe how the conservancy's funds will be managed and distributed:

.....

.....

.....

9. Inspection/Feasibility study.

If a Ministry of Environment and Tourism inspection or other feasibility study has been carried out for the proposed conservancy, please attach a copy of the inspection report or feasibility study to this application.

10. Application.

We, the members of ..... community in our capacity as members of the proposed ..... conservancy committee, hereby apply for declaration of the whole area/part of the area described in the Schedule and shown on the sketch-map/plan as a conservancy in terms of section 24A of the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 1975 (Ordinance 4 of 1975), and certify that to the best of our knowledge, all the necessary requirements have been complied with.



## **ATTACHMENT 3:**

Persecution continues for Southern Africa's San people.  
Cape Times, July 16, 1997.

CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS FORCED REMOVALS AND RACISM

# Persecution continues for Southern Africa's San people

**"WE MUST be the best-studied people in the world, but our socio-economic position is declining in spite of all the research," says one San leader. MELANIE GOSLING reports.**

**T**HE San people or "Bushmen" of Southern Africa, who have been oppressed and persecuted for centuries under tribal and then colonial rule, are now having to fight land dispossession, racism and forced removals under modern democratic governments.

This emerged yesterday at the international Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage conference in the city, which focuses on the plight of the descendants of the people who lived in this region thousands of years ago.

As leaders from a variety of Khoisan groups — from Namibia, Botswana and South Africa — took the microphone yesterday, some speaking in their own languages with translators, a picture emerged of an aboriginal people which

for seven years in a tattered tent town at Schmidtsdriif near Kimberley, where they were settled by the then-SADF — have been told by the Northern Cape government that the needs of Tswana people come first.

Mr Mathambo Ngakaaja, representing the Kuru Development Trust in Botswana, accused academics of steering clear of contentious subjects in their research on the Khoisan, because they saw their relationship with the government as more important.

"We must be some of the best-studied people in the world, but our socio-economic position is declining in spite of all the research," said Ngakaaja.

He said some of the research — for example, that which described the San as nomadic — had been used to exclude San from owning land.

"In my country, the government won't give land to San people

"In the Caprivi, San are being moved; in the central Kalahari Game Reserve, San are fighting to retain rights to live where they have lived for thousands of years.

"The San have killed fewer animals there in all those thousands of years than the government has with its vet fences," he said.

While Ngakaaja acknowledged the value of academic research, he said researchers should become involved in issues more relevant to the San than "studying the size of people's ears".

Mr Samora Gaborone, commissioned by the Kalahari San to fight the removals, told the conference: "In Botswana we have a crisis and the academics here have made no reference to that."

"It is very typical of academic opportunism, where (it is) their relationship with the government that matters.

"When is this conference going to address the burning issue of

these removals?" he asked Gaborone said one village had already been moved, and although these were not forced removals in the sense of the apartheid regime, where people's houses were bulldozed, he said they were "forced" in a more subtle way.

The Botswana government had given the people "half information", by saying it wanted them to move so it could help them with development.

They were also told that the government would stop services like schools and clinics, and would only provide these at places outside the Kalahari park, thereby forcing people to move.

"If you take away schools, the parents will leave to follow the schools, because they think of their children's future — in the same way that if you take a goat's kid away, it will follow wherever you take that kid," Gaborone said.

Aid workers had been

instructed by the government not to discuss eco-tourism development options with the San in the Kalahari, so they could not become financially independent in that way.

Development workers have said they believe the route of this land dispossession lies in racism against the San by the Botswana government.

Mr Axel Thoma, of the Working Group for Minorities in Southern Africa (Wimsa), said a lot of Namibian government officials were discriminatory towards San people.

He said the group of 6 000 Kxoe in the West Caprivi Game Reserve, who had lived there for thousands of years, were being forced out by the Namibian government from an area of land — about 100km long and 30km wide — that belonged to them.

Much of it was pristine bush and riverine forest, teeming with

game. The Kxoe had embarked on a natural resources management plan — funded by USAID in agreement with the Namibian government — whereby they would use the natural resources in the area to become self-reliant.

They had started to build a tourist camp from which they could earn R100 000 a year from eco-tourism. They were also negotiating with a safari company, who would train them and hand over management of the camp to the community within five years.

Then the cabinet took a decision to remove them, having "negotiated" the deal with a man who was not the leader of the group.

Thoma said the real leader of the Kxoe, Chief Kipile George, had not attended this conference in Cape Town because he was attending to the removals crisis.

"He is going to the United Nations next month to present his case," he said.



**UNDER THREAT:** Willem Ruijper, a member of the San delegation, because they say we move; farmers in Namibia won't employ San people because they say we move and the government won't provide schools and clinics for us because they say we move. "There are issues which are burning the San."

## **ATTACHMENT 4:**

Certificate of declaration of a conservancy.  
Government Gazette, November 18, 1996.

University of Cape Town

Form 2

**REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA**

**MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM**

**NATURE CONSERVATION ORDINANCE, 1975**

**CERTIFICATE OF DECLARATION OF A CONSERVANCY  
(Section 24A/regulation 155B)**

I hereby certify that the Minister of Environment and Tourism has by Government Notice ..... declared the area set out in that notice as ..... as a conservancy under section 24A of the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 1975 (Ordinance 4 of 1975), and that the committee set out in the application dated ..... has been duly recognised by the Minister as the conservancy committee for the ..... Conservancy.

Signed:

.....  
PERMANENT SECRETARY:  
ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM

Date:

.....