

ECONOMIC DISPARITIES AND SOCIAL TIES: CHANGING AND UNCHANGING
PATTERNS OF NATURAL RESOURCE USE THROUGH RECIPROCAL
GIFT-GIVING IN A RURAL SOCIETY IN NORTH-CENTRAL NAMIBIA

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ABSTRACT This research was designed to examine the impact of the expanding economic disparities resulting from the emergence of rural entrepreneurship on the social ties of a rural society. My research focused on a local society of Owambo agro-pastoralists in north-central Namibia and devoted particular attention to the relationships between the private use of natural resources involved in managing enclosed cattle posts and the communal use of natural resources involved in reciprocal gift giving among households. Some individuals living rural areas within Owambo society have secured permanent jobs and invested their salaries in the management of a "new" style of livestock farming involving cattle posts. As a result, the economic disparities among households have expanded in terms of both income and access to natural resources. On the other hand, Owambo society is characterised by a norm of reciprocity, and households often give gifts of food on a daily basis. Although this practise of giving food as a gift varies according to the social relationships between households, the distinction between households that give and those that receive rests primarily on the differential access to natural resources related to holding cattle posts. However, the use of natural resource has never completely shifted to private control. Indeed, less wealthy households have used various strategies, including the frequent practise of gifting marula brew to other households during marula season, to maintain stable livelihoods. Although this brew has a special value as a tribute to "traditional" leaders, its use has changed as villagers have achieved greater independence and as relationships between villagers and "traditional" leaders have become less clear. Thus, people optimise their opportunities for giving marula brew as part of their livelihood strategies because the practise maintains and creates social ties in the context of growing economic disparities and increasing private use of natural resources.

Key Words: Social Change, Natural Resource Use, African peasant, Reciprocity, Semi-arid Environment

INTRODUCTION

Recent changes in African agrarian societies, such as increasing deagrarianisation and expanding rural-urban relationships, have changed local societies and the ways in which local people maintain their livelihoods (e.g., Bryceson, 1996). People residing in arid rural areas have also tended to diversify their approaches to maintaining their livelihoods and earning money by starting various business ventures. Although these activities have been viewed positively from the perspective of economic development or rural industrialisation, they also may magnify the economic disparities among households in a local society. On the other hand, most residents of rural areas depend strongly on natural resources to maintain their lifestyles, and the exacerbation of inequalities and disparities in access to land and natural resources likely

increases the vulnerability of households with limited access to these resources (MA, 2005). The wise use of natural resources and the reduction of this vulnerability require equal access to land and natural resources.

The natural resource management system in southern Africa is characterised by two peculiar features. One involves the coexistence of different land-ownership systems, communal and private, which represents a structural legacy of the colonial era (Nelson, 2010; Murombedzi, 2010). Although most of the country is governed by “traditional” authorities who manage natural resources located on communal land, this system has been criticised due to inequalities and the patrimonial use of natural resources, and calls for a more democratic organisation have been issued (Murombedzi, 2010). The second peculiar feature involves the social and political movements in post-apartheid society that address the governance of land and natural resource management. Post-apartheid society acknowledges the importance of substituting democracy for the ethnic politics that had dominated various political and social domains under apartheid. Thus, the role of “traditional” leaders and authorities has become controversial in the context of a democratic system. One trend in southern Africa is the introduction of Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) policies, which is the primary framework for efforts related to nature conservation. Under this rubric, increasing numbers of CBNRM conservation areas have been established through the coordinated efforts of local communities, government officials, and many other actors. Although CBNRM policies are designed to facilitate proper governance of natural resources, many people live outside of CBNRM areas. Thus, it is important to examine various approaches to achieving the proper governance of natural resources in each area.

Local people have proposed several new approaches to land and resource management in the post-apartheid context. In Namibia, the use of fences to enclose communal land has been practised since the 1980s. It has been reported that wealthy people tend to enclose land and natural resources (e.g., see VISION 2030 published by the government; Werner, 2001) through such activities as establishing cattle posts, which is tantamount to privatising grazing land. Thus, new approaches to land and natural resource management and usage may be related to recent changes in rural society, such as the diversification of the activities involved in maintaining a livelihood and the emergence of rural entrepreneurs.

On the other hand, many scholars have noted the unique character of African peasant society. Hyden (1980; 1983) focussed on the behavioural characteristics of African peasants in an “economy of affection,” which is influenced by moral economy theory. This style involves informal and reciprocal economic activities that fall outside the purview of the national government (Hyden, 1980; 1983). These informal economic activities sometimes play important roles in the livelihoods and social security of households, especially those with less wealth. However, recent developments, such as the increase in economic disparities and the emergence of entrepreneurs in rural areas, could change this characteristic style.

Using a perspective that focussed specifically on issues of economic vulnerability, this research examined the impact of the increasing economic disparities related to rural entrepreneurship on the social ties characterising a rural society. My research focussed on a local society of Owambo agro-pastoralists in north-central Namibia and devoted particular attention to the relationships between the private use of

natural resources involved in managing enclosed cattle posts and the communal use of natural resources involved in reciprocal gift-giving among households. Finally, I considered how livelihood changes affected the vulnerability of members of a rural society.

I will first examine the process by which high-income households emerged and explore the present situation, which is characterised by economic disparities among households. Next, I will examine the uses of natural resources and focus especially on the private use of natural resources, which involves the establishment of cattle posts, and on the communal use of natural resources, which involves reciprocal gift-giving. I will then focus on relationships between villagers and “traditional” authorities.

RESEARCH AREA AND METHODS

I. Research Area

I conducted fieldwork at U village in the Oshana Region of north-central Namibia. U village is located in a suburban area 10 km west of the town of Oshakati, which is the central town in the Oshana Region. Many seasonal rivers in this region flow from north to south (Fig. 1), and flooding from the north occurs during the rainy season, from December to March. The mean annual rainfall, which is concentrated during the rainy season, is 400–500 mm (Mendelsohn et al., 2002).

The population of the Oshana Region is approximately 161,916, and population density is 18.7/km² (Republic of Namibia, 2003). The population in the same region in 1991 was 134,884 (Republic of Namibia, 1995); thus, the population had increased by 20% over a 10-year period. And then, the residential areas have rapidly expanded toward frontier.

According to the 2001 population census, the population of U village is 590 (97 households). The dominant ethnic group in this area is the Owambo. The Owambo are agro-pastoralists who migrated to this area from the northeast (Williams, 1994). The name “Owambo” is a generic term, and the group contains subgroups. Most residents of U village are members of the Kwambi subgroup. The Kwambi people live in units of nuclear or extended families residing in the same homestead. According to my data, those living in one homestead comprise a household, which is the unit of food consumption. Members of the Kwambi subgroup build homesteads that are separated from one another, forming scattered settlements. They earn their livelihoods by engaging in agricultural activities, including livestock farming, seasonal fishing in seasonal rivers, and gathering wild vegetables or edible insects. Some villagers work in and around the

village or in the town.

Owambo agricultural practises include cultivating crops such as pearl millet (their staple food), sorghum, and cowpeas by farming fields surrounding their houses. Most people have livestock, including cattle, goats, sheep, and

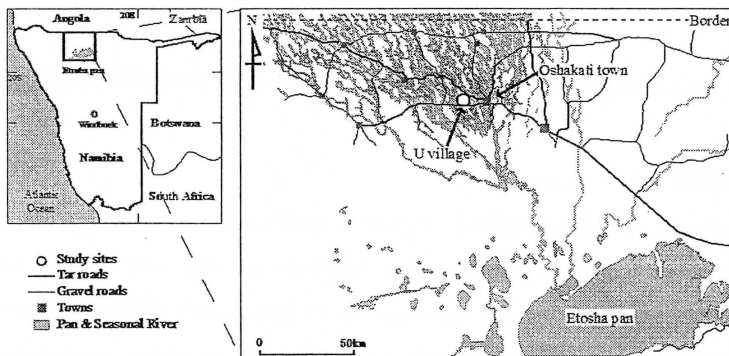


Fig. 1 Research Area

donkeys. Cows are milked during the rainy season, and the milk is used to make dairy products. People sometimes slaughter their livestock for meat or sell the livestock at local markets.

Namibia was officially colonised by Germany in 1884. After the defeat of Germany at the end of World War I, South West Africa became a League of Nations mandated territory under the administration of South Africa in 1920. During the period of German rule, local people lived in reserves. Under South African rule, beginning in the 1960s, reserves were known as homelands, which were lands designated by the colonial government for different "ethnic groups". Most Owambo villages were located within their homeland (Ovamboland). The colonial government permitted ownership of private land in freehold land but not in the homeland. Homelands were managed by "native nations," which were introduced by the colonial government to provide indirect rule. This organisational structure was composed primarily of senior headmen, who managed the granting of usufructs for the land and natural resources in each village. After independence, the system with two forms of land remained, but the names were changed: communal land (formerly homeland) and commercial land (formerly freehold land). The traditional land-management system is retained in the national legal system, which coexists with local authorities. Thus, people cannot own land, but they are entitled to access via the principle of usufruct.

II. Methods

Field research was carried out from September 2002 to March 2003, September 2004 to April 2005, and February 2007 to April 2007 in U village in the Oshana Region. During the field research, I resided in U village and observed natural resource use, subsistence, and daily activities. To clarify the changes in natural resource use, I interviewed homestead owners and their wives in 30 households of U village and surveyed the economic conditions of the households, such as the number of persons employed, total income, participation in economic activities (e.g., selling crops and livestock), number of livestock, and management of a cattle post. In addition, in 2002 and 2004, I counted the number of livestock per household and measured the areas of cattle posts and farming fields using a hand-held receiver of global positioning system (GPS).

From February to March 2006, I asked people to record their experiences of gifting food stuff such as meat, milk, and edible insects in a notebook to determine the frequency of the use of this particular gift. And from February to March 2007, I also recorded their experiences of gifting marula brew in a same way.

EMERGENCE OF HIGH-INCOME HOUSEHOLDS IN A RURAL AREA OF NORTH-CENTRAL NAMIBIA

I. Economic Disparities among Households in U Village

The Kwambi people engage in various livelihood-related activities including agricultural work to achieve self-sufficiency and non-agricultural activities to earn money. Some people who live in rural area work at permanent jobs in urban or rural areas. In U village, members of 10 households (30%) have jobs. Their salaries are much higher, at times by factors of 20–30, than those of temporary workers, contributing

to the increase in economic disparities among households in this rural society. This research classified all households into three economic groups, high-income, middle-income, and low-income, based on 1) income derived from permanent jobs, temporary jobs, and pensions and 2) relationships with private grazing land (cattle posts) and possession of highly valued items such as cars and tractors. The monthly average incomes of these households differed greatly (e.g., N\$6130, N\$615, and N\$180), and high-income households tended to invest their incomes in buying cars, tractors, livestock, and manage the cattle post, further increasing differences among households in access to natural resources.

I examined the emergence of high-income households by collecting the life histories of 17 heads of households. During the colonial era, most people (primarily men) were recruited by colonists to work in cities and on commercial farms as contract labourers. The occupations presently held by members of high-income households were obtained after independence. Thus, current high-income-job holders maximised the opportunities available after the repeal of apartheid and the implementation of efforts to achieve social equality. Before independence, however, some people in high-income households owned cars and tractors and received some income some through labour. Despite experiencing inhumane working conditions, some individuals were able to capitalise on their opportunities.

II. Establishment and Management of Cattle Posts

Cattle posts, most of which are enclosed by fences, are the grazing lands located outside of villages. The cattle post in U village was established in 1982 (Fig. 2), and the number of cattle-post holders subsequently increased, particularly during the 1990s. By 2006, there were nine cattle posts owned by eight of the 30 households (27%). These cattle posts were established around the areas where temporary grazing camps had been set before the 1980s (Fig. 2).

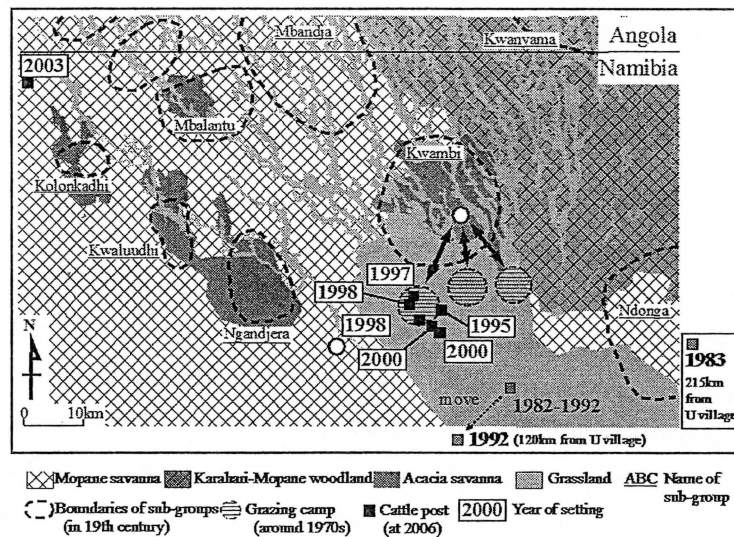


Fig. 2 Locations of Former Grazing Lands and Cattle Post

Location of cattle posts surveyed using hand-held receiver of GPS. Location of temporary grazing camps in the 1970s according to interviews and hand-held GPS.

The establishment and maintenance of cattle posts require large monetary investments. All cattle-post holders are members of high-income households who invested considerable portions of their salaries to

establish and manage this new livelihood; such costs include employing herders to care for the livestock.

Cattle posts are also used as places for gathering natural resources. From September 2004 to April 2005, mopane worms, mopane roots, and thatched grasses were brought to the village from cattle posts (Table 1). The holders of cattle posts consumed these products themselves and also gifted them to their neighbours and friends. In addition, some natural resources were used more frequently because hired herders were able to gather natural resources throughout the year. For instance, mopane worms were eaten only infrequently at U village in the past; however, they could be gathered, gifted, or purchased with greater ease following the development of cattle posts.

Table 1. Type of Gift Materials and Natural Resources Brought from Cattle Posts

Types	Items	Gift*	Natural resources brought from cattleposts**	
			Number of times	Gift
Crops	Pearl millet		2	
	Cow pea	○	2	
	Watermelon	○	2	
	Banbara groundnut	○	0	
Fruits	<i>Berchemia discolor</i>	○	0	
	<i>Ficus sycomorus</i>	○	0	
	<i>Diospyros mespiliformis</i>	○	0	
	Guava	○	0	
	Papaya	○	0	
Plant	Mopane root	○	1	○
	Mopane stem		1	
	Thatch grass	○	1	○
Insects	Mopane worm	○	1	○
	Stink bug	○	0	
	Grub	○	3	
Meat of livestock	Cattle	○	0	○
	Sheep	○	0	○
	Dove	○	0	
	Hen	○	0	
Livestock products	Milk	○	13	○
	Cattle dung	○	3	○
Other Meat	-	○	9	○
Fish	Clarias sp.	○	0	
Brew	Marula	○	0	

Purchased gifts were excluded. *Gift materials found during field work in 30 households from Sep. 2004 to Apr. 2005 are shown here. **Natural resources brought from cattleposts in 8 households during Sep. 2004 to Apr. 2005 are shown here.

III. Reduction in Communal Natural Properties in U Village as a Result of Land Enclosures

In addition to enclosing land for use as cattle post, villagers have been erecting fences surrounding land within the village since the 1980s. Between 1970 and 1996, all the land within the village, with the exception of the river bed, was completely covered by fences. This phenomenon has not only emerged in U village, but actually represents a widespread practise in the former Ovamboland (homeland). During the era of social and political independence, relationships between villagers and headmen have also become less clear. Moreover, people who were exiled to other countries returned to this area and found their land holdings reduced. Under these conditions, people spontaneously erected fences around their lands.

Before erecting fences, villagers must be granted a usufruct by the headman to cultivate the field and the trees that grow in the field. Other land and natural resources are communal property shared by the villagers, who freely use the trees on these lands. After land is enclosed, however, the land in the village belongs to

all households. Thus, communal natural resources have decreased since the 1980s, increasing the disparities in access to natural resources among households as a result of differences in access to areas for cattle posts and to land in the village. Common natural properties have been important for people without natural resources, for whom they serve as a safety net. The use of and access to certain natural resources by villagers have changed, whereas access to some kinds of resources has continued unchanged.

PRIVATE AND COMMON USES OF NATURAL RESOURCES

I. Overview of Natural Resource Use by U Villagers

Each household held a usufruct for the land and natural resources within the area surrounded by their fence, and each household generally used the enclosed natural resources for private purposes during the period of my field research. Thus, I observed large differences in the variety and quantity of natural resources to which each household had access; such disparities were due to differences in the physical condition of the land, the size of the land, and the holders of cattle posts. On the other hand, people also tended to communally use some portion of natural resources through three primary methods. One method involved negotiations between two households for the common use of a specific resource such as fuel wood or edible fruit. The second method involved the distribution of a specific resource, marula juice, through cooperative work. In Kwambi society, the main cooperative work is squeezing marula juice from marula fruit during the period from February to March. The third method involved the distribution of natural resources such as daily food, fuel wood, and marula brew through reciprocal gift giving among households. This paper focussed particularly on the common use of natural resources through cooperative work and reciprocal gift giving among households.

II. Daily Gifting

Kwambi households, like those in other agricultural societies in Africa, often gift various natural resources. In Kwambi society, people commonly follow a certain norm of reciprocal help, which is known as *ethipa lyothingo* (literally, "neck bone"). Two meanings are contained in this phrase: (1) when people slaughter their livestock, they should give away livestock meat, which is hung around the necks of their neighbors; and (2) households should strongly connect with one another, like neck bones. Members of different households help one another with daily labour and give surplus food, such as meat, milk, and edible insects to other households. This practise functions to increase the opportunities for households to obtain food and maintain social relationships within and outside the village. Table 2 shows the natural resources that were gifted among 30 households between February and March 2007. Some resources were brought from cattle posts. Because these are located in a natural environment that differs from that of the village, holders of cattle posts can access special natural resources such as mopane worms. Additionally, due to the large number of livestock in cattle posts, holders can provide large quantities of milk as well as cattle dung for use as daily fuel.

From February to March 2007, 30 households gifted 64 times of daily foodstuffs such as milk and edible insects and, given 72 gifts from other households (include other village). Although the pattern of giving

was based on various degree of social relationships, differences in the economic conditions of the households involved are also noteworthy. Table 2 shows the gifting patterns according to economic group. High-income households were most likely to be givers (81% of these households gave gifts), and low-income households were least likely to be givers (40% of these gave gifts). The opposite tendency occurred with respect to receiving gifts: only 28% of high-income households were recipients, whereas 40% of low-income households were recipients. Moreover, households tended to be givers or receivers according to economic status as defined in terms of food, which was reflected in the number of cattle and cattle posts associated with each household. Holders of cattle post sometimes gifted natural resources brought from cattle posts to other households in their home village. Foods received from other households and used as side dishes were consumed as daily food. Fig. 3 shows the patterns, eating times, and ways of obtaining side dishes among high-income, middle-income, and low-income

Table 2 Ration of Gifting-given Times for Side Dish's Material

	Giving	Given
Total	64 times	72 times *
High Income Households (n=10)	81%	28%
Middle Income Households (n=10)	2%	26%
Low Income Households (n=10)	17%	40%

* include given from households in other villages. Research period is during Feb to Apr 2006.

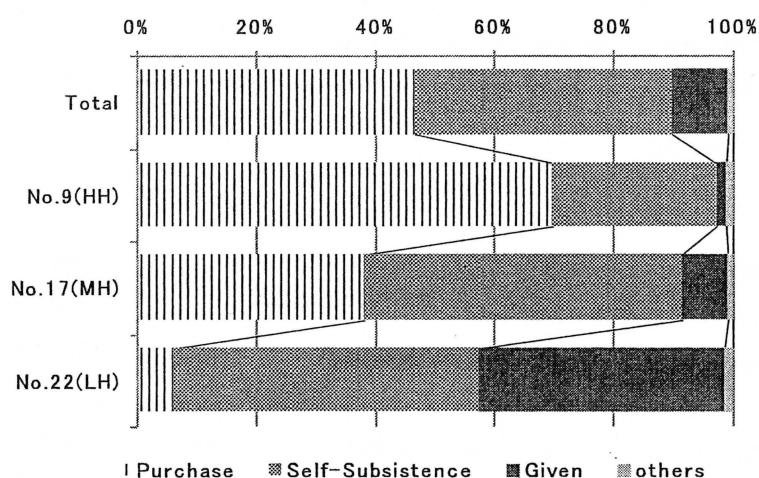


Fig. 3 Ratio of Obtaining Ways of Side Dishes Material in 3 Households Cases

HH: High-income Household, MH: Middle-income Household, LH: Low-income Households. "No." is households' number. Number of times of obtaining ways was surveyed from writings by three women in different household who recorded the kinds of daily fuel in notebook from October 2004 to March 2005.

households from October 2004 to March 2005. High-income households obtained side dishes primarily by purchasing and producing them; on the other hand, low-income household obtained them from other households. Thus, the practise of gifting natural resources under the norm of "neck bone" was especially

III. Gifts of Marula Brew

Although daily food was gifted among households based on various relationships, gifts tended to move from high-income to low-income households. However, low-income households did not just wait for gifts of food. They practised various strategies for managing their daily livelihoods, especially the gifting of marula brew.

Marula brew is made from marula fruit and is called *omagongo*. Villagers actively gifted marula brew (*omagongo*) to other households during the “marula season” (February and March). Brewed from the juice of marula fruits, marula brew was made by women in almost all households during the fruit-ripening season of February and March. In 2007, over 80% of households produced marula brew. A long tradition of drinking *omagongo* and gifting it to other households exists among the Owambo. For example, 22 households in U village gifted this brew to other households from 10 February to 31 March 2007, for a total of 525 gifts. Of these, 387 (74%) were gifts to households in U village.

The pattern of gifting marula brew according to the economic status of households was opposite to the pattern of gifting food. Low-income households constituted 48% and high-income households constituted 12% of the givers; on the other hand, high-income households were the recipients in 42% of the instances, and low-income households were the recipients in 27% of the instances. (Table 3)

Table 3. Ration of Gifting-given Times for Malura brew

	Giving	Given
Total	308 times	308 times*
High Income Households (n=10)	12%	42%
Middle Income Households (n=10)	40%	31%
Low Income Households (n=10)	48%	27%

* exclude given from households in other village. Research period is from Feb to Mar 2007.

One reason for gift giving was to acknowledge help with the production of the brew. Marula juice is squeezed through the collective work of several women from different households. Working from a different location each day, women created squeezing groups in which distribution of the proceeds was not governed by reciprocity. Indeed, the juice belonged to the holder of the fruit trees, and women who helped but did not own any trees could not initially obtain juice. However, after brewing was complete, those women could obtain marula brew as a gift. That is, people often gifted marula brew as acknowledgement for work. Additionally, those who did not help brew or squeeze the marula juice also received brew as a gift. In 2007, women in three households never helped in the collective labour of other households because they were busy for job. All three households had high incomes. However, these three households received gifts of marula brew that were at least as large as those given to other households.

Needless to say, people gifted marula brew based on various social relationships, one of which involved reciprocation for the receipt of a daily food product. For example, one woman who gave marula brew to wealthy households noted that the gift was an acknowledgment of the daily gifts of milk and meat she had received. Thus, the practise of giving marula brew contributed to the maintenance of “neck-bone” relationships, especially for non-wealthy households.

SOCIAL MEANING OF GIFTS OF MARULA BREW

Although I focused on the relationships between gifting marula brew and household economy, people also give marula brew for many reasons related to social relationships (e.g., Kreike, 2003). Marula brew has special value in Owambo society because this brew is used as a tribute to “traditional” leaders. One elderly woman told that each household was given a usufruct for a marula tree and that women had to produce marula brew from each marula fruit and were required to gift marula brew to the “traditional” leader. Another woman noted that they had to gift most of the brew to the “traditional” leader, but that they could also use some of the brew for themselves and for gifts to other households. “But”, in her words, “the gifts [to non-leaders] were not as frequent as in the present situation.”

In 2006 and 2007, however, no households gifted brew to “traditional” leaders. In addition, people used marula juice freely, reflecting that the need to share this substance with the “traditional” leader did not serve as a constraint. Thus, the relationships between “traditional” leaders and villagers have changed during the past several decades.

During the period of transition to independence and the establishment of post-apartheid society, relationships between “traditional” authorities and villagers have become less clear. Under these circumstances, villagers have used various livelihood strategies. One has involved erecting fences around land to privatise access to the natural resources, and some wealthy people have developed a new style of livestock farming through establishing cattle posts. The second has involved the maintenance or initiation of reciprocal gift giving under the norm of “neck bone”; this practise has been especially prevalent among less wealthy people during marula season.

SUMMARY

In Owambo society, some people obtained jobs in the formal sector even while living in rural areas, and most also initiated a new approach to livestock farming through the establishment of cattle posts. Additionally, people began to enclose land within fences and to privately use natural resources. These trends have been associated with differential access to natural resources and related economic disparities. On the other hand, the Owambo also continue follow the norm of reciprocity, and daily foodstuffs are frequently gifted among households. Although this daily gifting practise is based on social relationships, the distinction between giving and receiving households is also defined according to access to natural resources related to cattle posts.

However, natural resource management has never been completely privatised, and people have maintained and created methods for communal use of resources. Less wealthy households, in particular, have adopted various strategies to enable the maintenance of stable livelihoods, including gifting marula brew to other households during marula season. Although this brew has special value as a tribute to “traditional” leaders, its use has changed during the development of independence, when relationships between villagers and “traditional” leaders became less clear. That is, people capitalised on opportunities to give marula brew in support of their livelihood strategies, which maintained and created social ties in the

context of expanding economic disparities and the increasing privatisation of the use of natural resources.

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COMMERCIALIZATION OF COMMUNAL LIVESTOCK FARMING AND NATURAL RESOURCE USE IN FORMER DAMARALAND, NORTH-WESTERN NAMIBIA

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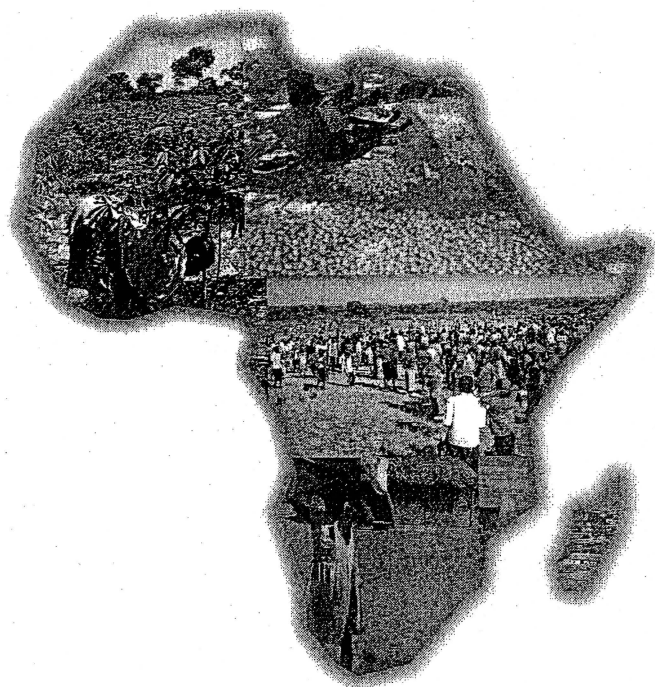
ABSTRACT Commercialization of livestock farming has increased rapidly in recent years among communal farmers in northwestern Namibia. This paper focuses on the rural entrepreneurs who have benefited the most from a livestock auction system, and includes a case study of the influence of these entrepreneurs on the natural environment at a micro-scale. The auction system allows entrepreneurs to make decisions regarding sale of their livestock according to the price offered and their household's demand for cash. The availability of cash income has stabilized their livelihoods and allowed them to purchase luxury items. This situation has been made possible by the introduction of an auction system in the town nearest to the study area. Data about vegetation and goat herding reveal that goat herding patterns in the study area have adapted to the limited availability of natural resources, as suggested by variations in herding routes and foraging patterns. Furthermore, the emergence of entrepreneurs in the study area has stabilized the total number of livestock and could potentially alleviate the vulnerability of natural resources.

Key Words: Livestock farming, Commercialization, Livestock Auction, Arid Environment, Namibia

INTRODUCTION

In arid and semi-arid areas of Africa, pastoralism is an important livelihood activity. However, fluctuations and changes in climate and natural resources have made this living uncertain. African pastoralists have coped with living in a vulnerable environment by adopting nomadic lifestyles and by incorporating other livelihood strategies. However, some studies have suggested that livestock herding by local people has led to overgrazing and degradation of vegetation (Swift, 1996; UNEP, 1999). Northwestern Namibia has been considered particularly at risk of vegetation degradation by overgrazing (Sullivan 1996). While the notion that overgrazing automatically leads to vegetation degradation has been challenged in recent years, human use of the natural environment in arid and semi-arid areas of Africa undoubtedly comes with significant risks.

Namibia has two sectors of livestock farming: commercial farms and communal farms. Commercial farms have developed fallow lands into vast pastures, contributing to the adequate use of natural resources (Tainton, 1999). Communal farms have practiced traditional herding, with livestock herders leading a nomadic lifestyle and allowing land to lie fallow. However, in recent years, commercialized farming has increased rapidly among communal farmers (Werner, 1997). The development of the auction system in communal areas has promoted this change. As a result, natural resource use has also changed dramatically on communal farms, such as with the enclosure of common lands (Werner, 1997). It is



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Session1 A Reconsideration of the Relationship between Policies and the Responses
of Local People in Politically Regulated Areas

Presenter: Yumi NAKAYAMA (Kyoto University), Chisato YAMASHINA (Kyoto University), Takehiro IDO (Kyoto University)
Commentator: Dr. Scarlett Cornelissen (University of Stellenbosch)

Session2 Marginalisation, Autonomy, and Livelihood from the Perspectives of
Displacement and Gender in Rural Zambia

Presenter: Rumiko MURAO (Kyoto University), Noriko NARISAWA (Kyoto University)
Commentator: Dr. Oleosi Ntshebe (University of Botswana)

Session3 The Emergence of Small-Scale Entrepreneurs in Rural Areas and the Impact
on Local Societies

Presenter: Chihiro ITO (Kyoto University), Yuichiro FUJIOKA (Kyoto University), Koki TESHIOGI (Kyoto University)
Commentator: Mr. Yohei MIYAUCHI (Embassy of Japan in South Africa)

Discussant: Dr. Pempelani Mufune (University of Namibia), Dr. Isaac Nyamongo (University of Nairobi)

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