

Chapter 6

Kunene, Oshana and Oshikoto Regions

By Ute Dieckmann



6.1 General background

In the 19th century and early 20th century, the Hai||om San as an ethnic group lived in the region stretching from the area then known as Owamboland to present-day Etosha, Grootfontein, Tsumeb, Otavi, Outjo and Otjiwarongo (Dieckmann 2007b: 35-36) (see map next page). Today the Hai||om are concentrated in parts of Kunene, Oshikoto and Oshana Regions, constituting the majority San population of these regions, therefore these three regions are dealt with in a single chapter.

Estimations of the number of Hai||om in Namibia vary. Budack's estimate in 1980 was 11 000 (see Widlok 1999: 23), and the census of 1991 (the latest available data on Hai||om) found 7 506 Hai||om speakers (see Widlok 1999: 19). However, the Hai||om language is closely related to Nama/Damara (also of the Khoekhoegowab language family), and our study found that many Hai||om, in response to the census question of "main language spoken at home", had stated that it was "Nama/Damara".

6.1.1 Kunene Region

Kunene Region is situated in the north-west corner of Namibia. In terms of size it is the country's second-largest region (approximately 13.9% of Namibia's total land area), covering an area of about 115 260 km² (National Planning Commission (NPC) 2012b: 43). The population density is very low (0.8 persons/km² compared with the national average of 2.5). Kunene comprises six political constituencies: (from north to south and then east) Epupa, Opuwo, Sesfontein, Khorixas, Kamanjab and Outjo. The region has one municipality (Outjo), two towns (Khorixas and Opuwo) and one village (Kamanjab). Much of western and north-western Kunene is very remote (reflected, for example, in some of the *National Household Income and Expenditure Survey* (NHIES) figures, e.g. access to services (Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA) 2012: 83-96). The coastal belt is formed by the Namib Desert, with its sand dunes in the Skeleton Coast National Park. The most northern parts of Kunene are largely mountainous, without easy road access. East of the mountainous central escarpment is the Etosha Plain (consisting of the Etosha Pan, grasslands and mopane woodlands), and south of Etosha is commercial farmland.

For Kunene, the census of 2011 recorded a population of 86 856 (4.2% of Namibia's population), compared with 68 735 in 2001 (NSA 2013: 15). The region has 18 495 households, with an average household size of 4.6 persons, and 40% of the households are headed by a female (NSA 2013: 15). Only 65% of people over 15 years of age are literate, while the Namibian average is 89%. Compared with other regions, Kunene has the highest percentage of inhabitants older than 15 who have never attended school (37%) (NSA 2013: 15).

The Herero are the largest ethnic group in Kunene (47.4%), followed by the Nama/Damara (32.4%)¹ and Owambo (9.4%) (NSA 2013: 171).

The main sources of income in Kunene are salaries and wages (49.4%), followed by subsistence farming (15.8%) and pensions (13.1%) (NSA 2012: 56).

Kunene ranks below the Namibian average in respect of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) (Levine 2007: 8). In addition, according to the Human Poverty Index (HPI) of Namibia's 13 regions, people in Kunene had a 33% probability at birth of not surviving to age 40 (Levine 2007: 10), which is relatively low compared to the Namibian average of 42%, and 39% of the population lived in households that spent more than 60% of their total income on food. Thus Kunene's HPI ranking (38) is above the Namibian average (33) (Levine 2007: 10-11).

The San in Kunene Region

The vast majority of the San in Kunene are Hai||om. The south-eastern part of the region was originally occupied by Hai||om (Dieckmann 2007b: 35-36). Since pre-colonial times, they have had intensive interactions with neighbouring groups (Widlok 1999: 30-32). With the increasing settlement of the area by white farmers during colonial times, their livelihood activities changed and farmwork became the predominant livelihood strategy of many Hai||om. After Independence, more and more Hai||om who had been living on farms moved to towns (mainly Outjo). This was due to the shift taking place in commercial agriculture (above all, the passing of Labour Act 6 of 1992, later replaced by Labour Act 11 of 2007 – see Chapter 12 on San farmworkers) as well as rapid population growth, resulting in increased competition in the farm labour market (Suzman 2001b: 16-17).

¹ Note that many Hai||om are included in this category.



According to the 2001 census data, only 448 people (or 0.7% of the region's population) spoke a San language at home in 2001 (author's calculations based on NPC 2003a). However, as already mentioned, this figure is highly misleading as the Nama/Damara and Hai||om languages are closely related: many Hai||om, according to our study, said in the census questionnaire that they spoke 'Nama/Damara'.

6.1.2 Oshana Region

Oshana Region is situated in north-central Namibia, and includes the area west of the Etosha Pan within the Etosha National Park. Covering an area of about 8 647 km² (NSA 2012: 45), Oshana is Namibia's smallest region (NPC 2007a: 17). The Etosha land surface area (including Okaukuejo) within Oshana represents almost one-third of the region (NSA 2012: 17). Oshana comprises 10 political constituencies: Okaku, Okatana, Okatjali, Ompundja, Ondangwa, Ongwediva, Oshakati East, Oshakati West, Uukwiyu and Uuvudhiya (NSA 2012: 45). The region has one municipality (Oshakati) and two towns (Ondangwa and Ongwediva), and Oshakati is the regional capital (GRN 2007a: 18).

The 2011 census recorded a population of 176 674 for Oshana, compared with 161 916 in 2001, and a comparatively high population density of 20.4 persons/km² (NSA 2013: 19).

Oshana Region has 37 284 households, with an average household size of 4.5 persons, and 54% of the households are headed by females. Ninety-six per cent of the region's inhabitants over 15 years of age are literate, and 7% of these inhabitants have never attended school (NSA 2013: 19).

Oshiwambo speakers constitute the largest language group in Oshana, comprising 93.7% of the region's population (NSA 2013: 171).

Households rely on a mix of on-farm subsistence agriculture and off-farm livelihood strategies, as reflected in the NHIES data: the main sources of income in Oshana are salaries and wages (42.8%) followed by subsistence farming (23.5%) (NSA 2012: 52-56).

Oshana Region ranks far below the Namibian average in respect of the HDI (0.548 compared to the Namibian average of 0.557). In addition, according to the HPI of Namibia's 13 regions, people in Oshana had a high probability (49%; Namibian average = 42%) at birth of not surviving to age 40. Thirty-three per cent of the region's inhabitants lived in households that spent more than 60% of their total income on food. Therefore, Oshana's HPI ranking (37) is above the Namibian average (33) (Levine 2007: 8, 10-11).

The San in Oshana Region

Hai||om have lived in what today is Oshana Region for a long time, mainly in the area which became the Etosha National Park. Data on San living in Oshana but outside the park is very scarce. The 2011 census recorded only 0.1% of the region's inhabitants speaking a San language at home (NSA 2013: 171). The *Oshana Regional Poverty Profile* (RPP) undertaken in 2006 reported as follows: "While communities in Oshana Region are ethnically, relatively homogeneous, with stratification within those who speak the various Oshiwambo dialects, the Hei||om [sic] San, who were the first inhabitants, are generally the poorest and most marginalised group. Their limited livelihood strategies rely predominantly on charity and the harvesting of resources only." (NPC 2007a: 21). Takada identified major San camps and settlements in Oshana but outside the Etosha National Park as Eheke, Okatyali, Onamutai, Ondangwa and Oshakati (Takada 2007: 76). The RPP also mentioned a few San in Ongenda (20 km south of Ondangwa) and Onaushe village (74 km south-west of Oshakati) (NPC 2007a: 37, 40). For Onaushe the RPP stated: "It is said that Onaushe was originally a San village. Oshiwambo-speaking people began settling in the village in 1972 and they are now the majority. There are also Ovahimba people living in the community. ... The San were originally hunter-gatherers but today they, as well as some Ovatjimba work in fields that belong to Oshiwambo people in order to gain income. Other main livelihood activities include the harvesting of thatching grass, manufacturing crafts, making mortar and pestles for pounding grain, manufacturing granaries and collecting mopane worms." (NPC 2007a: 38, 40). According to the RPP, the San in Ongenda were considered to be the most vulnerable group in the community. Most San households were "very small, in disrepair and dilapidated with very small, infertile omahangu fields" (NPC 2007a: 47).² It can be concluded that the situation of the San in Oshana (apart from those within Etosha), living among a large majority of Owambo neighbours, is comparable to the situation of the San in Ohangwena Region (see Chapter 7).



² It should be noted that the *Oshana Regional Poverty Profile* – and certain other regional poverty profiles, e.g. Caprivi (Chapter 11) – mirrors common stereotypes in respect of San, e.g. being "unable to adapt from being a specialised hunter/gatherer culture to a livestock and crop farming culture" and "not accustomed to saving for a rainy day as they have always lived for today". It clearly presents outdated evolutionistic ideas in noting that the San "have been hunted and persecuted for more than a century and a half by *more advanced* [author's emphasis] cultures whose members are of larger stature and inclined to 'bully' the smaller San" (NPC 2007a: 47) (see also Chapter 15 on culture).

The situation of the Hai||om living within the Etosha National Park differs to the situation of Hai||om in the rest of the region because Etosha's status as a national park has meant that it has not been increasingly populated by other ethnic groups. The Hai||om living within the park (see more detail below) rely on a mixed set of livelihood strategies including employment, pensions and casual work, and are better off in terms of poverty than those in communal areas.

6.1.3 Oshikoto Region

Oshikoto Region is situated in the central-north of Namibia, south of Ohangwena Region and west of Kavango Region. It covers an area of about 38 685 km². Oshikoto has 10 political constituencies: Eengodi, Guinas, Okankolo, Olukonda, Omuntele, Omuthiya Gwiipundi, Onayena, Oniipa, Onyaanya and Tsumeb (NSA 2012: 45). The region has one municipality (Tsumeb) and is divided into two parts with different land tenure systems: in the southern portion, large-scale farming units held under freehold title; and in the remaining portion, communal land governed by customary land tenure systems. However, private enclosure of land in the eastern and southern parts of the communal area has taken place for decades, and is increasingly limiting access to land and natural resources for poor rural communities (e.g. the San). The 2011 census recorded a regional population of 181 973 (8.6% of Namibia's population) compared with 161 007 in 2001, and a population density of 4.7 persons per km² (NSA 2013: 20). The census found 37 400 households in Oshikoto, with an average household size of 4.8, and 49% of the households were headed by females. The Owambo constitute the largest ethnic group in the region (86.2%), followed by Nama/Damara (5.7%). The main sources of income in Oshikoto are subsistence farming (41.3%) followed by salaries and wages (27.9%) (NSA 2012: 52, 56).

Oshikoto Region ranks as the fifth poorest region in Namibia in terms of the HDI, and 50% or more people in the region are considered as poor (NPC 2007b: 1). In addition, according to the HPI of Namibia's 13 regions, people in Oshikoto, like those in Oshana, had a 49% probability at birth of not surviving to age 40; the third highest illiteracy rate; and the highest share of the population living in households (53%) that spent more than 60% of their total income on food (Levine 2007: 10). Therefore, Oshikoto Region, along with Omusati and Kavango Regions, had the highest HPI ranking (all 45) of the 13 regions.

The San in Oshikoto Region

Oshikoto Region has traditionally been occupied by San groups – mainly Hai||om, with a smaller proportion of !Xun – living mostly in the freehold areas, with just a few groups living in the communal areas. But, as in Kunene Region, with the increasing settlement of the area in colonial times, most of the Hai||om became commercial farmworkers. As in Kunene, after Independence many Hai||om farmworkers were dismissed and moved to towns (e.g. Tsumeb) or newly established resettlement farms (e.g. Tsintsabis – see below). Mangetti West, situated on the border between the commercial farming district in the south and the communal area in the north, was an area where the Hai||om could continue to practise their traditional lifestyle as the area was not developed into commercial farms (Widlok 1999). The few notes in the *Oshikoto Regional Poverty Profile* suggest that the situation of the San living among Owambo communities in the communal area of Oshikoto is similar to the situation of those in Oshana and Ohangwena (NPC 2007b: 38, 72, 118).

According to the 2011 census (NSA 2013: 171), 1.6% of the population spoke a San language at home (again, the data does not reflect the actual number of Hai||om speakers because of the similarity of the Hai||om language and Nama/Damara).

6.2 Research sites in the three regions

This section introduces the five research sites in Kunene, Oshana and Oshikoto Regions:

- **Kunene:** Etosha Poort (in Outjo);
- **Oshana:** Okaukuejo (in Etosha National Park);
- **Oshikoto:** Tsintsabis, Farm Six and Oshivelo.

We had planned to include more sites in Kunene Region, but at the workshop in Outjo in February 2012, the Chief of the Hai||om Traditional Authority, David ||Khamuxab, residing in Outjo and on the Seringkop resettlement farm south of Etosha, made it clear that he did not want this research taking place (see subsection on the Hai||om Traditional Authority, page 223). It should be mentioned that other community members supported this research and indicated that we should go ahead as planned. To avoid further conflict in this regard, we abstained from visiting the resettlement farms south of Etosha, where approximately 620 Hai||om were living in 2012 (Lawry et al. 2012: 8). In this chapter we include some data collected on the resettlement farms in 2011 and 2012 for the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) in Namibia (Lawry et al. 2012), as well as other available information, in order to address the gap in data caused by the opposition of the Hai||om chief (see subsection on Hai||om resettlement farms around Etosha, page 202).

This section provides a brief summary of the locations, populations, histories and livelihood strategies of the research sites. These sites were purposefully selected to provide a representative picture of the socio-economic situation of Hai||om as they constitute the vast majority of the San in the three regions.

Table 6.1: Main characteristics of the Kunene Oshana and Oshikoto research sites

Research sites	Urban/rural status	Land tenure	Language groups	Population status (numerical)	Institutional support	
					GRN	NGOs
Etosha Poort (in Outjo)	Urban	Residential area in town	Hai om	Minority	Resettlement farms	WIMSA support for kindergarten
Okaukuejo (in Etosha)	Rural	National park restcamp (residential zone for staff)	Hai om	Mixed	Bread baking, carpentry, hair salon (all failed)	None
Tsintsabis	Rural	Resettlement project	Hai om and a few !Xun	Mixed	Many	Many
Farm Six	Rural (remote)	Settlement on state land	Hai om	Majority	None	None
Oshivelo	Rural	Settlement	Hai om	Mixed	Bread baking, coffin making (both failed)	WIMSA support for Kindergarten

Note: In this report, MLR group resettlement projects are called “resettlement projects” and San resettlement farms resorting under the San Development Programme (SDP) run by the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) are called “resettlement farms”. Although these farms are also group resettlement projects, they are commonly referred to as “resettlement farms”.

6.2.1 Etosha Poort in Outjo

Location

Outjo, a town with 8 445 inhabitants (NSA 2013: 39), is situated in the south-east of Kunene Region, 70 km north-east of Otjiwarongo and 100 km south of the Etosha National Park. Outjo became a municipality in 1944, and is the commercial centre for the surrounding farms (Dieckmann 2007b: 18).

Population

Most people of Outjo hail from the following ethnic groups: Nama/Damara, Herero, Afrikaner, Owambo, Hai||om and German. The main economic activities in the town and Outjo District as a whole are livestock (i.e. cattle) farming, charcoal production and tourism. In addition, some industries have been established in town, e.g. a stone crusher, a milling plant, a charcoal factory and a steel construction company (Dieckmann 2007b: 18).

Most of the Hai||om residents, if not all, were living in the 'location' named Etosha Poort, which accommodated around 70% of the total population of Outjo (Dieckmann 2007b: 19). Etosha Poort is comprised of different 'quarters' which came into existence gradually and often informally with increasing urbanisation. Subsequently, the quarters were developed and declared as a residential area. With regard to the ethnic composition, Herero and Kavango tended to live in separate quarters, with some living in quarters occupied predominantly by Hai||om. The Owambo mostly lived together in one place because they were allocated an area where the old compound for contract workers used to be. Most of the Hai||om were living in various quarters: Camp 4, Camp 5, Soweto, 7de Laan (7th Avenue) and Sixty. A few Hai||om had houses in a quarter named †Oabatere (which had been built as a project where women could get a loan to build their own house). The names of the quarters reflect the informal process by which they had come into existence. Most of the Hai||om in Outjo had not received any help from the municipality, but had to build their own houses. Since 2008, the Shack Dwellers Federation had provided members, mostly Hai||om, with a loan to build brick houses. Also active was the Build Together programme, through which people bought land from the local authority.

The vast majority of the Hai||om were living in corrugated-iron shacks; very few were living in brick houses – it was estimated that only 25-30 Hai||om households in Outjo were living in brick houses. In the quarters with brick houses, some people had bought land and had built their own houses (some were still repaying their debt). Water and electricity, where available, were provided by the municipality and charged monthly. Electricity was provided in Sixty and Soweto (mostly by way of pre-paid metres, except in the case of brick houses), and had recently also become available in Camp 4. The municipality was in the process of making electricity available in the other quarters. In Soweto, Camp 4 and Camp 5, there was a pre-paid system for water, with standpipes (taps on the streets), whereas all residents of 7de Laan had to collect water in containers from standpipes in other quarters. In Sixty and †Oabatere, both brick and corrugated-iron houses had water and flushing toilets, whereas in the other quarters there were no sanitation facilities. In Soweto, compost toilets had been built at the houses, but because it could take up to six months for the tanks to be emptied, people were using the bush instead.

Etosha Poort had two kindergartens (one run by the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) and the other by the Pentecostal Church) and a primary school. Outjo had four schools: a primary school; Etosha Junior Secondary School (up to Grade 10); Outjo Secondary High School (up to Grade 12); and Privaatskool Moria (a private school attended mostly by Afrikaans children). Outjo also had a hospital (with an extension for TB patients) and various supermarkets. Etosha Poort had several small shops, many shebeens and an office of the Hai||om Traditional Authority. WIMSA had an office in Outjo, but apart from running the kindergarten, this NGO did not play a very active role for Hai||om in Outjo.

Originally (since time immemorial), the area around Outjo was inhabited by the ancestors of the Hai||om; Damara people moved into the area much later. The Hai||om name for Outjo was *Tsō/aus* – *tsō* means to 'pull' or 'draw in' (i.e. swamp/quicksand), and */aus* means 'waterhole' or 'fountain'



(there had been a waterhole there where people would get stuck in the mud). The Hai||om had used the whole area from Outjo to the Etosha Pan to sustain their hunter-gatherer way of life. There had been headmen at each waterhole, and visitors to the site who wanted to use the water and other resources had to seek their permission to do so. With the increasing white settlement and the subsequent enclosure of commercial farms, Hai||om ended up living and working on commercial farms on their own ancestral land. Generally they did not live in the town of Outjo itself: according to workshop participants, before Independence there were only Herero and Damara locations in the town and a compound for the Owambo contract workers. After Independence, gradually, many Hai||om moved to Outjo on being dismissed as workers on the commercial farms in the surrounding area – due to farmers not being able to afford as many farmworkers as they could before the introduction of Labour Act 6 of 1992 (see Chapter 12 on San farmworkers).

6.2.2 Okaukuejo (Etosha)

Okaukuejo, one of the restcamps in the Etosha National Park, is situated about 120 km north of Outjo. At each of the park's restcamps there is a residential zone with junior staff quarters and senior staff quarters for housing the park employees and their families.³

Table 6.2: Number of Hai||om living in Etosha National Park

Hai om	Okaukuejo	Ombika	Halali	Namutoni	Von Lindequist	Total
Senior staff quarters	24	8	–	1	–	33
Junior staff quarters	156	101	30	6	47	340
Total	180	109	30	7	47	373

Source: MCA-N 2010: 11

According to survey data collected in 2010 by Aurecon's Namibia office on behalf of the Millennium Challenge Account Namibia (MCA-N), there was a total of 446 households in the park, with about 1 500 individuals. In terms of ethnic composition, Owambo households formed the majority, followed by Hai||om and Damara>Nama (each accounting for 13% of households), Herero (7%) and Kavango (6%) (MCA-N 2010: ii).

Most adult residents (60%) were employed in Etosha either by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) or Namibia Wildlife Resorts (Pty) Ltd (NWR – a company owned 100% by the government). Okaukuejo functions as the administrative hub of the park, and this restcamp also houses the Etosha Ecological Institute (for research and conservation management). Almost 20%

³ There were plans to relocate some of the MET employees to the area close to the Anderson Gate, but these plans had not yet been realised by the time of writing.

of adult individuals reported being unemployed but looking for work. The occupations of those employed varied widely, from labourer and housekeeper to safety/security officer and maintenance officer. Retired people accounted for only about 2% of the park's adult residents (MCA-N 2010: iii).

According to the MCA-N survey, the majority of households (95%) were dependent on the salaries or wages of household members as either a primary or secondary source of livelihood. The average household income from salaries or wages was generally low (a little over N\$2 000 per month). Migrant remittances (money sent home by family members working elsewhere) and social grants were also important sources of income: respectively, 26% and 10% of households reported that they relied on these livelihood strategies as primary or secondary sources of income – although many obtained such income on an irregular basis (MCA-N 2010: iii).

“A comparison between the various ethnic groups living in the Park generally points to the conclusion that the Hai||om population faces more numerous and severe socioeconomic challenges than any other group. For instance, Hai||om have the lowest school attendance (7% of 5-18 year-olds are in school, vs. overall total of 88%), the highest unemployment (39% among females and 28% among males over 16, vs. an overall average of 21% among females and 17% among males), high dependence on migrant remittances and social grants and frequent food shortages (73% of Hai||om households in junior staff villages reported food shortages in the past year).”

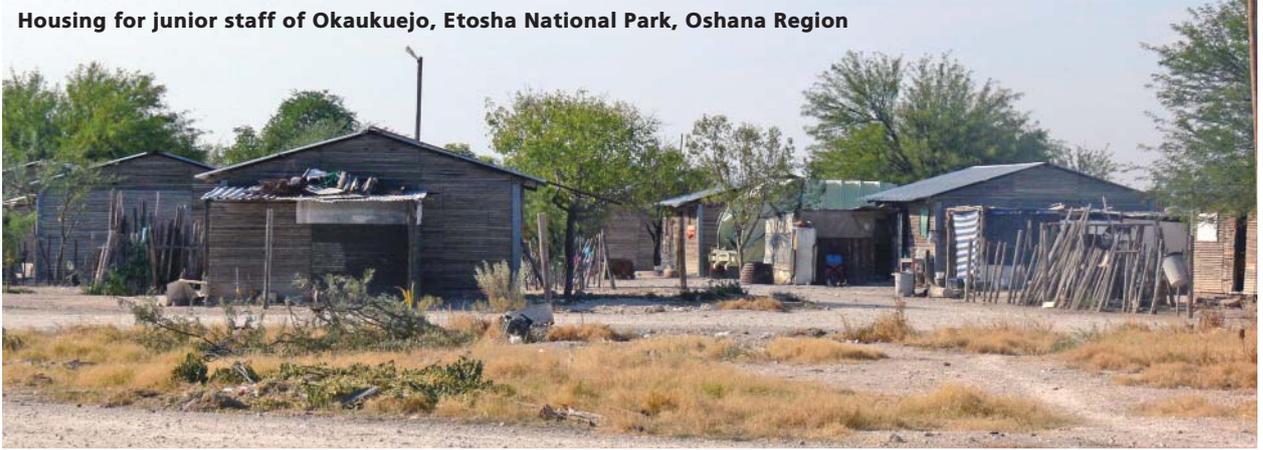
– MCA-N 2010: v

There was a clinic and a kindergarten at Okaukuejo. The closest hospital was in Outjo, 120 km to the south, and the closest primary school, to which a school bus provided transport, was 17 km away at Ombika, close to the park's Anderson Gate. A tourist shop (generally regarded as very expensive) and a staff shop provided a limited range of foodstuffs. Transport to Outjo was provided for MET and NWR employees at the end of each month to enable them to do their major monthly shopping. The majority of Okaukuejo households had water in their homes, and most households had flush toilets. The vast majority of the households used electricity for lighting, and a slightly smaller proportion used electricity for cooking as well.

The area south of the Etosha Pan, where tourist roads and lodges are situated, was once occupied by the Hai||om. All the permanent waterholes have Hai||om names (for example, the name of the Okaukuejo waterhole is #Huiop).⁴ The German colonial administration established the park in 1907, but tolerated – and indeed welcomed – the presence of the Hai||om, many of whose traditional territory outside the park had been colonised by white settlers. The Hai||om remained in the park for almost another half century, until in 1954 most of them were finally forced from their ancestral territory. As a result they joined the legions of landless farmworkers eking out a living on the farms on Etosha's borders, and their labour sustained an uneconomic and heavily subsidised white-owned commercial agricultural sector before Independence. Some of the Hai||om were allowed to return to the park from the late 1950s onwards in order to work for the Nature Conservation Department.

⁴ The Xoms |Omis (Etosha Heritage) Project, currently run by the Legal Assistance Centre, was established in 2001 in order to document the cultural heritage of the Hai||om in Etosha. Its main objectives are: to research, maintain, protect and promote the cultural, historical and environmental heritage of the Etosha National Park and its surrounding area; to provide capacity-building programmes based on this heritage for Hai||om individuals with a genuine interest in the cultural, historical and environmental heritage of the Park; and to design, create, support and implement sustainable livelihood projects for Hai||om communities indigenous to, or with strong historical associations with, the park – based on the Hai||om cultural heritage of the Etosha area. Within the project, maps with Hai||om place names and seasonal mobility patterns, posters about hunting and veldfood, a tour guide book and a children's book have been produced to preserve the cultural heritage of the Hai||om and to raise some income for the project. (For more information on the project, see www.xoms-omis.org.)

Housing for junior staff of Okaukuejo, Etosha National Park, Oshana Region



The Hai||om at Okaukuejo clearly consider Etosha as their ancestral land: according to the survey of 2010, 58% of the Hai||om living in Etosha were born in the park, while the percentage of people from other ethnic groups who were born there is far less (MCA-N 2010: 17).

6.2.3 Tsintsabis⁵

Tsintsabis is a 3 000 ha resettlement farm situated approximately 65 km north of Tsumeb. Before Independence it was first a commercial farm, and then, during the war, the South African Police used it as a ‘rehabilitation’ station where captured People’s Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) fighters were detained. In 1993 (i.e. after Independence) it became a resettlement project, accommodating mainly San families (initially approximately 841 people) (GRN 2010: 31). To the north of Tsintsabis is the veterinary fence, also called the “Red Line”. Bordering the fence is 80 000 ha of land used as a livestock quarantine camp under the control of the Namibia Development Corporation (NDC). Also bordering Tsintsabis to the north, and to the north-east, are semi-commercial farms owned by Owambo and Kavango farmers.

According to the *Report on the Review of Post-Resettlement Support to Group Resettlement Projects/Farms 1991-2009*, around 1 500 people lived at Tsintsabis in 2010 (GRN 2010: 31). However, Tsintsabis residents consulted in this San Study said that there were already around 3 000 people living there before the Roads Contractor Company (RCC) moved in during 2009 to build the road from Tsumeb to the Katwitwi border post on the Namibia-Angola border. Reportedly around half were San (mostly Hai||om and some !Xun) and the rest were Kavango, Owambo, Damara and Caprivian. Since then, according to study participants’ rough estimates, the number of Tsintsabis inhabitants has increased to about 4 000. It is likely that the number has recently begun dropping again because the RCC has completed its work in the area.

Around 80 brick houses were built at Tsintsabis by the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR), and 80 plots (10 ha each) were allocated to the initial beneficiaries. Apart from the brick houses in the centre of Tsintsabis, there are at least two ‘locations’ (each with its own Hai||om name)

⁵ Much of the data on Tsintsabis (and Farm Six, covered in the next subsection) was gathered in another context, i.e. a study on indigenous peoples and climate change, which LEAD conducted in 2012 as the local partner of Charapa Consultants, focusing on Namibia’s Topnaar and Hai||om communities. This formed part of a World Bank global study on “Impacts of Climate Change on Indigenous Peoples and Traditional Knowledge”. The methodology applied in LEAD’s climate change study and this San Study was similar. The climate study report, titled *Indigenous Peoples and Climate Change in Africa: Report on Case Studies of Namibia’s Topnaar and Hai||om Communities* (LAC 2013), can be accessed at www.lac.org.na.

with corrugated-iron houses. Most brick houses had pre-paid electricity, sold at the shebeens.⁶ The remaining few had been completed very recently and an electricity supply had yet to be installed. Some houses had TV sets, fridges and washing machines.

There was a clinic at Tsintsabis, and the nearest hospital was in Tsumeb. At least seven churches were active at Tsintsabis, and there were many shebeens. Small shops offered basic goods such as sugar and tea, and there was a pension payout point. A junior secondary school (up to Grade 10) was established on the farm in 1993. According to the *Report on the Review of Post-Resettlement Support to Group Resettlement Projects/Farms 1991-2009* (GRN 2010: 31), the MLR, the Ministry of Education (MoE), the Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare (MGECW) and NamWater had installed 18 boreholes with water tanks, of which 12 were functioning and six were not because the solar panels had been stolen. In 2006 or thereabout, a charity organisation (a church in America) installed 30 hand pumps for extracting groundwater – on the basis that “before you give the bible to the people, you need to give water”.⁷ The hand pumps improved the water situation dramatically – it was said that in former times, people could be without water for three days.

Although Tsintsabis is more like a typical settlement than a resettlement farm, it is still a resettlement project, thus it receives various types of support from different government institutions, NGOs and donors. According to the *Report on the Review of Post-Resettlement Support to Group Resettlement Projects/Farms 1991-2009* (GRN 2010: 32-33), the following support had been provided to the Tsintsabis project:

- MLR/Komeho Namibia provided goats.
- Development Aid from People to People (DAPP) under the Ministry of Agriculture Water and Forestry (MAWF) provided cattle.
- The MAWF provided donkeys.
- MLR/Rural People’s Institute for Social Empowerment (Rise Namibia) provided solar panels as well as a tractor, seed and tools for vegetable gardening.
- The MLR, MoE, MGECW and NamWater provided boreholes with water tanks.
- USAID/MLR (or an American church-based charity organisation – see footnote 7 below) provided hand pumps.
- The MGECW established a craft centre, including a kindergarten.
- The Village Development Committee (VDC), a foundation from the Netherlands, the Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF), the MET and the MLR helped to set up a tourist camp (see Box 6.3, page 230).
- USAID/NNF provided water-point management, livestock management, financial management and off-farm skills development – see also section 6.3.10 on the impact of external support.
- Finally, the MLR has purchased more farms in the vicinity (e.g. Oerwood) to provide grazing for cattle owners – however it was alleged that mostly outsiders had moved onto those farms.

Regarding employment, government provided a few formal jobs (e.g. at the clinic, school and MLR office), but formal employment in the private sector was very scarce. The RCC provided casual work for many people as from 2009 until the end of 2011 when it completed its road construction work in the area and started withdrawing. Some people had livestock and some had gardens.

As already mentioned, the Hai||om lived in northern-central Namibia before the colonial period, and most of the Hai||om at Tsintsabis in 2012 were farmworkers who had worked on white-owned

⁶ Participants raised concerns that the prices for electricity were not transparent.

⁷ Study participants provided this information. The 2010 report (GRN 2010) stated that USAID/MLR provided the hand pumps, and our attempts to ascertain which organisation/s provided them proved unsuccessful.



A Hai||om boy using a hand pump at Tsintsabis, Oshikoto Region

farms established on the ancestral land of the Hai||om in the surrounding area before Independence. (The Hai||om still knew the original Hai||om names of the waterholes and other cultural sites in the commercial farming area.) Most of the Hai||om at Tsintsabis settled there gradually after Independence when they were dismissed as farmworkers on the commercial farms.

6.2.4 Farm Six

Farm Six is situated 50 km north-west of Tsintsabis in the Mangetti Block, also known as Mangetti West – an area of about 80 000 ha that was originally acquired by the South African Administration as a quarantine camp for livestock moving from the northern communal areas to the commercial farmlands to the south. Farm Six is one of eight cattle posts in the Mangetti Block, and is reached by way of a graded road. Today the NDC leases the Mangetti Block from the government.⁸

The Hai||om at Farm Six were living in traditional dwellings to which they added corrugated-iron sheets and plastic materials. The participants there did not know the number of households in the settlement because “we cannot read or count”. According to our own observations, there must have been at least 200 Hai||om at Farm Six.⁹ The *Oshikoto Regional Poverty Profile* (RPP) estimate was 105 households (NPC 2007b: 39). The settlement was occupied only by Hai||om people, and they lived in close proximity to the NDC farm manager’s house and the administrative buildings.

The community had two water points, which consisted of two taps linked by a pipeline to the farm manager’s homestead. Community members did not have to pay for water (NPC 2007b: 39). Participants in the NPC study reported that the farm manager had complained that they wasted the water, and had occasionally threatened them with closing the pipeline link.

⁸ The NDC was established by the Namibia Development Corporation Act 18 of 1993. The Government of Namibia has a 100% shareholding in the NDC. The NDC’s main business objective is the provision of financial and related services on the basis of sustainable operations (see www.ndc.org.na – although the website does not provide detailed information about the NDC’s activities).

⁹ For more ethnographic details on the Hai||om at Farm Six, see Widlok 1999.

In the past, a mobile clinic had visited Farm Six on an irregular basis, but it stopped its service in mid-2005, for reasons unknown to the community. The closest clinic was at Tsintsabis (50 km away), and sick people wishing to go there had to try to catch a ride with the farm manager. In cases of serious illness, the farm manager made himself available to transport the patient to Tsintsabis. The closest hospital was at Tsumeb, around 110 km away. A primary school was established at Farm Six in 2003, and the closest secondary school was at Tsintsabis. A mobile pension payout service visited Farm Six.

The only shop on the farm was run by and from the premises of the NDC farm manager. It was said to stock maize-meal, sugar, soap, matches, tobacco, Vaseline and a few other goods. While the shop was established to serve farmworkers primarily, its doors were open to other community members as well.

In respect of Farm Six, the RPP concluded the following (NPC 2007b: 39): “Although the Namibia Development Corporation is running a fully fledged cattle farm and has an office and farm manager on site, members of the San community do not benefit from NDC other than that the two water points are fed from a pipeline that is connected to the water source of the farm manager’s house.”

There were two Hai||om names for the place: (a) /Gom Ais (‘place of many mangetti trees’) and (b) /Nai #gab (/Nai is an insect which bores holes in mangetti trees, and #gab is an open plain, i.e. an area where these insects are common). The area has been occupied by Hai||om for at least as long as oral history records. The first permanent settlements were established only in the 1970s after boreholes had been drilled to replace shallow pans and hollow trees as the main water source for the Hai||om living in the area. Long before the boreholes were established, the area was a regular seasonal dwelling place for Hai||om, with only occasional visits by neighbouring groups or Europeans (Widlok 1999: 3-4). The participants could recall that white farmers occasionally came in search of emergency grazing, during which time the Hai||om would try to hide. This must have been in the 1950s or 1960s, when the Mangetti Block was used as emergency grazing for white farmers in times of drought in other regions (Dieckmann 2007a: 167).



A Hai||om woman and children at Farm Six, Oshikoto Region

6.2.5 Oshivelo



The San Study workshop at Oshivelo

Oshivelo is a settlement in Oshikoto. At the time of our fieldwork, most of Oshivelo's inhabitants were Hai||om, and there were also Khwe, Caprivians, Kavango, Owambo and Zimbabweans living there. The discussion participants estimated the total number of Hai||om living at Oshivelo to be 2 700 in about 300 households. They recalled these numbers from the national census in 2001.

Most of the Hai||om were living in the southern part of the settlement – an area known as the 'cemetery location' due to its close proximity to the cemetery. Their houses were made of corrugated-iron and plastic sheeting, and there was no water or electricity in the 'cemetery location' houses. There were three water points in the 'cemetery location', and the Hai||om did not have to pay for using this water as the councillor's office paid the NamWater bill. The water points were located about 100 m away from the houses. As there was no electricity supply to the Hai||om houses in the 'cemetery location', the location was also referred to as *Donkerhoek* ('dark corner').

Hai||om owned a few of the mainly brick houses in the northern location. These brick houses, built with support from the Build Together programme, had running water (which the inhabitants had to pay for) and electricity. However, the water supply in a few of the Hai||om houses had been cut off due to the households' inability to pay the bills.

There was a clinic at Oshivelo, and a combined school (Grades 0-10) located 3 km from the 'cemetery location'. There was also a police post and a veterinary office. At least four churches were active at Oshivelo, and discussion participants said there were around 50 shebeens in the settlement. There were small shops, a fuel station and a kindergarten, and AGRA opened a branch there in July 2012 (after our fieldwork). The government institutions (e.g. school, clinic, police and veterinary office) provided some employment in the settlement. Other employment opportunities were scarce.

Various projects for Hai||om at Oshivelo had been initiated and supported by both government and NGOs. The Oshikoto Regional Council initiated and supported two projects: a coffin-making project and a bread-baking project (both of which had apparently stopped operations by the time of our fieldwork). The Hai||om at Oshivelo had also received support from WIMSA (see Table 6.1).

When the Hai||om were still living in Etosha, the place where Oshivelo is located was known as */Hütō*, meaning 'thick bush'. Reportedly, */Hütō* was a place of such thick bush that no one could see the animals in it. The participants said that Hai||om first came to live at Oshivelo circa 1990, and at that time there were only 28 Hai||om living there.

6.3 Research findings

6.3.1 Livelihoods and poverty

In this section we first analyse the findings on livelihood strategies and issues around food security, and then present the findings on perceptions of poverty and social mobility.

Table 6.3: Main livelihood strategies at the research sites in Kunene, Oshikoto and Oshana

Strategies	Etosha Poort	Okaukuejo	Tsintsabis	Farm Six	Oshivelo
Old Age Pension					
Government Institutions Pension Fund (GIPF)					
Food aid					
Casual work					
Piecework					
Veldfood	Little	Little	Little	Important	Little
Employment	Few unskilled jobs	Formal employment with NWR or MET	Few unskilled jobs	Few unskilled jobs	Few unskilled jobs
Gardens	Not important	Not important	Not important	Not important	
Chickens			Not very important	Not very important	Not very important
Livestock	Few on resettlement farms	Few on resettlement farms	Few	Very few	None, as no place to keep them
Small business	Not profitable		Not profitable		Not profitable
Crafts	Few	Few			Few
Prostitution	Only mentioned				Only mentioned

* The cell shading indicates that the livelihood strategy is employed at the applicable site.

Old Age Pensions

As in many other regions, Old Age Pensions were an important source of income at all sites. The importance of pensions is easily understood considering the low salaries linked to most of the employment opportunities open to Hai||om (see further on). Pensions often provided more money for a household than piecework and casual work. In Outjo, the elderly participants did not attend the first day of the workshop because it was “pension day” and they had to collect their money in town. According to the other participants, “they would eat nicely the rest of the day”. At Tsintsabis the research team could observe the ‘pension day’ situation, whereby creditors were gathering to wait for the pensioners to pay their credits. The same applied at Oshivelo, whereas at Farm Six (in particular), many people over the age of 60 did not receive their pension, due to lacking an ID document, the farm’s remoteness (a lack of transport to Tsumeb), a lack of translators at the office where the pension was paid out, or an incorrect (younger) age documented on the ID.¹⁰

¹⁰ Due to the lack of birth certificates, the age of an applicant was often only estimated by the officials responsible for the issuing of IDs in former times. It needs to be mentioned that Hai||om at Farm Six came to the researchers with their IDs in order to find out when they would be entitled to register for their Old Age Pensions. This is a clear indication of the problems that people were facing there due to remoteness, illiteracy etc.

Food aid

Food aid played an important role for the Hai||om at Oshivelo, Tsintsabis and Farm Six, but, as in other regions, the quality and frequency/regularity of food aid varied. The translator at Farm Six related that the food aid “mealie-meal” (maize-meal) made up half of the diet of the inhabitants (the other half being mainly veldfood), and the discussion participants complained that the food aid consisted solely of mealie-meal (without even cooking oil). The Tsintsabis supply sometimes included cooking oil, and the Oshivelo supply sometimes included cooking oil and fish. Irregularity was deemed a problem at all the sites, but particularly at Farm Six: food aid came monthly at times, but at times the residents had to wait a couple of months for it.¹¹ Considering the Farm Six residents’ high dependency on food aid – due to the scarcity of employment or piecework opportunities at this remote site, the limitations on gathering veldfood and the lack of livestock – the irregularity of food aid was a major issue in terms of food security for the residents. The Hai||om of Outjo and Okaukuejo were generally not provided with food aid; only those who had plots at the resettlement farms (Seringkop, Bellalaika, Mooiplaas, Koppies and Toevlug) were entitled to food aid, but transport to the farms to collect it was a major problem.

Formal employment

The importance of formal employment as a livelihood strategy varied at the sites. At Okaukuejo in Etosha, formal employment played an exceptionally important role, especially in comparison to most of the sites in other regions. This is due to the fact that, in theory, only employees of NWR and the MET are allowed to reside in the park (although in practice, pensioners who had worked for the MET were allowed to remain there).¹² This specific setup meant that compared to other Hai||om socio-economic setups, households in Etosha were (on average) much more dependent on at least one formal employee in the household. This was reflected in the data collected by Aurecon, according to which 95% of the park households were dependent on salaries or wages of household members as either a primary or secondary source of livelihood, and their average household income was slightly more than N\$2 000 per month. For the Hai||om in the park, migrant remittances and social grants represented important secondary sources of income (MCA-N 2010: iii). Hai||om were very concerned that more and more jobs in the park had been going to ‘outsiders’ (mostly Owambos) since Independence. There were cases reported of Hai||om with similar qualifications having applied for jobs which were given to people from other ethnic groups instead. On 14 December 2010, the Etosha Hai||om youth organised a demonstration at Okaukuejo and also went to the Office of the Ombudsman in Windhoek to report these cases, but apparently nothing changed as a result. Many of the young Hai||om living in Etosha were not employed – essentially because Etosha’s status as a national park means that few livelihood activities can be undertaken in the area. For these Hai||om, Etosha meant ‘home’, and living and working there was the most important issue that they hoped would be addressed. It was stressed repeatedly that before Independence, Hai||om had no problem getting regular employment in the park (e.g. when a parent retired, an adult child would fill his/her position). In summary, the participants shared the perception that the government had tried to push the Hai||om out of their ancestral land in Etosha by not employing them in the park. No employment meant that there were no livelihood strategies for them to utilise in the park.

¹¹ Indeed, the participants at Farm Six asked the researcher to call the regional councillor to find out when the food aid was coming because they were waiting for it. The regional councillor said that he was working on the problem, but it is not known if they received it afterwards.

¹² The purchase of the resettlement farms (see section 6.3.2 on access to land) was supposed to solve the problem of pensioners staying in the park. However, the government was aware that the Hai||om can only move out of the park voluntarily.

In **Outjo**, where the level of education among San was generally higher than at the other sites and in other regions (four out of 13 participants had been educated up to Grade 12), half of the participants reported that they had been formally employed for a certain period of time (not extending beyond a couple of years) within the last five years. The relocation of the employer, or employee dismissal or bad health were given as reasons for job loss. Most of the other jobs available to the Outjo Hai||om (i.e. those not requiring a complete school education) were domestic work, gardening at private households and cleaning at the local shops. These jobs gave some Hai||om a regular income, albeit a small one – participants reckoned N\$300-N\$500 was the average monthly salary for these jobs. The participants stressed the importance of educational qualifications for getting jobs. It was also mentioned that there were some job opportunities available through the San Development Programme (SDP) of the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), but participants complained that the supporters of the Hai||om Traditional Authority were the only people who could get these jobs (see section 6.3.8 on political participation and representation).

At Tsintsabis, of the estimated 2 000 Hai||om residents, only about 28 were reported to have formal employment, i.e. with the RCC, and at the clinic, the school, the craft centre and the Treesleeper Camp (see section 6.3.10 on the impact of external support). Reportedly there were a few more Hai||om employed in towns or on farms who were not living at Tsintsabis but who might contribute to the livelihoods of certain Tsintsabis residents – although only to a small extent. At Tsintsabis it was mentioned that family members sometimes worked at crop farms in the vicinity, which was considered important not only because of the financial income, but also because they could bring overripe fruit and vegetables back home to supplement the household diet. Participants stressed the fact that today's employment situation was much worse than the situation before Independence, when most of the Hai||om were farmworkers and a considerable number of Hai||om worked for the South African Defence Force (SADF).

At Oshivelo the employment rate among Hai||om was even worse, in that only five people were reported to have permanent employment: two were labourers at the school (N\$300/month), one was working as a teacher and two women were cleaners at the public toilets. Another two would be employed by AGRA which was due to open a branch in the settlement.¹³ At Farm Six, nine people were employed at the NDC farm.

In general the Hai||om – as is the case with most of the other San groups in Namibia – perceived the high unemployment rate among the Hai||om to be linked to ethnicity: the majority of Hai||om believed that they would have far fewer problems getting jobs if they were Owambo, due to the social and/or political networks of the latter ethnic group.

Casual work and piecework

Casual work and piecework were important livelihood strategies at all the study sites. The surrounding commercial farms sometimes provided casual work for Hai||om at Tsintsabis, Oshivelo and Outjo. Casual work (fencing or other temporary work within the Etosha National Park and at surrounding lodges) created income-generating activities for young men at Oshivelo and Okaukuejo, and supplemented the households' income for a few months until such time as the work was completed. At Okaukuejo, other piecework opportunities were scarce due to the status and nature of the restcamp within a national park area.

¹³ Even if these numbers for employed Hai||om have omitted some Hai||om employees, the fact that people can actually count the Hai||om with employment among 2 000-3 000 residents, as in the case of Tsintsabis and Oshivelo, is an indication of the minimal rate of employment.

At Farm Six, some Hai||om would work for a month or two for the Owambo farmers and this would also give them access to veldfood in the area occupied by these farmers. There were temporary work opportunities available (e.g. cutting fence posts) for the NDC farm on which they were living.

At Tsintsabis it was stressed that casual work and piecework were very important for younger people but not for the elderly. During the time of the road construction (2009-2011), casual work for the RCC was abundant, for both women and men; some people had contracts and the salaries were reportedly about N\$800 per month. It was said that the people who had lost their jobs once the RCC had completed its work would now become more dependent on pensioners or others. Apart from the jobs provided by the RCC, some people (fewer than 20) had casual work at the Treesleeper Camp (see Box 6.3, page 230) and some worked seasonally on an orange farm near Tsumeb. The collection and sale of firewood seemed to be common as an income-generating activity. Remarkably, one female respondent compared piecework with hunting, saying that it was the modern way to hunt. One goes out in the morning in order to 'get' something, and if not successful, one might try tomorrow and rely on others today.

In Outjo and Oshivelo it was mentioned that some Hai||om women would engage in prostitution or have sugar daddies in order to get food, money or alcohol.¹⁴

Small business

The potential of engaging in small business activities was mentioned by Hai||om of Outjo, Oshivelo, Farm Six and Tsintsabis. At all four sites, however, it was stressed that it was not profitable and not sustainable. 'Small business' in this context means the activity of buying items such as sugar and tea in larger quantities and then packaging and selling them in smaller quantities.

At Farm Six the sale of alcohol produced from the makalani palm tree was also mentioned as an income-generating activity.

It transpired that despite the alleged unprofitability of small businesses, many of the participants in Outjo were indeed involved in them: selling tea, sugar, milk powder and other items in small quantities, and producing and selling *vetkoek* (deep-fried dough/pastry) and home-made ice.¹⁵

At Tsintsabis the participants reported that many people had tried to generate income with small businesses, but most had given up after a month or so. Trying to run a small business is "like a habit", but is difficult to do in a business-like manner – this was said to be due to the importance of sharing and also empathy: "You cannot say no if someone is hungry." So the customers would buy on credit and might never repay the business owner.

At Oshivelo some Hai||om had tried to invest in some small businesses to boost their income. However, they faced the challenge of costly school fees and covering other school-related costs and other living costs, to the extent that they ended up spending most of their money on these essentials, with the result that their businesses collapsed. In addition (as at Tsintsabis), many Hai||om bought

¹⁴ The participants would not use the word 'prostitution' explicitly, but reported that women would engage in services for men in order to get food, alcohol or money.

¹⁵ One male respondent explained that he made perhaps N\$7 profit from selling a 2.5kg pack of sugar divided into smaller quantities and altogether about N\$30 profit per week by selling sugar, coffee and powdered milk. He said that he was regarded as well-off in his area in Etosha Poort because even though he was unemployed, he did not have to ask people for free sugar, tea, milk etc.

goods on credit from small businesses of other Hai||om and then failed to repay the debt. Participants noted, however, that when a Hai||om person obtained credit from an Owambo, he/she would be compelled to pay back the loan.

In summary, running a small business was not considered to be an important income-generating or livelihood strategy. Nevertheless, it seemed that for some Hai||om, small businesses could provide a steady small income throughout the month, enabling them to buy small items needed over that period.

At Tsintsabis it was mentioned that capacity-building would be needed to make small businesses profitable. However, given the moral obligation to share among the Hai||om (see page 196), it is questionable whether capacity-building would indeed increase their income from small businesses.

Sale of crafts

In Outjo, Okaukuejo and Oshivelo, the sale of crafts was mentioned as a livelihood strategy. In Outjo, some Hai||om tried to earn a bit of additional income by selling crafts (e.g. bracelets and carved makalani nuts) to tourists passing through town. One problem in this regard was that they were often chased away from the supermarket car park where tourists stop to buy groceries. Apparently Hai||om had also tried to sell their crafts to the owners of tourist shops, but the prices offered were too low. As there were no specific buyers, prices and sites at which to sell crafts, craft-making was not an activity in which many Hai||om of Outjo engaged. The same was true for Oshivelo. There the sale of *omajovas* (mushrooms that grow on termite hills) was also mentioned as a livelihood strategy, but the harvest is highly seasonal – *omajovas* only grow for a short period after the first rains. The situation at Okaukuejo was slightly different in that there was at least a central place to sell the crafts (wooden mobiles with animal carvings), i.e. outside the Anderson Gate (close to Ombika). However, Hai||om were not allowed to sell any items within the national park itself. At Tsintsabis, which has a craft centre, it appeared that no Hai||om were making crafts for sale there, but some Hai||om produced crafts sold at the Treesleeper Camp (see Box 6.3, page 230).



Gardens

Overall, gardens did not play an important role in sustaining livelihoods at the study sites, even though Hai||om at all sites except Oshivelo had gardens next to their homesteads. (At Oshivelo the lack of land, the lack of water and the poor soil were given as reasons for people not engaging in gardening.)

At Tsintsabis, although many Hai||om had been allocated 10 ha plots, these were not extensively used for gardening due to the lack of fences and infrastructure, and the roaming livestock. Koot noted in 2000 that many plots in Tsintsabis were not cultivated. According to him, there was a clear lack of agricultural knowledge and motivation because the residents continuously received food aid and preferred gathering veldfood to crop production at that time (Koot 2000: 64). Participants in our study felt insecure about the 10 ha plots in terms of land ownership, because the RCC had taken some of the plots away, reportedly without compensation. When asked if the 10 ha plot project should be considered a failed project, our translator explained that it was based on Owambo cultural values, and he believed that as an alternative, a certain area should be defined as commonage which Hai||om could use to collect medicinal plants and veldfood, since the participants already had irrigated gardens at their houses in which to plant tomatoes, beans, potatoes, cabbages, onions, watermelon and maize.

At Farm Six, some households had small gardens next to their huts, in which they grew pumpkins, maize and beans, but the harvest was small. In Outjo, gardens did not play a substantial role in sustaining livelihoods.

At Okaukuejo, many Hai||om had small gardens at their houses and grew tomatoes, *mielies* (corn) or pumpkins, but the harvest was finished within a couple of days. The soil at Okaukuejo was said to be very salty and very hard. Some years ago a Peace Corps volunteer had started a community gardening project next to the clinic, where the quality of soil was better because it had been brought in from elsewhere. The idea was to sell the vegetables and use the profit to pay clinic and school fees on behalf of those who could not afford to pay them. The project was a success for a short time, while someone was paid to water the garden and to look after it, but later on the garden plot was used only by individuals.¹⁶

Livestock

In general, livestock played only a very limited role in sustaining livelihoods. Livestock played the biggest role at Tsintsabis, as compared with the other sites, due to its status as a resettlement farm and the outside support it received. MLR/Komeho Namibia and RISE Namibia¹⁷ had initiated a project in which goats had been allocated to a few Hai||om households: from 460 goats provided by MLR/Komeho in 2004, only 160 were left in 2009, and from 100 goats donated by RISE, only 43 goats were left in 2009. The Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry and Development Aid from People to People (MAWF/DAPP) provided 51 head of cattle in 2006, and by 2009 the number had increased to 62 (GRN 2010: 31). Thus both goat initiatives were unsuccessful, and one might also question the success of the cattle initiative if the number increased by only 11 animals in three years. Apparently the projects were not satisfactorily thought through: the participants believed that it

¹⁶ This reflects the problems associated with starting communal garden projects, as the experiences of the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia's (DRFN's) Livelihood Support Programme (LISUP) and Livelihood Programme for San (LIPROSAN) have shown – see Omaheke and Ohangwena chapters respectively.

¹⁷ Komeho Namibia and RISE (Rural Peoples Institute of Social Empowerment) are Namibian NGOs supporting rural development.

was not feasible to keep cattle or goats on 10 ha without fences or water points, but the beneficiaries reportedly did not have sufficient income to fence off the land, and as a consequence the animals were roaming around the farm. Cattle belonging to Owambo people were also wandering freely, and all the livestock (i.e. that of Hai||om and Owambo) was to be found consuming other people's crops, which caused conflict. Stock theft was mentioned as a further major concern. A third of the participants at Tsintsabis had goats and/or cattle, but not in large numbers. The livestock owners did not sell or slaughter any livestock because the numbers were so few. Occasionally the milk was either used for consumption or (very seldom) sold. Therefore, even at Tsintsabis resettlement farm, livestock was not regarded as an important livelihood strategy. Chickens were more common than goats, and three quarters of the participants at Tsintsabis had chickens. These were kept for consumption, but they were also exchanged for maize-meal or other food items.

The only Hai||om of Outjo, Oshivelo and Okaukuejo who could own livestock were those who had a plot on a resettlement farm, or relatives living on such a farm, or relatives working on a commercial farm where the owner allowed farmworkers to keep a certain number of livestock. At Okaukuejo, for example, the participants said that only six of the Hai||om living at Okaukuejo had livestock – mainly goats at the resettlement farms (see section 6.3.2 on access to land).

At Farm Six, only those employed at the NDC farm were allowed to keep a few head of livestock, but most of the households kept chickens for their own consumption.

Veldfood

Participants at all sites had a vast knowledge of the veldfoods consumed by Hai||om in the past and today. In Outjo, participants listed at least 22 different types of veldfood that had been available to them at some time, and at Oshivelo the participants listed around 13 different kinds of veldfood that they were still eating today. At Tsintsabis the participants listed even more kinds of veldfood eaten in the past, and they developed a seasonal calendar reflecting the veldfood still collected and consumed according to season (around 12 species).



Okaukuejo, being part of the Etosha National Park, is an area where veldfood consumption is very restricted nowadays. The elderly people in Okaukuejo still remembered where Hai||om collected specific types of veldfood in the past, and in which season. Nowadays they still collect berries – e.g. different *Grewia* (raisin bush) species and *Berchemia discolor* (bird plum) – when travelling, or if someone is working in the veld in the park. This activity is risky, however, due to the presence of lions and elephants. In seasons when the fruits of #huin (*Berchemia discolor*) are ripe, Hai||om at Okaukuejo visit relatives on commercial farms where the trees are abundant, collect the #huin and store the harvest for some time. Until recently, park residents (including the Hai||om) were allowed to collect mopane worms, but the head of the park stopped this practice because Owambo

were coming from outside to harvest and sell the worms in large quantities. Nowadays the Hai||om need permission from the park staff to harvest these worms, so that the practice can be controlled. If permission is granted, staff have to transport the people to the harvesting sites.

At Farm Six, veldfood still played a very important role in the diet of the Hai||om. One participant had spent the day before the workshop in the bush collecting mangetti nuts, and he showed us his harvest. Mangetti nuts were still central in terms of food security: they were said to be very nutritious, and infants could survive on them even if the mother had died while still breastfeeding. Participants reported that there had been a variety of veldfood available in former times, but 2011 saw the worst frost ever, and most of the sweet berries etc. died thereafter.¹⁸ When asked if there had been initiatives to sell the veldfood commercially (as there had been with the *Inara* nuts sold by the Topnaar living along the Kuiseb River), the participants said that there had been no such initiative at their farm.

Access to veldfood was a problem at all of the sites due to the lack of access to land, and it was reported that the Hai||om no longer teach their children the skills required to gather veldfood because of the lack of access to land.

“Today, you can only see the veldfood from a distance.”

– Female participant at Tsintsabis

Tsintsabis, Outjo and Oshivelo are surrounded by commercial farms, and the Hai||om need the farm owners’ permission to look for veldfood on their land. Participants said that their access to veldfood was better before Independence when they lived as workers on commercial farms and had access to the veldfood (and sometimes to game) on those farms. At Tsintsabis it was mentioned that one woman, on entering a commercial farm in search of firewood, was beaten on her legs with a sjambok by the owner of the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) farm. Today, an additional hindrance to the consumption of veldfood is the widespread use of herbicides on commercial farms.

At Farm Six, by contrast, the situation of access to veldfood changed drastically only two years prior to our fieldwork, when Owambo farmers moved into the farm area, and the area allocated to these farmers was fenced off (see section 6.3.2 on access to land).¹⁹ Thus, the Oshikoto Region RPP findings in 2006 differed to our findings six year later: although community members said in 2006 that, for example, “poor people tie their stomachs in order not to feel the hunger”, the Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) team involved did not have the impression that community members were starving – which may be explained by the fact that there had been good rains and veldfood was abundant: “Admittedly, the 2005-2006 rainy season was exceptionally good. But participants repeatedly stated that veldkos had been abundant, albeit some distance away (during the dry season) and a little less abundantly during drought years.” The PPA team concluded that “Households at Farm 6 are probably very poor in terms of coarse grains harvested from their own fields and processed foods delivered from time to time by government. But natural foods seemed to have been available in sufficient quantities to sustain the community.” (NPC 2007b: 46) In conclusion, since veldfood constituted such an important part of the Hai||om diet at Farm Six, the influx of Owambo farmers had dramatic consequences for their food security.

At all sites it was noted that Hai||om still like to eat veldfood because it is part of their culture and is healthy and medicinal.

¹⁸ For a list of veldfood gathered by the Hai||om around Farm Six in the 1990s, see Widlok 1999: 88-90.

¹⁹ Ironically, the Hai||om of Farm Six were paid to fence off the land for the Owambo farmers.



Oshivelo residents presenting veldfood

“Veldfood is our garden.”

“Veldfood is very important to us, we are not gardening people.”

“We collect veldfood because it is part of our culture; we don’t forget about what we ate in the past.”

– Participants at Okaukuejo

As was the case at most of the research sites in all regions covered in this study, participants at all sites in Kunene, Oshana and Oshikoto were hesitant to respond when asked about hunting. At Farm Six, hunting still seemed to be practised – at least more than at the other sites in these regions. After a lot of probing from our translator, it emerged that, although illegal, Hai||om at Farm Six still hunted (albeit secretly) smaller animals such as warthogs, birds, Damara dik-dik, duiker, leguan (monitor lizards), springhares and tortoises, to a greater extent than Hai||om at the other sites did.

Sharing

Sharing was mentioned in various contexts as important as it is related to other livelihood strategies, such as pensions, food aid and employment. Interpreting the concept of ‘sharing’ as it applies to the Hai||om is crucial to gaining an understanding of the way in which they (and other San groups in Namibia) survive. (Chapter 15 on culture provides detailed information about the San practice of sharing.)

As one participant put it, “Sharing is part of our lives; it is in our blood.” Also, sharing was cited as a reason for Hai||om people not being ‘rich’. The translator at Tsintsabis and Farm Six interpreted sharing not so much as a strategy of the poor generally, but above all as a specific aspect of Hai||om culture. There are various terms for different methods of sharing – this finding being consistent with anthropological literature on (former) hunter-gatherer societies, which always point out the importance of sharing (e.g. Barnard 1992: 54-55; Guenther 1999: 45-48).²⁰

A male participant at Tsintsabis pointed out that a surname would indicate to a Hai||om person the relationship between the person with that surname and oneself, and any relationship would require one to share with that person. This would make certain exchanges, such as those necessary for the running of small businesses, unprofitable, in that one could never earn but had always to give – unlike Owambos, for example, whose culture does not oblige them in this fashion. Participants contended that for Hai||om to succeed in running small businesses, they would have to establish the businesses far away from their own community.²¹

²⁰ The Khoekhoegowab dictionary provides at least 14 words related to sharing.

²¹ A closer look at the questionnaire data collected from 45 interviewees at Tsintsabis and 76 interviewees at Farm Six for the LEAD study in 2012 on indigenous peoples and climate change confirms the importance of sharing. When asked about other sources of income (apart from livestock, pensions and salaries from formal employment), 35.5% of the Hai||om interviewees said that they had another source of income, and the sources cited make clear that sharing between extended family members – not necessarily household members – was very important: more than half of the items listed under “other income” referred to the income of other people. (The study report, titled *Indigenous Peoples and Climate Change in Africa: Report on Case Studies of Namibia’s Topnaar and Hai||om Communities* (LAC 2013), can be accessed at www.lac.org.na.)

Food security

In general, due to a higher proportion of formal employment, the Hai||om at Okaukuejo seemed to be better off than the Hai||om at the other sites, although there were considerable differences between households (see Table 6.4). At all of the other sites, more Hai||om community members experienced hunger on a regular basis.

The number of meals eaten per day varied between sites, within sites, and within households, according to the availability of food. It was mentioned that – depending on the availability of food – some Hai||om people ate twice or (at times) three times per day, and some ate only once per day. There were also people who did not eat at all on certain days.

Table 6.4: Main foodstuffs available to the Hai||om at the five study sites

Site	Most frequent (eaten daily)							Least frequent (rarely eaten)
Etosha Poort (Outjo)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mealie-meal • Coffee • Sugar • Tea 	<i>Mageu</i> *	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tobacco • <i>Vetkoek</i> • Cooking oil • Sweet potatoes • Leaves 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Soup • Onions • Powdered drink • Milk • <i>Afval</i>* • Kudu bones 	Meat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Omajova</i>* • Bush spinach 	Tree gum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Variety of veldfoods • Rice • Macaroni
Okaukuejo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mealie-meal • Coffee • Sugar • Tea 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meat • Relish 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Macaroni • Rice 	Vegetables			Veldfood
Oshivelo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Porridge • <i>Mageu</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Porridge • Salt 		Veldfood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tinned fish • Dried beans • Meat • Vegetables • Porridge • Sweet-Aid 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rice • Macaroni
Tsintsabis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mealie-meal • Sugar • Tea • Milk 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meat • Oil • Cabbage • Chicken 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rice • Macaroni 			Veldfood
Farm Six	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mealie-meal • Sugar • Tea 	Veldfood		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meat • Chicken • Cabbage 				Garden produce

* *Mageu* is a non-alcoholic drink made from fermented mealie-meal

Afval is the Afrikaans term for offal (internal organs)

Omajova are mushrooms that grow on termite hills

Mealie-meal (maize-meal) was a staple food for the Hai||om at all five sites. They used it to make soft porridge (commonly referred to as *pap*) which they ate almost daily.

“If you do not have enough mealie-meal your house is empty; if you have some you feel you are at least a human being. A day without mealie-meal is a black day. The best meal you could have was mealie-meal with meat.”

– Participant in Outjo

Participants in Outjo and Oshivelo mentioned that they also fermented mealie-meal in water to make a drink known as *mageu*. Hai||om at Oshivelo sometimes added a drink called Sweet-Aid to the mealie-meal, and also used Sweet-Aid to make another type of drink.

At Okaukuejo people could afford to buy macaroni or rice, which was said to be consumed only occasionally at the other sites (e.g. Oshivelo and Outjo, where this was deemed 'Christmas food'). At Farm Six, veldfood was said to be only slightly less important than mealie-meal; it would have been just as important as mealie-meal, or even more important, if it was always easy to access.

Meat was consumed most often at Okaukuejo. An employed female respondent said, "Sometimes there is no meat, but you have macaroni, rice, *pap*, sugar and tea etc., but it feels like there is no food at home if there is no meat around. Then it is not nice; no one will cook then." Meat was mostly purchased at Okaukuejo or Outjo shops, but at times, outsiders had come in and sold poached meat illegally. A male participant at Okaukuejo provided further detail in this regard: "... we bought from them [AALS farmers] as well. Those were Herero, but we don't see them here anymore. Different Herero [from different AALS farms] came to sell meat. But now I see some who come to sell game meat, like warthog, but not every day. In former times they sold goats which they had stolen. But maybe they are now in prison. At least you could negotiate with them about the price, because it wasn't their own, which they sold here."

At Oshivelo participants said that the women had control over the food as they were the ones who would cook it. It was also said that women and children ate before the men, and the food was shared equally if there was enough of it. (During meals at other sites we observed a different arrangement: usually elders and men were the first to be served, and children would share a portion if there was not enough to go around.) At Oshivelo it was also claimed that pregnant women got more food if there was enough for all members of the household. Some men at Oshivelo contended that the men often shared the portion given to them with children who needed more food to grow. Reportedly, people would eat on an equal (or almost equal) basis when "manna fell from heaven", i.e. on pension payout day.

At all five sites, most of the female participants said that they breastfeed their children for two years, but it was also reported that some mothers could only breastfeed for as short a period as one year because their food intake did not suffice to sustain breastfeeding. In the past, when there was more food available, mothers breastfed their children for up to four years. This long breastfeeding period among the Hai||om in former times is also documented in other sources (Friedrich 2009: 97).

Perceptions of poverty and vulnerability

As in other regions, the San (in this case Hai||om) in Kunene, Oshana and Oshikoto considered themselves to be on the bottom rung of the social ladder. However, when the participants developed their wealth categories, it became evident that there was a certain degree of internal variation on what the criteria should be. It must be noted that the wealth-ranking activity could not be conducted at Farm Six due to time constraints. Overall, the participants at the other four sites assessed their wealth based on the following criteria:

- employment;
- livestock;
- household assets;
- Old Age Pension;
- using money wisely;
- alcohol abuse;
- how many people had to be taken care of (including unemployed children);
- education (indirectly), this being one prerequisite for children getting jobs; and
- how long an individual had worked for the government, i.e. the value of the pension received from the Government Institutions Pension Fund (GIPF) – a criterion valid only at Okaukuejo.

Table 6.5: Wealth ranking per site

ETOSHA POORT (OUTJO)				
Very poor	Not so poor	Middle class	Better off	Rich
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living in plastic or mealie-meal bag shelters with no furniture, and sleeping on empty bags. • People with corrugated-iron houses but nothing inside. • Have no fire, because no food to cook. • Might get food from the rubbish dump and dustbins. • Pension, but supporting other people and paying for municipal services. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A small business, a corrugated-iron house, but nowhere to farm with poultry or goats, and nowhere to make a garden. • No children to support. • Some might have goats, but no bed, house or job • An account for buying clothes. • A pensioner without many dependants, but paying for municipal services. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A brick house but unfinished (without ceilings) or a stone house with nothing inside and overcrowded. • One person employed in a household. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corrugated-iron house with TV, satellite TV decoder, electricity (generator) and a toilet. • Working in big retail shops. • Some received monthly housing allowances of around N\$3 000 from their employers (big companies). • Might have an old car. • Married with an employed spouse. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Had assets in the house (even in a corrugated-iron house). • Could slaughter a cow for a funeral. • Had a car, cattle, a big house and a satellite TV decoder. • Many in the family with employment. • Could afford better education for children. • Could go to the bank at any time to draw money when needed. • Good job; no resident relatives to support.
OKAUKUEJO (ETOSHA NATIONAL PARK)*				
Very poor	Not so poor	Middle class	Better off	Rich
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No work. • No pension. • No equipment (freezer, TV etc.). • No house. • No children who can look after you. • Never cared about children so children don't support you. • Don't use money wisely. • Drinking. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employed but drinking. • Piecework (but not a lot available at Okaukuejo). • Drinking. • Not too many people to take care of. • Working but must take care of many people. • Pension. • GIPF, but payment small. 	<p><i>Example 1</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N\$500 Old Age Pension p/m. • N\$950 GIPF p/m. • Has to look after many people. • One son without work. • Wife doesn't work. • Freezer, car (no money for maintenance), TV. • Two daughters have work at lodge. • One daughter had plot at resettlement farm. <p><i>Example 2:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 pensions (but GIPF payment small). • Has to take care of many people. • Wife without work. 	<p><i>Example 1</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good GIPF (increases every year) because he worked all his life for the MET. • N\$500 Old Age Pension p/m. • Lots of people to take care of. • One daughter works. • Wife works. <p><i>Example 2</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good work and income (senior staff), worked for a long time (±40 years). • Not using his money wisely. • Wastes the money. • Wife doesn't work. • Children without work. 	<p><i>Example 1</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good work. • No drinking. • Children have work. • Few people to support. • Goats (but not a lot). • Knows how to use money wisely. • Lives in senior-staff quarters.

* The participants at Okaukuejo gave specific examples for the three upper wealth categories.

OSHIVELO				
Very poor	Not so poor	Middle class	Better off	Rich
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Drinking alcohol ● Unhygienic ● "Not normal" ● No belongings ● No house ● No job ● Getting food from others ● No documents (ID and birth certificate) ● Only own clothes they are wearing ● No hope and low self-esteem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Does odd jobs ● Retrenched (maybe a little money from retrenchment package) ● Pensioners ● Once-off payments ● Newcomer from farm ● One blanket ● Shack ● Cellphone ● Some pots and utensils ● Not drinking ● Not producing food 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Pensioners ● Corrugated-iron house ● Supports children ● Blankets ● Few belongings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fruit trees ● Some chickens ● Some furniture ● Brick house ● Don't produce own food ● Some permanent formal jobs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Money ● Livestock ● TV ● Working car ● Furniture ● Brick house ● Cellphone ● Living a good life
TSINTSABIS**				
Very poor	Not so poor	Middle class	Better off	Rich
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No hope ● Hungry ● Abuses alcohol ● Very few clothes 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● More clothes ● Sometimes go to church ● Pension ● Other small income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Regular income ● Livestock ● No hunger 	

** The participants at Tsintsabis developed only three categories.

Table 6.5 makes clear that the participants had different ways of approaching the wealth-ranking exercise. Hai||om in Outjo mostly reflected on individual examples, which they categorised. They also included more tangible signs of wealth (e.g. satellite TV decoder) than factors which might promote or prevent wealth. The Tsintsabis and Oshivelo participants focused more on general criteria (e.g. food and basic assets), and those at Okaukuejo had a mixed approach. At all sites, however, long-term employment was considered the most important wealth-related factor.

The 'very poor' category mostly comprised people who were highly dependent on other people – although in Outjo even people receiving pensions could be categorised as 'very poor' if they had many people to support. In general, many of the 'very poor' were people who had no hope and often abused alcohol. At Tsintsabis it was pointed out that some of the people in the 'very poor' category went to the shebeens early in the morning, carried out small jobs for which they received *otombo* (home-brewed beer) or a very small amount of money, and then just returned home in the evening. It was also said that one could get out of the 'very poor' category when one stopped drinking – and this had proved true for many of the participants who had abused alcohol for some time in the past.

In Outjo it was explained that even with short-term employment, Hai||om would be able to buy household assets such as a TV or furniture on credit. However, if the person then lost his/her job and could not pay off the debts, the shop would take away the items and the person would be back to 'square one'. Employed people who owned household assets or cattle were less vulnerable than those without, because if the former lost their jobs they could gradually sell off these assets (i.e. one by one) when in dire need of cash.

According to the Oshivelo participants, many Hai||om people had moved from being 'rich' to 'not so poor' or 'very poor' in the recent past. They narrated that when they first came to Oshivelo they had livestock (including cattle, goats and donkeys), and some people had money. However, since they did not have enough land and space to keep their livestock, they sold them one after the other and used the money to buy food and other necessities. Additionally, the authorities at Oshivelo often shot their donkeys, claiming that they were causing accidents on the roads and were therefore a danger in the community. As a result of this process, most of them moved from being 'rich' to 'not so poor' or 'very poor'. Their zinc houses would also need repairs, but they could not afford to repair them, and this had also contributed to their moving from being 'rich' or 'better off' to 'not so poor' or 'very poor'.

Regarding the wealth-ranking distribution at Tsintsabis, only one of the 12 participants said that he was in the 'better-off' category. Five participants placed themselves in the 'middle-class' category – the main reason being that they were receiving pensions – and one of them hoped to become 'better off' soon because he had been allocated one of the 10 ha plots and had started cultivating there, so he hoped to be able to sell surplus produce soon. Half of the participants said that they would categorise themselves as 'very poor' due to their lack of ownership of land and livestock, and their inability to pay school fees for their children. Although we did not ask about the entire farm, it was evident from the discussions that only a few Hai||om at Tsintsabis could be categorised as 'better off'. By contrast, at Okaukuejo the same numbers of Hai||om were classified as 'very poor' and 'better off' (eight households per category), while the majority of the households were in the 'middle-class' category and one Hai||om family was regarded as 'rich'.²² At Oshivelo the majority of Hai||om were considered 'very poor' – but few of those classified as very poor attended the research workshop. This was attributed to the fact that people categorised as such usually excluded themselves from activities and preferred to engage in alcohol abuse. Only two Hai||om living at Oshivelo were identified as 'rich', on the grounds that one of them had a car, cattle and goats, and the other's husband was working in Windhoek and provided income for the household.

Regarding the perception of wealth of other ethnic groups, the Oshivelo participants considered the majority of people of other ethnic groups to be 'rich', and only two or three such people were considered to be 'very poor'. The participants attributed the fact that the Hai||om were poorer than people of other ethnic groups to their lack of land – a constraint which prevented their keeping livestock or cultivating crops like people of other ethnic groups did.

The Oshivelo participants also gave examples of San groups whom they believed lived in worse conditions than them. For example, they mentioned San living in Gobabis whom they said were living in houses made of plastic sheets and cardboard, and San in Okongo and Eenhana who lived in similar dwellings and worked for Owambo people. They also mentioned Hai||om in Tsumeb, Grootfontein and Outjo whom they deemed to be living in deplorable conditions.

Comparing the different sites, the research team concluded that the Hai||om at Okaukuejo were certainly far better off than those at the other sites because of their higher rate of long-term and reasonably paid employment. The Hai||om community of Farm Six was the poorest by far, due to remoteness, restricted access to land and veldfood, and the scarcity of employment or even piecework opportunities.

²² The Okaukuejo participants also described a 'very rich' category, but it did not include any Hai||om. These 'very rich' people had high salaries (e.g. N\$5 000 per month) and other employed family members. They also had livestock outside the park, but the participants could not confirm their numbers.

6.3.2 Access to land

As with the lack of employment opportunities, the lack of access to land was a serious problem for all of the Hai||om communities visited in Kunene, Oshana and Oshikoto Regions. Since the circumstances differed considerably across the sites, it is worth describing the site-specific circumstances in some detail.

Hai||om resettlement farms around Etosha National Park



We integrated data on the resettlement farms close to Etosha that were recently bought for the Hai||om and handed over to the Hai||om Traditional Authority (TA). This background information is necessary for understanding Hai||om land issues, particularly in respect of Outjo, Okaukuejo and Oshivelo. It also provides some additional data on other sites where Hai||om were living. Most of the data presented is from the document titled *Hai||om Resettlement Farms – Strategy and Action Plan*, produced by Steven Lawry, Ben Begbie-Clench and Robert K. Hitchcock for the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) and the MET in September 2012 (Lawry et al. 2012), and from Dieckmann (2011).

Since 2008 the government has purchased seven farms close to the southern border of the Etosha National Park, specifically for the Hai||om. These farms are Seringkop, Bellalaika, Mooiplaas, Werda, Nuchas, Toevlug and Koppies (see the map on page 174). An eighth farm, Ondera, 30 km east of Oshivelo, was purchased in early 2013. The plan to resettle Hai||om had emerged some years beforehand, and was related to the planning for the Etosha National Park centenary celebrations in 2007. The government could not ignore the fact that the establishment of the game reserve (which later became a national park) was no cause for celebration for the Hai||om, who had lost their land due to these developments (*The Namibian*, Brigitte Weidlich, 17 November 2008). The Hai||om still residing within the national park comprised the primary target group for resettlement. A minority of them were employed by the MET and NWR while the rest were retired or unemployed and living with their employed relatives. The Hai||om residing at Oshivelo comprised another target group for resettlement (*The Namibian*, A. Shigwedha, 26 March 2007).

The government plans envisaged that the MLR would purchase farms (or blocks of farms) for resettlement on the eastern side of the park (close to Oshivelo) and at the southern border of the park (close to the Anderson Gate and Ombika), and Cabinet had given its approval for this purchase as well as for the creation of conservancies for the affected Hai||om (MET 2007: 2). The resettled Hai||om would then be assisted in developing sustainable livelihoods on the redistributed land through a variety of strategies and land uses, involving wildlife, tourism and – as in communal areas – the creation of conservancies. There were also discussions about the Hai||om getting access to specific sites in Etosha that were of particular cultural importance to them.

The MLR had previously carried out preliminary work to identify potential farms for purchase (based on the “willing buyer, willing seller” principle) and had also carried out individual farm assessments. Then, in 2007, a professional consultant was contracted to carry out research on behalf of the MET. This resulted in a more detailed project implementation plan for the resettlement of the Hai||om and the establishment of conservancy-like institutions. The consultancy report (MET 2007) stressed the following:

- There was a considerable need for proper planning at different stages of the project, including a need to gather sufficient information and to carry out certain feasibility studies before some of the proposed activities could be initiated.
- If the project moved too quickly, simply to get results on the ground, then the target group – the Hai||om community – would not properly benefit from the project.
- Sound capacity-building programmes had to be provided for the project to succeed.

It was anticipated that the project would require commitment from government and donors over a period of at least 10 years so as to provide the Hai||om with sustainable livelihoods based on sound land management, the development of productive businesses and partnerships, and good governance (MET 2007: 10). The project development was to be guided by the Inter-Ministerial Technical Committee on the Hai||om, a sub-committee of the SDP of the OPM (Ouseb 2008: 1). From the outset it was agreed that there was a need to develop appropriate structures for the coordination and facilitation of implementation on the ground: the proposed approach was for the MET to chair an Implementation Steering Committee made up of all relevant stakeholders, which would report to the Inter-Ministerial Technical Committee on the Hai||om.

The majority of the original main target group, i.e. the Hai||om residents of Etosha, resisted their relocation from the beginning. At the handing-over ceremony, the Deputy Prime Minister remarked: “They say they will wait until Etosha becomes their own, but that will never be; Etosha is there for all to benefit [through tourism].” (*The Namibian*, Brigitte Weidlich, 17 November 2008) However, this represents a simplified version of the Hai||om community’s priorities and concerns, since they were concerned that they would lose all access to Etosha once they agreed to be resettled on the farms, their priority being to get employment in the park and live there instead.

With regard to the Hai||om at Oshivelo, the second main target group, initially the MET envisaged opportunities on the eastern side of the park for an innovative public-private partnership between current landowners, government and the Hai||om. A Hai||om community trust (called Namutoni Hai||om Trust) focusing on the Hai||om around Oshivelo, had been developed as an initiative of the private landowners, and there was an agreement to create a conservancy-like institution with the Namutoni Hai||om Trust and the private landowners as partners. This initiative was thought to have potential for creating opportunities for employment and generating income from existing and planned tourism businesses in this area, as well as from hunting and other enterprises. There were indications that, apart from the resettlement farms to be purchased by the government for the Oshivelo Hai||om community, an additional farm might be donated to them by current landowners, and some shares in a further farm might be donated to the trust with the option of buying the remainder at a later stage (MET 2007: 10-11). However, it would appear that the negotiations between the government and the private landowners did not work out as anticipated, and for many years no development took place for the Hai||om of Oshivelo. Only in 2013 was the farm Ondera handed over to the Hai||om TA.

(The following information refers to the resettlement farms south of Etosha, since Ondera was only recently bought and no detailed data on the plans for development there was available.)

In September 2012, around 690 Hai||om were living on the resettlement farms (see Table 6.6 on the next page). However, during the four years of resettlement there had been little coordinated planning beyond land purchases in terms of strategic land-use planning; understanding the carrying capacity of the resettlement farms for people and livestock; ensuring viability of the areas; and developing sustainable livelihoods. The fact that a land-use plan and livelihood support strategies document

was only completed in early 2012 (Lawry et al. 2012) is a clear indication of this. That document was commissioned by the MCC as a response to a request from the MET for planning assistance.

Access to the resettlement farms was managed by the Hai||om TA: the chief received resettlement requests from local Hai||om people and then provided them with places on the resettlement farms once the farms were purchased and handed over to the TA. Some Hai||om felt that many of those people first resettled were family of the chief, or people close to him. The accuracy of this claim is difficult to assess, but without doubt this perception helped to promote division between those who supported the chief and those who did not (see section 6.3.8 on political participation and representation).

Table 6.6: Hai||om resettlement farm size, population, purchase and status (September 2012)

Farm name	Farm size	Farm population	Number of registered persons
Mooiplaas No. 462	6 500 ha	Farm in process of being abandoned; unknown	162
Bellalaika No. 458	3 700 ha	10 households (287 plots allocated; MET houses under construction)	Outjo and surroundings: 184 Etosha: 103 Total: 287
Werda No. 469	6 414 ha	19 households plus people from Mooiplaas and Outjo	None
Seringkop No. 454	6 361 ha	80 households, with plans for more from Etosha and Khorixas	241
Nuchas No. 461	6 217 ha	9 persons and 1 resident employee	None
Toevlug No. 457	6 217 ha	12 households plus more from Mooiplaas and Etosha	None
Koppies No. 457	1 436 ha	None	None
Total		Approximately 121 households with 621 persons (690 persons registered)	

Source: Adapted from Lawry et al. 2012: 8.

Our own data (from research in Outjo and visits to the resettlement farms in other contexts) indicates that pension money and food aid were the main livelihood strategies on the resettlement farms for the majority of farm residents. Transport to Outjo (around 90km away by gravel road) to get pension money was a problem, however. According to the *Hai||om Resettlement Farms – Strategy and Action Plan*, for a minority of the Hai||om, livestock was an important source of subsistence and income.²³ The ownership of livestock was highly skewed, however: only 14.73% of the Hai||om on the farms actually owned livestock. Livestock production was constrained by the lack of access to water in some parts of the farms, uneven grazing conditions, and disease and predation. Income-generating activities included the exploitation of natural resources (e.g. firewood, mopane worms and medicinal plants) and the production of crafts. It was concluded that “the income generation potential of natural resources on the farms is relatively undeveloped” (Lawry et al. 2012: 11). Communal gardens were found on two farms (Seringkop and Nuchas), but evidence from both the report and discussions in Outjo during our fieldwork suggested that the communal gardening was not very successful and Hai||om would prefer individual gardens (Lawry et al. 2012: 12). Few of the Hai||om had backyard gardens that were irrigated, and water was a major constraint in this regard. Most of the households cultivated maize, beans, melons and some other vegetables. A few Hai||om on the farms had obtained hunting licences from the TA (for kudu, springbok, wildebeest or warthog), but hunting was not a common livelihood strategy. The resettlement farms received support through several government agencies: the OPM, MLR, MET, MAWF, the Ministry of Health and Social

²³ The total number of cattle on the farms was 497 and the number of small stock was 534. Some Hai||om kept poultry as well, and there were some donkeys used for transport and draught power in ploughing fields.

Services (MoHSS), the Ministry of Education (MoE), the Hai||om Regional Technical Committee and the Namibian-German Special Initiative Programme (Lawry et al. 2012: 14-16).

Furthermore, since the early stages of planning it had been envisaged that the Hai||om on the resettlement farms should be enabled to gain additional income through the granting of a tourism concession to the specific area around the !Gobaub waterhole in the park. A feasibility study was conducted in 2011 (Collinson 2011). Long debates between the MET and MCA-N took place in 2011 and 2012 about the type of legal entity to which such a concession should be granted, with MCA-N supporting the project in that period and emphasising the need to have a democratic institution in place. Eventually, in September 2012, the !Gobaub Community Association was established to oversee the wildlife tourism concession in the !Gobaub area. Unfortunately the association's constitution was prepared by lawyers in Windhoek without the potential members participating or being properly consulted, and without taking into account the realities on the ground.²⁴ Our field discussions also established that many residents did not fully understand the association's constitution.

Contrary to the recommendations in another consultancy report which suggested a broader approach (Jones and Diez 2011), in 2012 the MET decided that benefits from the concession should be available only to Hai||om residents of the resettlement farms, as documented in the constitution. This meant that the people who decided to stay in Etosha (and other Hai||om who lost land in the process of colonisation) were excluded from any benefits arising from the !Gobaub waterhole concession in Etosha. Notably, the *Hai||om Resettlement Farms – Strategy and Action Plan* compiled in September 2011 concluded (Lawry et al. 2012: 17): “We believe that there is considerable merit in including Etosha Hai||om in the membership of the !Gobaub Community Association.” Shortly after the association was established, the Head Concession Contract for the Etosha South Activity Concession Etosha National Park (MET 2012) was signed between the MET (The Concessor) and “the Hai||om Community herein represented by the Chairperson of the !Gobaub Hai-||om Association (The Concessionaire)”. Therefore, although the contract stated that the Hai||om community would be the concessionaire, in fact only people from the resettlement farms (as members of the association) could be beneficiaries of the concession. This was also a misrepresentation of the following facts:

- There are around 11 000 Hai||om in Namibia, but the farm residents number only an estimated 600-700 in total, thus the concessionaire includes only a minimal percentage of the Hai||om community.
- There was never in-depth consultation with, or participation of, the members of the association, let alone the rest of the Hai||om.
- No economic feasibility study, business plans or simple estimations of the financial benefits from the concession had been developed.²⁵
- The rights of the concessionaire are very limited and it is debatable whether the Hai||om will receive any kind of sustainable benefit based on the contract.
- The access that the Hai||om would have to Etosha (“cultural and symbolic rights”) is very limited (MET 2012: Annexure 3).²⁶
- The idea to build a lodge at !Gobaub exclusively for the benefit of the Hai||om was originally developed by the Hai||om residents of Etosha, not Hai||om on resettlement farms.

²⁴ For example, written notices to each of the registered members are required to inform all members about an Annual General Meeting at least 30 days before the date fixed, etc. Given the high rate of illiteracy, the lack of access to fax machines or computers, and the lack of registered addresses, this seems to be an impractical condition.

²⁵ Noticeably, the farm on which the lodge is supposed to be built had not yet been bought by the government during the planning stages.

²⁶ In addition, the concession fee to be paid to the Concessor (25% of all concession fees received by the Concessionaire from the Operator of the concession right) is high, taking into account that there is not yet a business plan in place (MET 2012: 50).

With regard to the development of the resettlement farms, it became evident from the above that land acquisition and resettlement planning and strategising were of a piecemeal nature, and the resettlement of the Hai||om was not a well-planned and coordinated process. Moreover, the question of livelihood sustainability had not been sufficiently addressed. Although the resettlement began in 2008, five years on the Hai||om were still far from being self-sustainable. Due to the remoteness of the farms, piecework options and options for engaging in small businesses were far fewer than, for example, in Outjo or Otavi. Very few Hai||om actually kept livestock on the resettlement farms, thus to date the Hai||om have in fact become even more dependent on state aid than they were when they lived in towns. Furthermore, participation and consultation were undertaken mainly through the Hai||om TA, which, as it turned out, complicated issues further and led to more divisions among the community members (see section 6.3.8 on political participation and representation).

Okaukuejo

The situation of the Hai||om in Etosha with regard to access to land is linked to the resettlement farms, as it was originally envisaged that the Hai||om of Etosha would be the first target group. The residents of Okaukuejo had mixed feelings about the resettlement farms. At one stage (late 2011) it seemed that some people would be willing to move to the resettlement farms on condition that they would be resettled together at one farm away from the influence of the TA, and that they would be provided with housing. Reportedly there had been prior promises made by MET representatives that Farm Toevlug would be made exclusively available to the Hai||om from Etosha. However, the piecemeal nature of the purchase of land, and the lack of a proper resettlement strategy, have ruined this possibility. In September 2012, according to the records of the TA (Lawry et al. 2012: 9), 47 persons at Okaukuejo and Anderson Gate had registered for a plot on the resettlement farms, yet only a minimal number of people had actually moved out of the park onto the resettlement farms; most were still living in Etosha. Thus the MET's aim of removing unemployed or retired Hai||om from the park has not yet been achieved. In our field discussions it became evident that many Hai||om would prefer to reside and work in Etosha, which they regard as their home, instead of moving to resettlement farms. It should be borne in mind that the Hai||om who grew up in Etosha were not familiar with keeping livestock (or the skills required for other agricultural activities) because livestock has not been allowed within the park since the late 1940s (Dieckmann 2007b: 186-188). In April 2013, the MET, with MCA-N support, started to build new staff quarters close to Ombika for MET employees who are supposed to move from Okaukuejo to these new quarters (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, Dirk Heinrich, 4 April 2013). The consequences of the relocation for the Hai||om at Okaukuejo have yet to come to light.



Etosha Poort (Outjo)

The majority of the Hai||om who moved to the resettlement farms (mostly Seringkop and Bellalaika) were Hai||om from Outjo. This was partly due to the fact that the registration was conducted by the Hai||om TA, which has its office in Outjo. It might also be due to the fact that many of the Hai||om in Outjo had grown up as children of farmworkers in the area where the resettlement farms are located. Three of the 12 discussion participants in Outjo had a plot on one of the resettlement farms – their main motivation being that this entitled them to benefit from the San Feeding Programme under the OPM. The participants expressed strong disagreement with the way that Hai||om Chief David ||Khamuxab handled issues on the farms, in that they felt that he was acting like a dictator (see more about this in section 6.3.8 on political participation and representation). Compared with places like Tsintsabis, Farm Six or Oshivelo, the Hai||om in Outjo were more concerned about their lack of employment and the lack of good governance on the part of the Hai||om TA than about the lack of land, although the latter was mentioned in the context of the problems of keeping livestock.



A very small number of Hai||om in Outjo also had plots on other group resettlement farms in the vicinity of Outjo. Overgrazing seemed to be a problem there. In short, moving to a farm and trying to sustain oneself by subsistence farming there was not regarded as a viable livelihood option.

Oshivelo

“When Namibia got independence, it was mentioned that every Namibian would get part of their motherland/ancestral land. We also thought we would get our land. If you watch TV, you see people enjoying the fruits of our motherland. It is the people who represent us who don’t bring the fruits to us. When we made our first demonstration, at Namutoni Gate, we got locked up and beaten up. There is a woman here who was affected by teargas and since then she has skin cancer. After the demonstration, they agreed to resettle the Hai||om people in Oshivelo. We were planning to make a second peaceful demonstration and when the governor heard of it they came here and told me that they would look into the issue and there was no need for a demonstration. Nothing has happened since then. Our first demonstration was in 1997 and we wanted to do a second one in 2010. Many farms have been bought in our name but we don’t get them. Geluksanker was bought for us but the government gave it to an Owambo person. They tell us that the land was bought by the Owambo person. Onguma could not be bought because the government could not afford it. The government is using our [Hai||om] name to buy land for themselves.”

– Male participant at Oshivelo

At Oshivelo the lack of land was regarded as a major issue, and the issue came up continuously in our discussions there, in various contexts.

There was a general feeling of loss of access to ancestral land (in Etosha), the result of which was a loss of livelihoods. One of the respondents put it very clearly: “No land, no life.” Participants were distressed by the fact that in post-Independent Namibia many other ethnic groups had been given their ancestral land but the Hai||om people had not. In 1997, seeking to address the lack of land, Hai||om from all over the area held a peaceful demonstration at the park’s eastern and southern entrance gates. Some were beaten up by police and some were locked up in police cells.

Discussion participants contended that it was the lack of land that reduced them to what they termed “begging for food from the government”. Participants also articulated their thoughts on what they called the “inhumane process of evicting [the Hai||om] from Etosha in 1954”. Although many of the participants were young and had not yet been born at the time of eviction, they narrated stories which they had heard their elders tell with bitterness, relating how some of the Hai||om got lost in the process of eviction and may have been eaten by wild animals. They also remembered how their once-large families were scattered as relatives were transported to different and distant places.



As mentioned above, in 2013 (about six months after our research for this study), the 7 000 ha farm Ondera, close to the Ombili Foundation, was handed over to the Hai||om TA. During the handing-over ceremony, government representatives mentioned that Hai||om could engage in crop production, livestock husbandry and income-generating activities there (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, E. Hoffmann, 20 February 2013; *The Namibian*, O. Shivute, 26 February 2013). Undoubtedly, the Hai||om resettled at Ondera will need lots of post-resettlement support to eventually develop sustainable livelihoods. Again, a question arising is whether proper planning and coordination of support activities was undertaken before the beneficiaries were actually resettled.

Tsintsabis

The resettlement at Tsintsabis took place long before the SDP of the OPM came into being (2005). The approach adopted at Tsintsabis was similar to the approach at other group resettlement schemes under the MLR, and differed from the OPM approach to San resettlement projects (i.e. the seven south of Etosha, the Ondera project east of Etosha, and the Uitkoms project in Otjozondjupa Region), where the MLR acted only as a buyer for the OPM. As with other group resettlement projects, the influx of people to Tsintsabis had not been controlled (GRN 2010: 31).²⁷ It was mentioned that some Owambo people occupied land without the MLR allocating it to them, and had illegally fenced off bigger plots for livestock and *omahangu* (pearl millet). Government officials were also said to be part of the incoming population, e.g. a magistrate living in Tsumeb, nurses, teachers, doctors, etc. Apparently there was also confusion about who had the authority to allocate land – whether the MLR or the local headman – and there were complaints that the headman had allocated land to outsiders. In summary, the Hai||om felt that they had poor land rights: land was just taken away by others and no compensation was paid for lost land, e.g. the RCC “took” a plot from one person, and Mobile Telecommunications Limited (MTC) erected a cellphone tower without compensating the plot owner who lost land as a result. Additionally, the 10 ha plots allocated to individuals were not fenced off and did not provide any infrastructure for sustainable gardening or animal husbandry projects. The lack of access to land was a major issue for the participants at Tsintsabis.

“The reason why we are piled up here is that we had our ancestral land and waterholes but they are taken over by others now.”

– Male participant at Tsintsabis

²⁷ As mentioned, the resettlement area of Tsintsabis is 3 000 ha, and originally 80 households were supposed to be resettled there. Currently there are 3 000-4 000 people living there.

Although they were now living on a resettlement farm, the level of poverty was perceived to be higher than before, basically because Hai||om livelihood options had diminished: employment on farms was scarce; other employment opportunities were almost non-existent; the access to natural resources (game, veldfood and medicinal plants) was far more limited; and new livelihood options (e.g. keeping livestock and gardening) were not viable. The result was a high dependency on state aid (pensions and food aid).



Farm Six

The Hai||om community at Farm Six faced even worse problems with access to land than did Hai||om at the other sites. The NDC had made four farms in the Mangetti Block temporarily available for relocation of Owambo cattle owners who had been accused of illegal grazing in Kavango Region. The government had spent N\$3.5 million on erecting a high fence to prevent cattle mixing (with those of other people and with game) and spreading diseases. The area covered by the four farms has the capacity to carry 4000 cattle, while the 57 registered Owambo cattle owners had 7 630 cattle (Namibia Press Agency 2008). Although this relocation was supposed to be a temporarily solution, in 2010 their stay was extended by one more year, so even though not all of the 57 cattle owners moved to this area, the number of cattle there increased, putting a heavy strain on the water resources (*The Namibian*, O. Shivute, 2 August 2010). The Hai||om at Farm Six were not informed – let alone consulted – about this relocation beforehand, and once the Owambo were in the area the Hai||om were told that they would only stay for nine months. The Owambo farmers' cattle grazed in the area where Hai||om used to have temporary camps to hunt and gather veldfood, and it was said that when the Hai||om went to that area to collect veldfood, the Owambo farmers acted as though felt threatened: "They all have guns and are powerful."



"If government cannot help us with accessing land, then they should take a gun and shoot all Hai||om here so that they can take the land!"

– Male participant at Farm Six

Another participant said that the fact that Owambo farmers were allowed to settle at Farm Six was an indication that the Hai||om were not regarded as human beings. The participants complained that they mentioned the land issue to everyone who visited them but without any result. For instance, a representative from the OPM had been there in December 2011 and they had informed him of the issue but nothing had happened afterwards. The participants mentioned that the community should get a specific cattle post (*pos*) in the Mangetti Block (i.e. part of the land that was allocated to the Owambo). The post they had in mind consisted of four camps and was not too far away from the school. The Hai||om wanted the Owambo cattle removed from that area so that the Hai||om could engage in crop cultivation. It was also stressed that it would give pride back to the people if they had land. Remarkably, they felt that asking for more than one post was too ambitious and would put discourage the government from acting in their favour.

"We are disappointed by government. We feel like prisoners between the commercial farms and the Owambo farmers. We want to get a *pos*, Klein 6, to stay there. It is disappointing that people from far are coming here and settle on our ancestral land."

– Male participant at Farm Six

6.3.3 Identity, culture and heritage

The participants generally identified themselves as Hai||om rather than as San.

Traditionally the Hai||om were divided into several subgroups, according to the geographical area in which they lived. This was specifically mentioned by participants at Oshivelo – but this process of subdivision and the respective names of the various groups are common knowledge among the Hai||om. It was mentioned by members of other Hai||om communities too (e.g. Outjo and Okaukuejo), and is well recorded elsewhere (Dieckmann 2007b: 112-113; Friedrich 2009: 49; Widlok 1999: 82).

Regarding cultural differences between the Hai||om and other ethnic groups, participants in Outjo deemed their language to be the chief difference in their area, followed by their physical appearance, certain traditions (e.g. playing the traditional guitar, and hunting with a bow and arrow) and their clothing (loincloths). At all sites the participants felt that Hai||om were discriminated against. It was mentioned that many Hai||om had lost their Hai||om dialect. According to linguists, the *ǀAkhoe* dialect, spoken in the north of Oshikoto Region as well as in Ohangwena Region, preserves old Khoekhoe forms in terms of lexicon/syntax, and is clearly distinguishable from 'mainstream Hai||om'.²⁸ This variant was spoken at Farm Six and Tsintsabis. This linguistic detail is also an indication of cultural contact with other Khoekhoegowab speakers (for the language families, see Table 3.2 on page 23). In Outjo, Kunene Region, the contact between Hai||om and Damara people was very close because there were many Damara living there, whereas in Oshikoto Region, where fewer Damara lived, it was more limited. Linguists have pointed out the following: "Many speakers of *ǀAkhoe* Hai||om have maintained an unusual cultural profile as hunter-gatherers. Striking

²⁸ See <http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/akhoe/languages>.

features include healing trance dances, hunting magic and intensive usage of wild plant and insect food, a unique kinship and naming system, frequent storytelling, and the use of a landscape-term system for spatial orientation.”²⁹ Our research confirmed this. The traditional knowledge among the Hai||om in Oshikoto Region and Etosha seemed to be much more detailed than, for example, in Outjo. For instance, while even elderly people in Outjo no longer had knowledge about former headmen at specific waterholes, the elders at Okaukuejo, Tsintsabis and Farm Six still had that knowledge. These differences in traditional knowledge were without doubt influenced by the fact that some groups still had access to their ancestral land, albeit to a limited extent.

6.3.4 Relationships with other groups

Hai||om at all five sites were living in close proximity with most of the other regional ethnic groups, though to varying degrees. As already mentioned, they felt that others discriminated against them, and they felt disadvantaged compared to others. Although Hai||om-Damara sexual relationships which produced offspring were quite common in Outjo, participants claimed that the Damara there still discriminated against Hai||om. Damara people would say, for example, “You stupid San; you are not educated and get food from government.” However, if Damara wanted labourers on their resettlement farms, they would often use Hai||om as they knew that Hai||om were good herders – but they would not pay them a decent salary. Due to the amount of discrimination they experienced, many Hai||om (especially in former times) reportedly pretended to be Damara when they attended school – which would have been possible due to the similarity of the Hai||om and Damara languages. The Hai||om in Outjo also stated that in the last census (2011), most Hai||om said that their mother tongue was “Nama/Damara” – see first page of this chapter (p. 173).

At Okaukuejo and Oshivelo, the issue of jobs being given to others (mostly Owambo) was raised repeatedly. At Oshivelo the Hai||om mentioned that they often saw job opportunities meant for San people with at least a Grade 10 qualification go to non-San people instead. They attributed such practices to the stereotypes that people from other ethnic groups had formed of San people, i.e. ‘San people are lazy’ and ‘San people cannot work’. It was difficult to determine whether or not this claim was true, although the participants cited some examples.³⁰ At Oshivelo, and also at Farm Six and Tsintsabis, participants stressed that it was not only jobs that had been given to other people, but also land. Furthermore, Hai||om former farmworkers of Outjo and Tsintsabis reported that experiences they had had with previously disadvantaged farmers (i.e. black farmers) were as bad as their experiences with previously advantaged farmers (i.e. white farmers), if not worse.

“Black commercial farmers treat us worse than white farmers. They catch you, beat you up and take you to police. Once a black farmer buys a farm he dismisses all the Hai||om employees and brings in his own people. Whites dumped us after Independence at Tsintsabis. Nowadays Owambo farmers dump Hai||om at Tsintsabis and employ members of their own family instead.”

– Male participant at Tsintsabis

²⁹ See <http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/akhoe/languages>.

³⁰ Their claims were inconsistent with the responses of the chief control officer at the Guinas Constituency Office, who maintained that Hai||om people could not compete fairly for jobs with people from other ethnic groups because Hai||om people, on average, had lower levels of education. Furthermore he said that this situation could be attributed to the government policy of employing casual workers in government offices: the government has a policy of employing liberation war veterans as a priority in casual positions, and Hai||om people are not considered to fall into this category. Indeed, the participants at Oshivelo mentioned the fact that the Hai||om (as other San) had fought for the South African Defence Force as a reason for current discrimination.

6.3.5 Education

Many elderly people at all sites have either never been to school or dropped out of school at a very early stage. At Oshivelo, for instance, 14 of the 20 participants had never been to school, mainly because they lived in Etosha or grew up on farms. Eight of the 11 women had never been to school, and three women who went to school did not go beyond Grade 6. At Okaukuejo, none of the older participants had been to school.

The situation of the younger generation was different. Compared with other San groups, school attendance of Hai||om in higher grades was generally good, although dropout remained a problem.

Distance to schools, and having no place to stay when attending, were major factors impeding school attendance. In Outjo there are both primary and secondary schools, and four of the 13 participants had been schooled up to Grade 12 (but had not necessarily completed Grade 12). The primary school attended by children of Okaukuejo is 17 km away, but transport was provided. Secondary schools for children at Okaukuejo are found in Khorixas or Outjo, both of which are over 100 km away, and only two Hai||om in the whole community (both from the same family) had finished Grade 12, while another six went up to Grade 12 but failed to matriculate. Oshivelo and Tsintsabis had combined schools (up to Grade 10), and the senior secondary school serving both sites was at Tsumeb. At Oshivelo only one participant had finished Grade 12. Farm Six had a primary school up to Grade 6, and reportedly no child there attended secondary school. Failing Grade 10 was a factor mentioned at Okaukuejo, Outjo and Tsintsabis: at Tsintsabis it was reported that between 2006 and 2009 at least one or two Hai||om children passed Grade 10 every year. Since 2010, however, no Hai||om child had passed Grade 10.

'When our children pass Grade 10 and go to Tsumeb, there is also a challenge there because they need money. We also do not know how our children are treated there at the homes in Tsumeb at our relatives' homes. My young brother has suffered because he wanted to stay with my aunt in Tsumeb. He was not eating enough food after school. He was always told that there is no food when he came back from school, but they were eating while he is at school. Even the children in the hostel feel like foreigners sometimes, because they do not have toiletries, no clothes, they can't buy food when they go into town. My brother eventually dropped out in Grade 11.'

– Male participant at Oshivelo

However, according to the school principal at Oshivelo, Hai||om children tended to drop out of school, especially in Grade 7, i.e. long before distance to school becomes an issue (i.e. after Grade 10, when they needed to go to Tsumeb). At the time of our fieldwork, only four Hai||om children were in Grade 10 (three boys and one girl) at Oshivelo. This trend, according to the principal, was attributed to:

- Hai||om people tending to withdraw their girl children from school once they reach puberty;
- early marriages (from the ages of 12 and 13);
- Hai||om children tending to drop out of school whenever the feeding programme is delayed;
- some Hai||om children dropping out of school to look for piecework in lodges; and
- a lack of interest in schooling.

By contrast, Hai||om of Oshivelo, Tsintsabis and Outjo deemed the lack of financial resources to be the primary reason for dropping out. According to the participants, poor people at Tsintsabis were not really exempted from school fees (in contravention of government policy) since parents were asked to work (e.g. clearing bushes) instead of paying school fees. Furthermore, some children were ashamed to go to school because their parents could not afford soap. At Oshivelo, although



the Hai||om were aware that they were exempted from paying school fees, they were usually still served with letters demanding that they pay them, whereupon they would have to go to the school to make an arrangement with the school principal for an exemption.

Teenage pregnancy was another reason for incomplete schooling, and was mentioned at most sites. In Outjo, the reason given for this was that talking about sex was taboo: “We were told that children are coming from airplanes.” Teenage pregnancy was also identified as a common occurrence among Hai||om girls at Oshivelo. Participants explained that all Hai||om girls who fell pregnant dropped out of school, whereas Owambo girls went back to school after giving birth. The senior nurse at the Oshivelo clinic concurred with the reported high rate of teenage pregnancy among Hai||om girls.

The Oshivelo school principal also stated that there were reported cases of schoolgirls being raped. He argued that such occurrences could be reduced if a hostel was built at the school so that the children could spend more time in school in a safe environment. He also reiterated that the Hai||om settlement in the southern part of Oshivelo had no electricity, which rendered young girls walking about after dark more vulnerable to sexual assault.

Participants at Oshivelo and in Outjo also reported that girls tended to drop out of school earlier and more often than boys. They attributed this situation to the differing personal needs of boys and girls. The latter reportedly required more toiletries than boys, and if the items required were not supplied, then they felt uncomfortable being at school with their peers.

The lack of mother-tongue education was specifically mentioned at Tsintsabis and Oshivelo. At Tsintsabis, the Hai||om said that their children were losing their mother tongue because they were taught in Damara and English, while they spoke ǀAkhoe at home. At Oshivelo the participants said that Hai||om children are at a disadvantage compared with Oshiwambo-speaking children as the latter can learn their language in school as well.

Box 6.1: The education situation at Farm Six

In 2003, a primary school, /Khomxa Khoeda (Vulnerable People's) Primary School, was established at Farm Six with the Damara language as the medium of instruction. It started with around 75 learners, but by 2005 it provided education to only 55 learners in Grades 1-5 – a decrease of 20 learners. In February 2006, various problems were reported at the school (*New Era*, E. Nawatiseb, 2 February 2006). The school had been without sufficient water since its inception in 2003, and could not operate a feeding scheme for poor learners. This resulted in absenteeism, as children were roaming the bushes in search of wild fruits. In the interview with the journalist, the acting principal of the school stated the following: "Families without any pensioner among them are suffering because there is no income at the end of the day. ... the children lose concentration and what can we as teachers do when your command for attention in the classroom is ignored due to pressing hunger?" Very early pregnancy was mentioned as another reason for dropout from school (*New Era*, E. Nawatiseb, 2 February 2006). Regarding further education, a study participant at Farm Six mentioned that all the learners who attended the school at Tsintsabis dropped out quickly. In short, the educational situation at Farm Six seemed hopeless without further intervention.

The importance of school feeding programmes (see Box 6.1) was also mentioned at Oshivelo. Hunger was mentioned as an obstacle in respect of school attendance: according to the principal, a school feeding programme for children in Grades 0-7 was introduced in 1994, whereafter the enrolment rate rose, although participants mentioned that the children were given only porridge. Noticeably, most children dropped out in Grade 7, according to the principal.

At Oshivelo, participants said that vocational training centres would be useful. In their opinion, children who are considered to be low achievers in school should not be denied opportunities to progress, and should be trained in skilled labour (e.g. repairing electronic equipment).

Participants at all sites mentioned that they understood the importance of education – this was contrary to the assessment of the principal at Oshivelo. Various reasons were given for this, but the necessity of formal education as a prerequisite for employment was one of them. However, at most sites the participants also believed that often only people from other ethnic groups could get jobs.

"There was a mobile toilet tender and it was said that it would include the Hai||om youth here at Oshivelo, but they brought in youth from other areas. The requirement was that people should have transport [a vehicle], but they gave the work to Oshiwambo people who did not even have cars, while there are Hai||om people with cars who could have qualified. I complained to the councillor about this, but he said they were not involved, but this is discrimination."

– Male participant at Oshivelo

In addition to the importance of education in the job market, elderly people stressed the importance of children attending school because there they learnt to understand, read and write English.

"English is important to get help. Owambo cannot speak Afrikaans. Young people can help you because they can read and speak English. Owambo people don't help if you speak only Afrikaans and Khoekhoegowab."

"If you can't read and write (or speak English) you don't know for example if you are allowed to enter a certain place, you cannot read what is written there, you cannot read your contracts!"

– Participants at Okaukuejo

Education was regarded as an entry point to “modern times”. In today’s world, an elderly Hai||om-speaking person needs the assistance of young school children who understand English and can read and write it, otherwise he/she is “outside”, whereas in the old days, even without English and literacy, Hai||om were part of the system as most of them could speak Afrikaans. This is a clear indication of the obstacle that language can pose for full participation in public life. At Okaukuejo it was also said that the fact that the elders did not go to school had led to their being disrespected by their children and grandchildren: “Grandchildren would come home and say, ‘Read, Oupa!’ And you cannot read English, and they say then: ‘Oh, Oupa, are you stupid?’” This is an indication of the complexity of the education issue. On the one hand, the elders were aware that they needed to help their children to continue schooling, and they also felt that it helped them (because the children could translate and read for them). On the other hand, education led to disrespect and to a reversal of roles: while adults were the ones to teach the children in former times, nowadays the children needed to ‘teach’ and translate for their parents.

This situation calls for an integration of Hai||om traditional knowledge into their formal education system in order to valorise the knowledge of the elders.



Above: A Hai||om elder explaining the former way of life to Hai||om children. (This excursion with children in Etosha was possible only because of the presence of the researcher with a valid research permit.)

Below: The cover of the book for children produced by the Xoms |Omis (Etosha Heritage) Project currently run by the Legal Assistance Centre (see footnote 4 in this chapter, p. 182), and three images from the book – which has 300 images – depicting traditional knowledge of the Hai||om elders.



6.3.6 Health

Table 6.7 summarises the health situation at Outjo, Oshivelo and Okaukuejo.³¹

Table 6.7: The health situation among the Hai||om of Outjo, Oshivelo and Okaukuejo

Health category	Etosha Poort (Outjo)	Okaukuejo	Oshivelo
Main diseases according to participants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● High blood pressure ● TB ● Heart diseases ● HIV and AIDS, and other STIs ● Mental disturbances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● High or low blood pressure ● Diabetes ● HIV and AIDS ● Malaria (not very frequent – only people working in the bush, e.g. at the northern border) ● Asthma ● TB (rare) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● TB ● HIV and AIDS ● Malaria ● Diabetes ● High blood pressure ● Asthma ● Women’s diseases
HIV and AIDS	HIV was said to be the most serious and most frequent disease. (ARVs are available.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Participants maintained that it did not occur there in former times but that they got infected by the Owambo after Independence. ● Some people go for tests. ● Participants were not aware of people getting ARVs at Okaukuejo. ● Condoms were available for free at several places (e.g. the post office). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Both the participants and the nurse identified HIV as a health problem at Oshivelo. However, the nurse observed that there are fewer cases of HIV/AIDS among the Hai om people than in other ethnic groups at Oshivelo. ● HIV testing and counselling services were offered at the Oshivelo clinic. ● Condoms were available for free at the clinic. ● People got ARVs at the clinic.
Access to health services	Hospital	Clinic at Okaukuejo, and hospital in Outjo	Clinic at Oshivelo, and hospital in Tsumeb
Ambulance/transport	People had to take public transport to the hospital.	Ambulance at times, otherwise transport to Outjo provided by MET/NWR at month end for employees. For others, transport was a problem.	Ambulance to Tsumeb, but only if more than three patients requested it.
Traditional medicine	Yes	Hardly used	Hardly used
Where do women deliver their babies?	Mostly at home	Mostly at home	Mostly at home

Most important diseases

As Table 6.7 shows, HIV and AIDs and TB were mentioned at all three sites, although participants at Okaukuejo said that there was not much TB occurring there, whereas at Oshivelo TB was said to occur frequently.³² According to the senior nurse at the Oshivelo clinic, Hai||om people comprised the majority of people suffering from TB at Oshivelo. Both the nurse and the discussion participants contended that Hai||om people smoked and drank too much, and had very poor nutrition (which compromised their immune system and made them more vulnerable to TB). It was also stressed that some people who were on medication were meant to eat at the times that they took their medication but most of the time this was not possible.

Malaria was not a problem in Outjo (which is out of the malaria zone), and was not very common at Okaukuejo either, but it was common at Oshivelo. High blood pressure was also mentioned at

³¹ At Tsintsabis and Farm Six we did not apply all tools regarding health.

³² This might be related to the fact that the Hai||om at Okaukuejo were generally less poor than those at the other four sites, and therefore their nutritional status was better.

all three sites. At Oshivelo, women's diseases (i.e. problems related to the womb and breasts) were identified as being common among women and adolescent girls. In Outjo, participants mentioned that there were quite a few Hai||om with mental health issues, and they linked such issues to the use of cannabis (mixed with bones). It was explained that the government has put programmes in place to support those with mental health issues, but that trained local support staff were rare. This meant that the family was left to take care of such people unsupported, although the government provided a grant for those with mental health issues and the family was responsible for its use. It was also said that sometimes those suffering from mental illness did not want to take their medication.

At Oshivelo the participants stated that Hai||om would go for HIV testing, whereas in Outjo it was reported that many people hesitated to do so. When asked if people in Outjo took anti-retroviral (ARV) drugs, participants said that due to stigmatisation, people did not easily discuss their HIV status, so it was difficult to know the true picture, but generally only when people with HIV became really weak were they likely to go and get the medication they needed. It was said that some people paid a nominal amount for their ARVs,³³ whereas others didn't pay anything, and the participants did not know why some paid and others didn't. One female participant was acting as counsellor for a couple of HIV-positive people, and she collected the pills on their behalf.

Alcohol abuse

Alcohol consumption was identified as a major problem among the Hai||om people.

Box 6.2: Alcohol abuse and the lack of alternative activities

Three examples from Tsintsabis, Oshivelo and Outjo shed light on the problem of alcohol abuse and its consequences, and the concomitant need to create alternative leisure activities for residents.

During an LAC meeting held in another context at Oshivelo, the coach of the youth soccer team (Ghetto United) asked if we had any idea who could provide financial and material support to them. He stressed the fact that from the time that the soccer team was established, it had kept the youth out of the shebeens. He pointed out that they would need financial support (e.g. for transport to league competitions and for paying registration fees) and material support (e.g. shirts and balls) in order to participate in national competitions.

Some time after our research in Tsintsabis, a resident there asked the LAC for support. His email read as follows: "I am living in Tsintsabis, most of people in village are San people. Our village is very small but has got lot of shebeens and drinking outlets and this is causing violence in our village. We want to start a program that will fight against violence and giving people a bit of counselling about violence and their rights. We need assistance in how to start and work with the idea that we have."

In Outjo the participants asked for the provision of more leisure facilities, such as a library, which could give the youth alternatives to drinking.

The participants at Oshivelo linked alcohol abuse and smoking to the higher rates of TB among the Hai||om there. Additionally, alcohol abuse was linked to HIV infection and domestic violence there. Apparently the village headman at Oshivelo acted as a counsellor to many young Hai||om, and two of the young participants said that they had moved out of poverty because of this counselling. At Okaukuejo the participants unequivocally requested the closure of the shebeens there.

³³ This amount was said to be N\$2, but it was not known whether this was for a supply for a day, a week or a month, and the researchers did not consider it crucial to ascertain the costs of ARVs for the purposes of this study.

Access to, and payment for, health facilities

All sites except Farm Six had health facilities. A mobile clinic used to visit Farm Six irregularly, and in mid-2005 this service stopped altogether.

At Oshivelo, according to the senior nurse at the clinic, San people were not obliged to pay for medical services there. However, participants said that they would be insulted and ridiculed by the nurses if they could not afford the clinic fees, therefore some Hai||om would not go to the clinic when sick. Participants also mentioned that there had been instances of Hai||om people not being treated or given medicine at Tsumeb State Hospital because they could not pay the hospital fee. At Okaukuejo the participants said that they were not discriminated against at the clinic. In Outjo, some people would ask their relatives for the money for treatment at the hospital if they had no money themselves. One participant noted that the treatment fee was not enforceable by law, but that hospital staff would just ignore this because there might be “free riders”. Some Hai||om would not go to a healthcare facility because of their “inferiority feeling”, as one respondent put it.

Transport to hospitals was a problem for Hai||om of Okaukuejo and Oshivelo. At Okaukuejo it was reported that the ambulance might be sent if someone was seriously sick; otherwise employed people got a lift to Outjo at month end to access healthcare facilities. Occasionally old people could also get a lift at month end, but then, it was said, the lorry was often overcrowded and “full of drunken people”. NWR provided transport for its Etosha employees only. If relatives of employees (e.g. sick children) needed a lift, NWR charged N\$2/km and subtracted the full amount from the employee’s salary. Reportedly there had been cases of people dying because they could not get a lift to Outjo hospital from Okaukuejo.

Giving birth

Most women at all five sites chose to deliver at home, if there were no complications. At Oshivelo the senior nurse confirmed the participants’ view that home delivery is a choice of Hai||om women themselves. However, the participants claimed that Hai||om are often discriminated against when it came to giving birth at the clinic. They said that many times the nurses had told them that the clinic was not equipped to handle births, yet they knew that pregnant women of other ethnic groups gave birth there. The participants also mentioned that Hai||om women wanted to avoid being attended to by male nurses during birth or when experiencing gynaecological problems. Notwithstanding this, both the participants and the senior nurse said that Hai||om women would not hesitate to go to the clinic for pre- and post-natal care, and only when it came to actually giving birth did they prefer to be at home, or at Tsumeb State Hospital if complications arose.

Traditional medicine and healers

Participants in Outjo gave examples of traditional medicine used there for specific problems. They also mentioned that there were traditional healers and ‘witchdoctors’ in the town, but they added that witchdoctors could only heal illnesses caused by humans: if someone had had a curse placed on them, witchdoctors could assist in removing it. Nevertheless, if conventional medicine didn’t help, and the patient had consulted one doctor after another without any improvement, then he/she would go to a witchdoctor. In cases of high blood pressure, HIV or TB, however, witchdoctors have no healing power. Traditional healers used natural remedies to heal certain diseases, and most people (including young people) would still go to traditional healers. The numbers of witchdoctors and traditional healers were said to be declining, although instances of people pretending to be a traditional healer or witchdoctor were on the rise. At Okaukuejo, Tsintsabis and Farm Six, the

use of natural remedies for less serious health problems (e.g. coughing and flu) was also common. Participants at Oshivelo, however, said that the Hai||om did not rely much on traditional medicine and healers nowadays, for three reasons:

- Many people have lost the knowledge of traditional medicine (i.e. this knowledge had not been handed down).
- Medicine from the veld is not easy to get anymore.
- People have lost trust in traditional healers. (It was claimed that most traditional healers have become dishonest and might even give a patient poisonous herbs instead of medicine.)

Caring for the sick

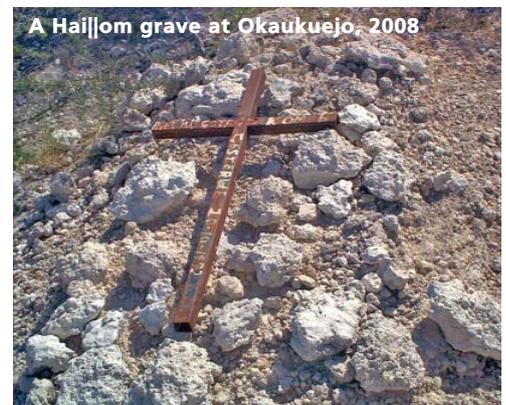
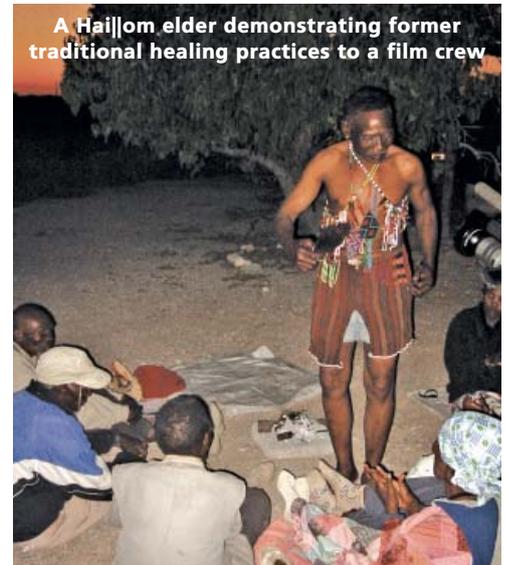
Women were said to be responsible for caring for the sick in the Hai||om households at Oshivelo, but men were said to be responsible for the provision of food for the sick.

In Outjo, usually the women took care of sick people. Men would go to female relatives or female neighbours to get help for their female partners/girlfriends. It was said that the Lutheran Church provided little support to sick people, whereas Pentecostal Church members would come to visit the sick and would also help with paying medical costs. The Red Cross provided home-based care for AIDS patients, but it was necessary to register for this, which implied that one had to be open about one's HIV status.

Death and related services

When a person died, the financial implications for the family were, in some instances, considerable – depending on whether or not the deceased was formally employed or registered to receive a pension (in which case he/she would be eligible for certain death benefits). Transporting the deceased and mourners to the mortuary/cemetery and providing food for mourners for a few days contributed considerably to the costs.

At Okaukuejo, transport to the mortuary was free: either the police (if investigating the cause of death) or an employee in the maintenance section of the MET provided the transport. However, the mortuary had to be paid for its services, and the food for the evening before the incineration and on the day of the funeral service had to be paid for as well. Sharing was a common strategy with regard to funeral costs: according to FGD participants at Oshivelo, when a Hai||om person died, the family members or friends contributed money for the funeral (i.e. they would not borrow money to cover funeral costs). If the deceased was a pensioner, then the government subsidised the costs of the funeral service. In the case of a burial, the coffin could cost about N\$1 000, and sometimes the Hai||om got support in the form of a coffin from the councillor's office. This was consistent with the sentiments expressed by the chief control officer at the Guinas Constituency Office who mentioned that when a Hai||om person died at Oshivelo, the OPM provided the coffin and the councillor's office provide transport and sometimes food for the mourners.



6.3.7 Gender

Some of the gender differences exhibited by the Hai||om have already been mentioned in other contexts in this chapter. Additional information was gathered in an interview with a Hai||om woman who had grown up on farms in the vicinity of Outjo, completed her Grade 12 education, lived in Outjo later and was employed at WIMSA in Windhoek during the time of the research. Information from research literature has been included as well.

Gender roles, even in urban setups like Outjo and Oshivelo, were influenced by the past history of Hai||om as farmworker families on commercial farms, where the men were mostly employed as farmworkers and the women were responsible for most of the household duties and for looking after the small number of livestock as well as the individual gardens (if there were any). It is noteworthy that livestock was owned individually: men, women, grandparents and children all had their own small stock, and the individual owners would make decisions about their particular animals.

Although such employment opportunities decreased for men after Independence, most of the household duties were still the responsibility of women: preparing food (which men also did sometimes), collecting water, doing the laundry, washing the dishes and taking care of the children. Most of the time women also collected the firewood. As the interviewee put it, “Our head is apparently made for carrying.” If men collected firewood, they would only do so using a donkey-cart. Men also repaired the house if there was material to do so. Asked about other tasks undertaken by men, the interviewee said, “Hunting, gathering (to certain extent) and protecting the family.” Of course, the current circumstances of the Hai||om communities (notably the lack of land and access to game, and the lack of employment opportunities) make it virtually impossible for most men to undertake these tasks.

Although formal employment opportunities were almost as scarce for men as they were for women, men in the urban environments had more opportunities than women did to undertake piecework or casual work. Much of the farm and construction work was available only to men, and the work carried out by women was mainly domestic work (and these jobs were rare). However, both men and women could run small businesses. Commercial sex work or involvement with a ‘sugar daddy’ were livelihood strategies for some Hai||om girls and women at Oshivelo and in Outjo, but the participants were reluctant to speak in detail about this strategy. In the focus group discussions conducted in Oshikoto (i.e. Oshivelo) and Kunene Regions (i.e. Outjo) for a recent International Labour Organization study on “Child Labour and San Peoples in Namibia”, it was similarly indicated that San (Hai||om) girls in these regions were sometimes involved in commercial sex activities as a survival strategy (ILO 2012: 36-37).



Hai||om women at the Tsintsabis workshop

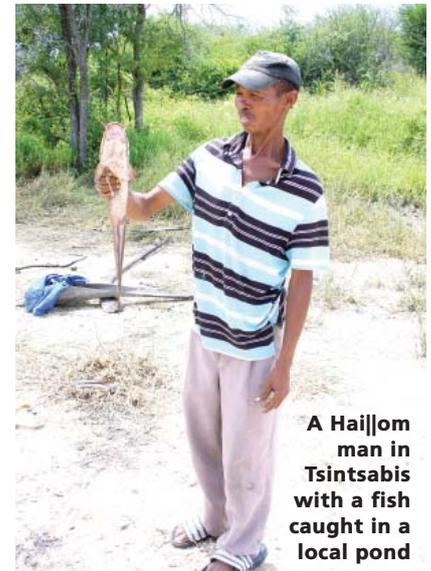


A Hai||om woman in Outjo



A Hai||om grandmother in Okaukuejo

The roles of men and women regarding the control of the household's cash income varied according to circumstances and individual arrangements, therefore the findings on this issue cannot be generalised. Control depended on who contributed to the household income; whether or not the household had members with formal employment; and individual household arrangements. At Oshivelo it was said that women controlled the food and its distribution, and the money in the household. Some men would spend their money on alcohol, or would not contribute to the household's needs if they were working somewhere else, and other men would contribute their income (from jobs or a pension) to their household's income. The interviewee also mentioned that household income was jointly controlled by spouses or partners in households which were active members of Christian churches (e.g. the Pentecostal Church), because the churches teach their members to manage household resources jointly.³⁴ Both elderly men and women were pension recipients, and usually the recipient could decide how to spend the pension money – taking into account the social pressure to share it and their household's needs.



A Hai||om man in Tsintsabis with a fish caught in a local pond

It appeared that most of the time women formed the core of the household and provided the safety net for members of the extended family: in Outjo, where we conducted individual interviews on household composition and livelihood strategies, five out of nine households were clearly centred around women. There were indications that women usually contributed more than men to meeting household needs. In situations of a person having no income and nothing to eat, he/she might stay for a while with his/her sister or mother and live off the latter's income or pension. Only three households reflected the composition of a 'conventional' nuclear family: husband, wife (or partner) and their children. Household composition in Outjo was otherwise rather flexible and depended on income. (This flexible household composition was observed at other sites as well: at Okaukuejo, for example, none of the participants' households consisted of a nuclear family and the biggest household comprised 15 people.)

In Outjo, all of the female participants stated that they would prefer to work rather than be a housewife, mainly because women could not rely on male partners to support them. This points to the possibility that they had found themselves in unstable relationships.

According to the interviewee, despite these social realities (i.e. the fact that women formed the household safety net in many cases) and the instability created by reliance on a male partner for a livelihood, women were (or felt themselves to be) still dependent on men – or even inferior to them – and did not easily leave them (even when they were in abusive relationships). This was mentioned in the context of domestic violence, which was said to be frequent, as the following words of the interviewee indicate: "Within households, there is a lot of beating, a lot of physical abuse. And the women often stay in such relationships and don't go away. ... I don't know what the problem is that they don't leave the abusive relationships. Men think women are their property."

She also mentioned that it would be easier for men than for women to escape poverty (e.g. by finding casual work).

³⁴ The interviewee also reported cases where the husband would not share the money with his wife, but would do all the shopping himself (including purchasing the wife's toiletries and underwear).

“Men might be coping somehow with life; women much more depend on men to get something. For men, if they really want to do something about it, they would get it, for example look for employment elsewhere to change the situation. But for women, they would still be depending. Thus, they are much more affected [by poverty].”

– Female Hai||om interviewee

One possibility for women looking to get out of poverty (at least for a certain period of time) would be engagement/marriage to a working man – a strategy often supported by the woman’s family: “Get yourself a person who works, who could feed us,” some parents advise.

Hoping to be supported by partners or husbands, Hai||om women were increasingly becoming involved in relationships with male members of other ethnic groups. This strategy might bring short-term benefits (e.g. cash income for the household on a regular basis for a period of time, or occasional material support), but long-term security was rarely achieved in this way, as Widlok confirms in stating that the family of a wife in such a situation did not receive formal bride wealth (*lobola*), but only a varying degree of support from the man. Frequently, however, fathers from other ethnic groups did not support the Hai||om mother and their children at all, as Widlok points out: “Legally prescribed support is rarely enforced in these communities where the women and their children belong to the ethnic group that is disadvantaged and have no means to file their claims with the authorities and to defend these claims against men from other ethnic groups who are comparatively speaking rich and powerful. Even if claims are filed with the relevant state offices they seem to be rarely enforced. While mothers who have separated from the fathers of their children may be able to claim support through the kinship system when the father belongs to their group and is himself included in the kin network, there is hardly any chance to claim support from men from other ethnic groups who have fathered children.” (Widlok 2005: 31) Thus, involvement in ‘romantic’ relationships as a livelihood strategy was based on hopes and speculation rather than social realities.

Regarding inheritance practices, participants at Oshivelo stated that the following rule pertained there: when a married Hai||om man died, the wife and children inherited his property. Likewise, when a married Hai||om woman died, her husband and children inherited her property. The interviewee confirmed this general pattern, but mentioned that when the husband owned a car, it would go to the husband’s brother or another male relative, and certain other assets might be shared between the widow and children and the husband’s family.³⁵ Widlok pointed out the flexibility of the system of inheritance among the Hai||om in Oshikoto Region: in theory, when a man died, his belongings went to the widow and the *//nurin* (a large group of relatives, mainly grandchildren but also the children and grandchildren of (classificatory) brothers and sisters) (Widlok 2005: 27). However, the reality sometimes differed from the rule: “When comparing the †Akhoe Hai||om inheritance rules with those of other groups in Namibia, especially with traditional livestock owners, it becomes apparent that the Hai||om like many other groups classified as ‘San’ or ‘Bushmen’ are very concerned about the transfer of items between living people, including pre-mortal inheritance, but not so much concerned about ‘corporate property’ in the form of accumulation of property in a corporate kinship group based on descent instead of marriage.” (Widlok 2005: 29) From this, one can conclude that inheritance practices would not leave a wife and children without anything, as long as the deceased husband was a Hai||om as well. When the father was Owambo, it was unlikely that the child or the mother would inherit anything. In fact, “I have not heard of a single case in which a †Akhoe Hai||om person with an Owambo father received an inheritance.” (Widlok 2005: 32).

³⁵ Presumably cars are associated with men, and more men are in possession of a driver’s licence. Furthermore, cars are high-value assets.

Regarding gender roles in the realm of political participation and representation, the interviewee stressed the fact that women must be strong and have self-confidence in order to make their voices heard: “If you are not outspoken and you don’t really stand up for yourself, then definitely, it is just finished – men will still dominate.” We found that Hai||om women participated actively in the discussions and made their voices heard – more so than those in some San groups in other regions. One explanation might be the relatively high level of education among Hai||om of both genders.



There were a number of women in the current TA structure, but apparently they were appointed by the chief and many were closely related to him.

6.3.8 Political participation and representation

Hai||om Traditional Authority

On 29 July 2004, the then Deputy Minister of Regional and Local Government and Housing, Gerhard Töttemeyer, issued a group of Hai||om from Outjo under the leadership of Chief David ||Khamuxab a letter recognising them as the Traditional Authority (TA) of the Hai||om. Other local Hai||om groups immediately rejected this recognition, claiming that “the so-called traditional authority was nothing but a SWAPO structure” (*The Namibian*, T. Amupadhi, 29 July 2004), and that this TA had not been elected by the Hai||om community.

In the following years, most of the development support for the Hai||om was channelled through the Hai||om TA. For example, as mentioned above, the resettlement farms south of Etosha were handed over to Chief ||Khamuxab (*The Namibian*, Brigitte Weidlich, 17 November 2008), and according to participants in Outjo, job and scholarship opportunities for San were also handled through him.

Chief ||Khamuxab then appointed senior councillors – mainly in Outjo, but also in other Hai||om communities (e.g. Oshivelo and Tsintsabis).

Dissatisfaction with Chief ||Khamuxab was clearly expressed at all five sites. It became evident that the community as a whole was split into supporters (reportedly fewer and fewer over time) and opponents of the chief, and that this split is a major problem for development. It is noteworthy that Chief ||Khamuxab did not attend the workshop in Outjo.³⁶

Major concerns were the lack of proper elections for a chief, favouritism and a lack of representation of Hai||om community interests.

³⁶ In Outjo we had organised an interview with Chief ||Khamuxab for the day before our workshop, but the interview was cancelled at short notice, apparently because his councillors had not informed him of the interview. Another interview date was set for the next morning, but only some of his senior councillors attended this interview. We managed to get an interview with the chief on the last day of the workshop, where he complained that only Hai||om opposing him were present at the workshop. Had he been available for an interview before the workshop, he could have attended the workshop, or he could have ensured that people supporting him would attend. As mentioned at the start of section 6.2 on the research sites, he indicated that he did not want this research in “his” area.

Hai||om at all five sites claimed not to know how David ||Khamuxab became their chief, since they claimed that they had not been part of any elections.³⁷ Some were of the opinion that it was a political appointment because he was a member of the ruling party and was always in agreement with the government. The participants at all sites maintained that the majority of Hai||om did not recognise him as their chief, thus he did not represent the interests of the Hai||om as a group.

Another concern mentioned at Okaukuejo, Oshivelo, Tsintsabis and Farm Six was that the chief did not represent all the Hai||om communities in Namibia, but only the people from around Outjo and on the resettlement farms. At Okaukuejo, Tsintsabis and Farm Six, Hai||om mentioned that the chief never held community meetings in their communities. At Tsintsabis, one participant said that he had never even seen the chief, and another had last seen him in 2004. At Oshivelo, participants said that the chief had hardly ever visited the settlement; they claimed that he had visited only on the few occasions when senior government officials were visiting, and only to avoid direct criticism from them. Even the participants in Outjo did not feel represented by Chief ||Khamuxab, and accused him of acting mostly in the interests of his own family and his close friends. Apparently his close family was also overrepresented in his traditional council, and participants gave many examples of what they had perceived as favouritism taking place.

Oshivelo and Tsintsabis had senior councillors within the TA structure, and at both places these councillors were also facing complaints from their communities. At Oshivelo there were complaints that the senior councillor did not take his own councillors with him when he visited the chief. The senior councillor in Tsintsabis had been facing serious criticism from the community, one major issue being that he allegedly gave land away to outsiders. All issues concerning the TA were difficult to discuss at the workshop at Tsintsabis, however, because of the presence of one of the advisors of a TA senior councillor. It appears that the community had lost trust in this individual over the years.³⁸

The situation at Farm Six was even worse. The Hai||om there had no elected representative or official headman. They did not know the chief based in Outjo, and did not feel represented by him. Apparently they had never made an effort to communicate their problems directly to the TA, firstly because they did not have any faith in the chief, and secondly because the effort they would have to make to reach the TA (e.g. finding money to cover the high transport costs) posed too big an obstacle for them.

Despite the conflicts with the current chief, which were evident at all sites, the participants asserted that the TA is an important institution because it represents their interests in consultations with the government. They stressed that the chief must be elected by the people and not handpicked. It was also stressed that a chief must be trustworthy, should carry the problems of the community on his shoulders, and that he and his councillor should represent all the areas where the Hai||om live. Participants at several sites suggested that headmen of the various (traditional) subgroups of the Hai||om should be elected by the communities before appointing an overall Hai||om chief.

³⁷ In Outjo, when asked about how the chief had been elected, some participants were of the opinion that he had been appointed by Pentecostal Church members at a church meeting on a farm near Outjo. One female participant had a different opinion: she said that a certain secretary of the chief had been circulating and writing down names of community members to get help (food and clothing) from “uproad”. That list had later been sent to the Ministry of Regional and Local Government, Housing and Rural Development as the list of people who had voted for the chief.

³⁸ In early 2013, this local headman resigned his position as senior councillor. Apparently there had been increasing pressure from the community for him to do so, and the community subsequently elected another man as senior councillor and informed the chief accordingly through his Outjo office. It was not yet clear how the chief would react to this community action.

Involvement in decision making at local level

Participation in committees and on other platforms through which the Hai||om could make their voices heard varied from site to site. As mentioned previously, there were local headmen of the TA at Tsintsabis and Oshivelo, and Hai||om had tried to approach them with their problems.

At Tsintsabis, the office of the MLR was not perceived to offer much help to the community generally. Apparently this local MLR office did not want to offer assistance when confronted with their issues, and rather referred them to the regional councillor. When the community took their complaints to the regional councillor, they were referred back to the MLR.

At Farm Six, the decision-making situation is fatally compromised by the area's remoteness. There was a single individual who acted as spokesperson for the community (but who could not speak English), and if there was a problem with the NDC, he would approach the farm manager for help. The people at Farm Six found it almost impossible to reach government offices because of the considerable transport costs and efforts involved. Moreover, they argued that the government turns a blind eye to the Hai||om community at Farm Six because they did not have a strong leader who supported their cause. Reportedly, Dr Libertina Amathila (former Deputy Prime Minister) had visited the community once, and had provided mattresses, and another representative of the OPM was there in 2011 (however nothing concrete had happened after this visit). One participant said that the community was informed at Independence that Namibia was now a democratic country so everything would be fine, however the only thing brought to Farm Six was poverty. The community felt that government and the regional council representatives (as well as representatives of other political parties) only visited the community and listened to their problems at election time and then only made empty promises. It seemed that the Hai||om at Farm Six were intimidated by the ruling party, as they said that the SWAPO regional councillor had told them before the last election that they would die of poverty if they did not vote for the ruling party. Based on this discussion it can be concluded that the Hai||om community at Farm Six did not have faith in the political system and felt that elections would not change anything, thus voting meant nothing to them. The *Oshikoto Regional Poverty Profile* drew a similar conclusion: "The San community at Farm 6 has an acute sense of social exclusion. They feel abandoned by the government and left to their own devices. ... The sense of exclusion produces a very cynical attitude among the San of Farm 6 when it comes to interventions to relieve their poverty."(NPC 2007b: 51)

Although access to decision-making institutions was easier at Oshivelo, the discussion participants felt that the Hai||om people in the settlement were not actively involved in many decision-making bodies. In their eyes, Hai||om people attended meetings called for by government officials and contributed, but their opinions were not listened to.

"We are not involved. Even if we voice out our concerns, who will listen to us? My house was next to the tree where the kindergarten is. I was told to move and I was not compensated."

– Female participant at Oshivelo

A Constituency Development Committee (CDC) was established at Oshivelo in 2006, but according to the chief control officer of the Guinas Constituency and the SWAPO district coordinator, the first CDC meeting was held only in early 2012. Many participants in the Oshivelo discussion were not aware of the existence of the CDC – which was surprising because two Hai||om people at Oshivelo were CDC members and attended the 2012 meeting. There was also a drought relief

food committee at Oshivelo, with a Hai||om member, but his participation, according to discussion participants, was limited and his presence served a public relations purpose only. At the time of our fieldwork, there were five churches at Oshivelo and more than 10 Hai||om were members of the church committees. No formal associations for women or youth existed, but there were women from churches who got together informally to talk about domestic violence issues and also taught young women how to live peacefully with their husbands/partners.

According to discussion participants, the former Prime Minister, the former Minister of Education and the regional councillor had visited Oshivelo. The Prime Minister came to see the community hall and the Minister of Education came to hand over a computer to the school. Allegedly the regional councillor only convened meetings with them on political issues or when other senior government officials visited. The participants overwhelmingly agreed that they would like the government to consult with them on “policy issues”, and they wanted consultation with specific government ministries on specific issues, namely:

- the Ministry of Education – they would like clarification about paying school fees and would like to discuss other educational needs;
- the Ministry of Defence – they would like to consult on Namibia Defence Force recruitment;
- the Ministry of Health and Social Services – they would like to consult on services in the clinic and clinic fees; and
- the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement – they would like to consult on the land problems that they have.

Hai||om at Okaukuejo similarly complained about a lack of consultation by both the MET and NWR, and said that they had not been properly consulted about resettlement plans. When the first resettlement farms were bought for the Hai||om in 2008, an OPM representative had reportedly come to inform them that the Hai||om at Okaukuejo should pack their belongings as the lorry would fetch them during the following week to take them to the resettlement farms. (The Hai||om did not follow that instruction.) Over the years, although members of the Inter-Ministerial Technical Committee on the Hai||om had held several meetings at Okaukuejo, most of the time only very few Hai||om could attend these meetings and they were simply informed about plans (e.g. the concession discussed in section 6.3.2 on access to land) rather than being part of a consultative process. In 2010 they had established the Etosha Hai||om Association in order to have a proper organisation to make their voices heard. The members of the association committee came to Windhoek at least three times in 2009-2010 to raise their concerns with the Prime Minister and the MET regarding the resettlement farms, the lack of Hai||om employment in the park and related issues. They also demanded the government’s formal acknowledgement of the fact that Etosha was their ancestral land, and the government’s recognition of the fact that they did not regard Chief David ||Khamuxab as their leader. Ultimately, none of the meetings brought about any change or results in respect of proper consultation and participation of the Etosha Hai||om regarding development plans.

At Okaukuejo, all employees were members of workers’ unions, and one of the Hai||om was also a member of the SWAPO Committee at Okaukuejo. In the discussion there it became evident that it was held to be a good thing that a Hai||om was on this SWAPO Committee because he represented Hai||om issues (e.g. regarding jobs) and could negotiate on their behalf about their concerns. However, because he was not an elected representative of the Hai||om, his involvement in the committee was only an informal way to get the Hai||om position heard, and it did not bring tangible results for the community as a whole. The same man was also a member of the school committee.

The community members had the feeling that NWR had brought a lot of negative changes since it had taken over the tourism sector in the park. It was said that when NWR came in, the Hai||om people were unhappy because beforehand it had always been stipulated that the park was not to be run as a business and therefore no private business was allowed. Then NWR started to make money in the park and the Hai||om were excluded from benefits derived from their ancestral land. The Hai||om at Okaukuejo felt that NWR was “stealing our land”. It was also mentioned that NWR had been invited to the meetings with the MET in Windhoek, but that NWR never sent a representative to listen to the concerns of the Hai||om.

6.3.9 Changes over time and visions for the future

The Hai||om at Oshivelo perceived the period before the 1950s – when the Hai||om were still allowed to live freely in the Etosha National Park – as “a good time”. Life got worse subsequently because they “lost their homeland”. However, work on commercial farms was available and thus Hai||om could still sustain livelihoods for a while. At Tsintsabis, life before Independence was also perceived as better than now because commercial farmwork was abundant and Hai||om had better livelihood options than today – most importantly, they could combine employment on commercial farms with hunting and gathering there – and there were also other employment opportunities before Independence (e.g. road construction, construction of telephone lines, work at the Tsumeb abattoir, mining and the SADF), and no qualifications were needed for these jobs. One participant said that hunger became a problem for the Hai||om only after Independence: nowadays, land was fenced and the veldfood was on private land, so Hai||om did not have access to it anymore. For the Hai||om community at Farm Six, life was also worse today due to the limitations on access to land and natural resources. An elderly man at Farm Six noted that before Independence, and dating back to his grandparents’ time, every family had its own “territory” with waterholes and natural resources, and families also shared specific gathering areas. Hunger and poverty did not exist to the extent it does today. There were also mobile services (e.g. the mobile clinic) before Independence.

The participants in Outjo also recognised advantages of living in the times before Independence – chiefly the availability of commercial farmwork, however they acknowledged that Hai||om had very low salaries at that time. One participant mentioned that the workers and their family members would get wood, milk, tea, sugar and meat for free, and would have shared these. Nowadays the farmworkers had to purchase everything from their small salaries, even milk and meat.

For the community at Okaukuejo, life also became more difficult after Independence. In their case, the reason for this evaluation was the fact that Hai||om were able to enjoy employment in Etosha before Independence, but nowadays people from other ethnic groups got the jobs and the young Hai||om in Etosha needed to live off the pension money of their parents and grandparents instead of their own earnings. The resettlement farms bought by government specifically for the Hai||om were not what they really wanted for their future: they preferred to live and work in Etosha.

For people at Tsintsabis, Oshivelo and Farm Six, the lack of land was the biggest problem with regard to their future, and several participants mentioned that the food provided by government would not be a solution to their issues. Government should buy farms and then support them in order for the Hai||om to become sustainable farmers. As mentioned previously, the participants at Farm Six had identified one specific post on the NDC farm (now occupied by Owambo farmers and their cattle) which should be given to them. Participants at Oshivelo maintained that they would have a bright future only if they were given enough land of their own. They would like to cultivate land and produce their own food. They also mentioned that they wanted to be allocated land closer

to Oshivelo. It remains to be seen if the resettlement of the Hai||om of Oshivelo on Farm Ondera will have a positive impact on their livelihoods.

The Hai||om at Oshivelo and Okaukuejo expressed their wish for the government to formally acknowledge that Etosha is their ancestral land. The Hai||om at Oshivelo would also like to derive some benefit from their ancestral land (the Etosha National Park and surrounding areas), in order to develop and implement sustainable livelihood projects and capacity-building programmes. The participants at Okaukuejo said that they would like to have a Hai||om-owned lodge in Etosha where they could teach their children traditional skills and could benefit from tourism in the park. In the above-mentioned MCA-N/Aurecon survey of Etosha, Hai||om had conveyed, inter alia, the following aspirations to the research team: a project that would enable Hai||om to benefit from tourism in the park; permission to make their own products available for sale to tourists; and the construction of lodges that would be owned/managed by Hai||om (MCA-N 2010: 46).

Improved education and better jobs were raised as visions for the future: the Oshivelo participants would like to see their children rise to top positions in government so that the community could be understood by top government officials in their own language, and so that their concerns could be relayed to other ethnic groups without the need for translators (which is preferable because information can be misconstrued or omitted altogether in translations). To secure such government posts (and other jobs), they needed their children to score higher marks in school. The importance of education for giving children better prospects for the future was mentioned at other sites as well. The topic of language was also mentioned at Farm Six, where it was felt that a major obstacle for development was that government officials did not understand Hai||om.

The participants in Outjo, who had had a chance to be resettled on one of the resettlement farms south of Etosha, acknowledged government's initiative in buying these farms for the Hai||om. Their major concern was the way that the chief was managing these farms: they felt that he acted as "an autocrat" instead of representing the community's interests. Another reason for the participants having decided not to move to the farms was that there were more livelihood options in town.

6.3.10 Impact of external support

Although the impact of external support varied according to the site, a lot of support – especially from the OPM – was channelled via the Hai||om Chief David ||Khamuxab. This arrangement had met with major criticism from participants at all sites because they felt that they did not benefit from the support initiatives, but that only the chief, his close family and his supporters were given the opportunities arising (e.g. scholarships and jobs). Without going into detail as to the validity of the accusations levelled against the chief by Hai||om participants in the study, there is evidently a lack of communication between the chief and the community members.

A closer look at the different sites reveals the site-specific variations in support initiatives.

A major support initiative for the Hai||om in Outjo (and at Okaukuejo) was the purchase of the resettlement farms and the subsequent resettlement of Hai||om on these farms. (The process and problems are outlined in section 6.3.2 on access to land.) Five years after the first farm was bought, most of the resettled Hai||om were living chiefly on food aid and pension money. The initiative had failed to meet the aspirations of the Hai||om at Okaukuejo to stay and live in Etosha, and had been planned without proper consultation and without considering their hopes for the future. Also the initial goal of moving the Hai||om community of Etosha to the resettlement farms had yet to be achieved.

Smaller income-generating projects had been initiated at Okaukuejo as well – and apparently the community members were asked beforehand what projects they would like to see set up. There had been a bread-baking project, a carpentry project and a hair salon project. The participants did not evaluate the bread-baking project as a success; they mentioned that it was meant for Hai||om but that Owambos got involved as well. (We could not find any further information about this bread-baking project.) Tools had been purchased for the carpentry project, but no wood – and people in Etosha are only permitted to collect firewood within the park with a permit from the MET office there. Some of the tools then got stolen. The hair salon was also meant to benefit Hai||om but was taken over by members of other ethnic groups.

The detailed reasons for the failure of these projects were not clear, but it was evident that such initiatives require thorough prior consultation of the community, and the community's involvement, and long-term support. Asking people what projects they want and then providing materials and equipment are not sufficient actions for making projects sustainable. Furthermore, training on financial issues and bookkeeping training are needed.

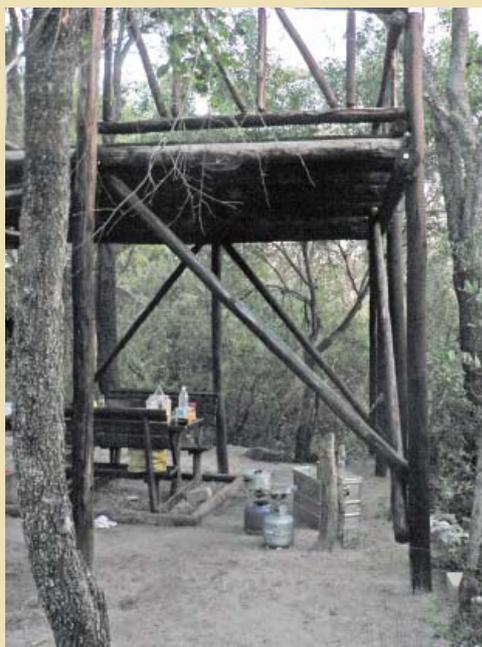
It is notable that the participants at Okaukuejo did not blame others for the failure of their projects: it was said that Hai||om were not good at running businesses and that they were also insufficiently extroverted to promote products that they were attempting to sell (e.g. *vetkoek*). The sale of crafts produced by Hai||om at Etosha's Anderson Gate seemed to work sustainably: over the years an increase in craft products sold and an improvement in quality have been observed. Remarkably, this initiative was initiated without any outside support, and to our knowledge it has never received outside support. It is likely that there is a potential market for a broader spectrum of products, and that outside support could help the producers to professionalise their business. However, there are three major problems: Hai||om have only an informal arrangement under which they may sell their products at Anderson Gate; they are not permitted to sell inside the park; and the various NWR shops within the park sell only crafts and other products produced by Namibians of other ethnic groups, or produced in other countries.

At Tsintsabis – a conventional resettlement project resorting under the MLR (not the OPM) – lots of support has been provided since the farm's inception in 1993, but most of the support projects implemented there had failed (GRN 2010: 31-33).³⁹ *The Report on the Review of Post-Resettlement Support to Group Resettlement Projects/Farms 1991-2009* concluded as follows (GRN 2010: 33): “Most of the income generating projects that were established after training have been abandoned, e.g. carpentry, welding, vegetable gardening, etc. A huge amount was invested in solar panels by MLR and RISE but a lot of them have been stolen. This is a result of negligence, vandalism and theft as nobody takes ownership of assets, especially the donated ones.” This points to a lack of monitoring of the projects, as well as to a failure to instil an ethos of ownership and responsibility. As at Okaukuejo, the participants in Tsintsabis stressed that the community should be consulted prior to the implementation of projects, and should participate in the planning and implementation of projects. The top-down approach applied by government in most cases would not lead to community ownership of projects and the desired results. Internal community conflicts and issues with leadership had also proved to hamper project success. Further, participants stressed that the 10 ha plot policy (for either gardening or livestock) was not operating successfully, because, among other problems, it did not take into account the Hai||om cultural practice of sharing resources on a collective basis. Furthermore, incomers placed additional pressure on the land and its natural resources. As analysed above, after 19 years of resettlement, the Hai||om at Tsintsabis were still far from being self-reliant.

³⁹ See Koot 2000 for more detail on Tsintsabis and the developments and problems encountered there circa 1999.

Box 6.3: The Treesleeper Camp

The Treesleeper Camp, 1.5 km away from Tsintsabis, is a campsite run by the Treesleeper Trust, offering different activities for tourists (bushwalks, traditional dancing and a village tour). The Treesleeper Trust was established in 2004 to act as a legal body when a community-based tourism site was built on the initiative of a Dutch anthropologist who had conducted research there for his thesis (Koot 2000). Meanwhile, the Dutch Foundation for Sustainable Tourism in Namibia in the Netherlands was established to get funds from Europe to support the project jointly with other organisations. The project aims were to contribute extra income to the Tsintsabis community through tourism, employment and improving the position of women, and to increase Hai||om self-esteem through the acknowledgement of their rich culture, and to raise the ecological awareness of both tourists to and inhabitants of Tsintsabis.



In 2006 the camp had 815 guests, 655 of whom stayed overnight. Around 17 people, all hailing from the Hai||om community of Tsintsabis, were employed by the camp in the 2007 high season (excluding the dancing groups). Outside high season, three people were employed full-time: the camp manager and assistant managers – all of whom received a full-time salary throughout the year. In 2007, an assessment of the project was undertaken (Troost 2007), which detected some shortcomings of the project but nonetheless concluded that this type of community-based tourism “does lead to economic, social, psychological and political empowerment, but these changes do not happen overnight” (Troost 2007: 82). The assessment resulted in some recommendations for the project which included the need for proper information dissemination to all community members, including illiterate people, so as to ensure their full participation. Recommendations also referred to cooperation with other institutions, in this case the school and the Village Development Committee.

In 2012, eight people were employed at the camp. One reason for the relative success of the project might be that although the initial idea was developed by an outsider, community members developed ownership of the project. Today the project is driven by a strong and ambitious young Hai||om man who has managed to get funding from the MET to build a lodge. The buildings should have been completed in mid-2012, but construction was still in progress at the time of our fieldwork. Apparently the MET had paid the builder in advance, and all the money was spent while the lodge was still under construction. Moreover, the number of tourists to the camp had decreased considerably due to the construction activities. It remains to be seen what will happen next: the camp manager was negotiating with the MET for the construction to continue. Despite these difficulties, this project could be regarded as a promising approach, in that it is community-based and uses the cultural assets of the Hai||om.

At Oshivelo there had been some projects for Hai||om initiated and supported by both government and NGOs. The regional council's office initiated and supported two projects, namely the coffin-making project (producing cheap coffins) and the bakery project, but both projects stopped in 2012. The participants attributed the failure of these projects to mismanagement by the regional council's office, whereas the chief control officer at the Guinas Constituency Office stated that the bakery project was halted due to a disagreement between the councillor's office and the Hai||om over the management of the project. He maintained that while the constituency office provided

the incentives for the project, those working on the project continuously gave free bread to their children, hence the profit-making objective of the project was compromised, not to mention its sustainability. Again, this points to a lack of prior community consultation: it seems understandable that the bakers provided bread for their hungry children, and prior consultation would have brought this issue to the fore as a potential problem for addressing prior to implementation. This illustrates the fact that in many cases the failure of a project is blamed on another party, and in this instance the failure appeared to be due largely to a lack of cooperation between the regional council and the community.

The aim of the coffin-making project was to make and supply cheap coffins to the Hai||om people. Narratives from the discussion participants and the Guinas Constituency chief control officer indicated that this project ran for some time, but there were discrepancies in these narratives around the reasons for the project stopping. As with the bakery project, the discussion participants maintained that the project stalled because of poor management of funds by the councillor's office. The chief control officer, however, argued that the project was still ongoing. Again this points to a lack of coordination and communication.

Apart from the government support, the Hai||om at Oshivelo had received support from WIMSA. According to the participants, WIMSA ran a school feeding programme at the kindergarten in the settlement, and had trained two Hai||om women as kindergarten teachers, and both were teaching there at the time of our fieldwork, their wages paid by WIMSA. Additionally, WIMSA had provided chairs for the kindergarten. This kindergarten project is still ongoing. (WIMSA had a satellite office in Outjo, and had provided support to a kindergarten there, but the participants in Outjo did not deem the WIMSA office there to be of importance, thus this external support is not covered in more detail here.)

The resettlement of the Oshivelo Hai||om to Farm Ondera will need evaluating after some period of time. However, in view of the experiences of the Hai||om at the resettlement farms south of Etosha, there appears to be a significant risk that their problems will simply be relocated to a different site, rather than the resettlement process at Ondera resulting in a success story.

At Farm Six there was no external support whatsoever.

6.4 Regional conclusions and recommendations

The level of poverty of the San in Kunene, Oshana and Oshikoto Regions varied to a considerable degree. The Hai||om living in Okaukuejo were noticeably better off than those at the other sites visited in these regions. This was mainly due to the fact that Okaukuejo is part of the Etosha National Park. Hai||om had been acknowledged as the original inhabitants of Etosha during colonial times, albeit some of them were evicted in 1954. The remaining Hai||om had always had a guarantee of employment within the park in former times, but nowadays new employment opportunities are increasingly given to outsiders from other ethnic groups, and the younger generation of Hai||om face, by and large, the same destiny as Hai||om and other San communities in other regions: unemployment, piecemeal work, and dependency on the pensions of their parents and grandparents. The government should apply affirmative action for the Hai||om living in Etosha in respect of employment and capacity-building in the park. Furthermore, there is a need for proper consultation and participation of the Hai||om community in Etosha with regard to development both within the park and on the resettlement farms. Planning so far without the input of the Hai||om has not led to the desired results.

The Hai||om living at Farm Six were significantly worse off than the Hai||om at the other sites in terms of poverty. Farm Six was the most remote of the settlements visited. Additionally, the influx of Owambo farmers with their cattle to the area had drastically limited the Hai||om's access to land. This has had especially severe repercussions since the community at Farm Six was by far the most reliant on natural resources compared with the other four sites. The Hai||om at Farm Six will need special attention:

- First of all, they need land in order to survive.
- Secondly, their access to education needs to be improved, and transport to secondary schools will need to be provided.
- Thirdly, they must all receive their national documents as well as the social grants to which they are entitled.
- Fourthly, there is an urgent need to revitalise the mobile clinic service, which ceased in mid-2005.
- Lastly, they need to be represented within the Hai||om TA structures in order to be included in decision-making processes.

Although some resettlement farms were bought for Hai||om people, these have not yet produced sustainable livelihood options, and most Hai||om at four of the five sites were highly dependent on food aid and pension money. Werner and Odendaal noted in their assessment report titled *Livelihoods after land reform: Namibia country report* that “the group resettlement approach as implemented thus far is fundamentally a welfare intervention” (Werner and Odendaal 2010: 169). The *Report on the Review of Post-Resettlement Support to Group Resettlement Projects/Farms 1991-2009* stated clearly that the objectives of post-resettlement support (which was originally intended to be provided for five years only) – namely to build the capacity of the resettled farmers to enable them to manage the farms; to improve their living standards; and to assist them in becoming self-reliant – have not yet been achieved, and some farms are still supported 19 years after their establishment (GRN 2010: 3-5).

This raises the question of why the government, despite all identified shortcomings of the group resettlement model, continues to promote it, and does so in the face of the serious concerns raised by in-depth research reports and also articulated by the very same people whom the model is supposed to serve, namely the resettlement beneficiaries. This is not to say that group resettlement should be abandoned in principle, but just that the way in which it has been implemented so far might benefit from re-evaluation and adjustment. Land-use plans need to be developed prior to resettlement and in consultation with the community, and post-resettlement support needs to be implemented for as long as it is necessary. Furthermore, it might be worth investigating whether the conservancy model would not be more feasible for San communities. (For further details on these issues, see Chapter 15 on access to land.)

The conflicts around the Hai||om Traditional Authority seem to be a major stumbling block with regard to development initiatives. Hai||om at all sites expressed unhappiness with the performance of the chief. Support and opportunities provided by government were channelled through the chief, and most community members had the feeling that they were not benefiting at all. Consequently they did not feel represented by the chief. If the Hai||om wish to do so, they should elect a new chief through proper, monitored elections.