GERMAN
DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

GDI

Role and Potential of Community-Based Organisations in the Implementation of the National Programme to Combat Desertification in Namibia

Hartmut Brandt

Olof Cramer

Inke Fabian

Katharina Graf

Anke Wolf

Thomas Wolf

GERMAN DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

Role and Potential of Community-Based Organisations in the Implementation of the National Programme to Combat Desertification in Namibia

Hartmut Brandt

Olof Cramer

Inke Fabian

Katharina Graf

Anke Wolf

Thomas Wolf

Reports and Working Papers 8/2001

Bonn 2001

German Development Institute
Tulpenfeld 4 · D-53113 Bonn
Telephone (0228) 94927-0 · Fax (0228) 94927-130
DIE@die-gdi.de
www.die-gdi.de

ISBN 3-88985-234-3

Preface

This report was prepared by a research team of the German Development Institute (GDI) on invitation of the Steering Committee of Namibia`s National Action Programme to Combat Desertification (NAPCOD) to analyse the programme`s current state of implementation. The research team had the opportunity to carry out field work in Namibia from mid-February until the end of April 2001.

Processes of desertification and land degradation constitute major barriers for socio-economic development in many semi-arid and arid countries, particularly in Africa. NAPCOD, which was started in 1994 and is implemented with the support of the GTZ, offered the opportunity for a case study after five years of implementation experience. Focus and scope of this study were drawn up in close collaboration with the GTZ and the Directorate of Environmental Affairs (DEA) of Namibia`s Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

The concept of this study emphasises the aspect of self-help capacity of rural Community-Based Organisations and the role they play in the implementation process of the above mentioned programme. In the course of the research team`s empirical work, however, it turned out that legal, administrative and political framework conditions are of major importance for the process of NAPCOD`s implementation and results achieved so far. Therefore, these aspects were conceded greater weight in this final report than originally envisaged.

On this occasion, we again express our profound thanks to all the Namibian institutions and their staff, who supported us throughout our research and in particular: The Directorate of Environmental Affairs for its guidance; the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia, which provided office space and communication facilities and assisted the team with competent interpreters. The team owe special thanks to all the members of Community-Based Organisations, who took their time and patience to answer our manyfold questions. Last but not least, our thanks go to the staff of the GTZ`s Windhoek office, in particular to Dr. Jörn Fitter and Dr. Helmut Wöhl for their extraordinary guidance and support during our field work.

Bonn, August 2001

Table of Contents

D. Empirical Study

List of Boxes in the Text

List of Figures in the Text

List of Tables in the Text

Annex

List of Figures in the Annex

List of Abbreviations

CAWS	Communal Area Water Supply Project
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
DEA	Directorate of Environmental Affairs
DPS	National Drought Policy and Strategy
DRFN	Desert Research Foundation of Namibia
DWA	Department of Water Affairs
EPZ	Export Processing Zones
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FED	Farmer's Extension Development Group
FIRM	Forum for Integrated Resource Management
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEF	Global Environmental Facility
GM	Global Mechanism of the UNCCD
GNP	Gross National Product
GON	Government of Namibia
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
LIFE	Living in a Finite Environment
MAWRD	Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism
MLRR	Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation
MRLGH	Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing
MSTCC	Multidisciplinary Scientific and Technological Consultative Committee
NACOBTA	Namibian Community-Based Tourist Association
NACSO	Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organisations
NAMIS	Namibian Monitoring and Information System
NANGOF	Namibian NGO Forum
NAP	National Action Programme
NAPCOD	Namibia's National Action Programme to Combat Desertification
NAU	Namibian Agricultural Union
NDP	National Development Plan
NDT	Namibian Development Trust
NEPRU	Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit
NFU	National Farmers Union
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
NNF	Namibian Nature Foundation
NNFU	Namibian National Farmers Union
NRM	Natural Resources Management
NTB	Namibia Tourism Board
NWR	Namibia Wildlife Resorts Ltd.
OPO	Ovamboland People´s Organization
RAP	Regional Awareness Program
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADC-ELMS	SADC Environmental Land Management Secretariat
SARDEP	Sustainable Animal and Range Development Programme

SC	Steering Committee
SO	Service Organisation
SOER	State of Environment Report
SRAP	Sub-Regional Action Program
SWANU	South West African National Union
SWAPO	South West Africa People´s Organization
TWG	Technical Working Group
UNAM	University of Namibia
UNCCD	United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WASP	Water Supply and Sanitation Sector Policy
WPC	Water Point Committee
WUA	Water User Association

Summary

1 Purpose of Study

This study outlines the state of implementation of Namibia's NAPCOD. To this end we try to assess its CBO approach against the background of co-ordination and cooperation efforts of major actors involved in the program. Findings and some tentative conclusions are presented subsequently.

2 Findings in a Nutshell

Awareness raising as to desertification issues has been campaigned succesfully by NAPCOD locally and at the national level. Promotion of self-help capacities of the rural population by way of technical training, motivation and institution-building has been encouragingly successful in a number of pilot sites so far. The rural population in these areas, particularly the younger generation, is fully aware of their situation, both with regard to environmental and socio-economic aspects. The predominant bottlenecks of NAPCOD`s implementation are insufficient coherence of national policies and limited leeway for policy co-ordination at the national level, inadequately co-ordinated public services and a lack of capacity and formal (i.e. legally prescribed) administrative authorisation at constituency level. However, it might be added that progress in these respects hinges to an extent on solutions to land reform issues unresolved so far which hinder efforts to combat land degradation.

3 Background and Objectives of the Study

Namibia`s future socio-economic development depends on the sustainability of natural resource use in many respects. The main pillars of the Namibian economy, namely agriculture, fisheries and mining, are all resource-based. Agriculture is the major user of the country`s land and water resources. At the same time, Namibia`s climate is the most arid south of the Sahara and degradation of land and other natural resources is widespread. Namibia is a signatory state of the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (CCD) and since 1994 started to plan and implement a National Action Programme (NAPCOD) to combat the spread of land degradation. Since desertification is a process resulting from a complex interaction of natural and man-made determinants, the programme adopts a multi-dimensional and participatory approach to natural resource management. It recognises the interlinkages existing between poverty alleviation and promotion of sustainable natural resource management as well as the circumstance that factors which determine patterns of natural resource use may originate in sectors seemingly not connected to those, in which symptoms of desertification manifest themselves.

NAPCOD`s multi-dimensional and inter-sectoral approach to combatting desertification is reflected in the composition of the programme`s central organisational body, the Steering Committee (SC), which consists of representatives of various ministries and non-governmental organisations active in different sectors and at different levels. The Steering Committee, located under the joint auspices of the Ministries of Environment and Tourism (MET) and Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (MAWRD) is intended to serve as a forum for information exchange, co-ordination of activities and general co-operation of all actors involved.

4 Awareness-Raising, Co-Operation and Co-Ordination

Raising awareness of national level decision-makers, affected resource users and the broad public figured prominently among the activities of NAPCOD since the programme started in 1994. It has been a main objective especially of the programme`s first and second phase but continues to

be on NAPCOD`s agenda. Over the past seven years, NAPCOD has launched a whole range of activities serving this objective. Today, awareness among national level decision-makers and resource users at field level of issues of desertification and possible solutions to the problem appears as both high and widespread. As a consequence of the "soft" nature of awareness-raising it is difficult, however, to measure the concrete impacts NAPCOD has had in this respect.

Co-operation of the different actors participating in NAPCOD`s Steering Committee and co-ordination of programmes, policies and projects in their spheres of responsibility is a prerequisite for increasing sustainability of natural resource management on a nationwide scale. This holds true regarding co-operation and co-ordination within as well as between organisations.

Currently, **intra-organisational co-operation and co-ordination** within both ministries under whose auspices NAPCOD is located, namely MET and MAWRD, do not function satisfactorily. As a result, individual departments often plan programmes and projects without sufficiently taking into account activities of other organisational units. In both ministries, mechanisms for co-operation and continuous inter-departmental information exchange are either missing or not being implemented adequately.

In the case of the MET, lack of communication and information exchange is particularly pronounced between the Directorate of Environmental Affairs (DEA) and the ministry`s Forestry Department. Simultaneous plans of both departments to establish wildlife and forest conservancies in the same area without co-ordinating their activities can serve as an illustrating example in this regard.

Within the MAWRD, established networks between individual departments appear to be even weaker. Here, organisational units like the Directorate of Extension and Engineering Services (DEES), the Directorate of Rural Water Supply and programmes like the Sustainable Animal and Rangeland Development Programme (SARDEP) are in many respects barely coordinated and responsible decision-makers poorly informed about the activities being carried out under the auspices of the MAWRD. Several departments within the MAWRD provide extension services to Community-Based Organisations at the local level without being interconnected. This intra-organisational fragmentation not only establishes barriers to communication between different organisations and to co-ordination of their activities at the national level but also results in fragmented and sometimes unclear structures for programme implementation at field level.

Although the institution of the Steering Committee was set up to serve these objectives – which constitutes an achievement in itself – **co-operation between organisations** involved and co-ordination of their activities remain insufficient up to now, which seems mainly to be due to three interlinked reasons:

— Willingness of several actors involved in the Steering Committee appears to be limited;

— incentives for the actors involved to invest in a lasting co-operation are lacking;

— time constraints and insufficient capacities of the organisations and actors involved in the SC constitute barriers to sustained co-operation.

A basic interest in co-operation on the part of all actors involved in the Steering Committee is a necessary prerequisite for ongoing communication and joint planning of activities, which aim at halting the spread of land degradation in Namibia. Commitment to co-operation is to an extent determined by a person`s preparedness to share tasks and responsibilities but is also influenced by external factors, namely the personal and professional reputation of cooperation partners, the working climate within the co-operation forum and the influence, different actors can exert here. Furthermore, the legitimation of the forum *per se,* in the view of its participants, to fulfil its task and the opportunity costs of time and effort spent on co-operation play an important role in determining a person`s willingness to co-operate.

Interviews conducted by the research team with members of the NAPCOD Steering Committee indicate that the willingness to co-operate of various governmental organisations is comparatively low – even in the case of the programme`s leading organisations. Although NAPCOD was designed as a partnership programme of the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development and the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, the main co-ordinative functions are located within the MET. As a result, a number of decision-makers within the MAWRD expressed the view that their ministry is not adequately incorporated into NAPCOD`s organisational structures. The programme is in fact perceived as one of the MET rather than one for which responsibilities are equally shared among partners. In addition, several interviewees within the MAWRD doubted that the MET`s Directorate of Environmental Affairs (DEA), which is responsible for administration of NAPCOD`s phase III, has the capacity to effectively fulfill its task, thereby questioning the competence of the organisation. It was claimed that the MAWRD as the older and more experienced ministry, in terms of technical knowledge, was better suited to carry out a programme like NAPCOD, since here research on environmental degradation and strategies to tackle such problems has a much longer history as is the case with the MET. In consequence, interview partners within the MAWRD stated that their ministry was not reliant on co-operation with the MET to carry out programmes of sustainable natural resource management. Finally, tight time budgets and limited personnel capacities of the MAWRD`s departments participating in the NAPCOD process were frequently cited as major barriers for closer co-operation and co-ordination of activities between the two ministries. Since meetings of the NAPCOD-SC take place parallel to regular working obligations and as participation is based on a voluntary basis and not remunerated, many actors in the MAWRD and other governmental and non-governmental organisations felt that opportunity costs of participation are by far exceeding personal benefits. The DEA and organisations subcontracted by it to implement components of NAPCOD III, on the other hand, do not seem to share information with the MAWRD and other governmental organisations in a systematic and sufficient manner and appear not to promote co-operation actively enough. This circumstance has been severely aggravated by the fact that the position of a national co-ordinator for NAPCOD within the MET has been vacant for several years.

Other governmental organisations, like the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) and the Ministry of Regional/Local Government and Housing (MRLGH) reduced participation in the NAPCOD Steering Committee significantly during recent years or have pulled out of the forum altogether. Minutes of NAPCOD Steering Committee meetings reveal that these organisations perceive it as difficult to find their place and to exert influence within this forum.

As a result, NAPCOD`s claim to be a truly national programme involving all stakeholders relevant to sustainable natural resource management is at present not fulfilled in practice. Co-ordination of national level programmes and policies planned and implemented by different governmental organisations remains weak.

Co-operation between non-governmental organisations (NGOs), working in the fields of natural resource management and poverty alleviation, as well as co-ordination of their activities also appears to be beset with many difficulties. Aware of this fact, the programme tried to improve co-operation between NGOs as well as between governmental and non-governmental organisations by creating a new institution, the so called Counterpart Network (CN). Both types of organisations are represented in this network. However, at the present stage, participation in the CN is weak and many of the actors involved claimed to have no special interest in this organisation. As a result, many NGOs continue to carry out their activities in isolation and joint projects of governmental and non-governmental organisations in the field of natural resource management remain rare – a fact, that further contributes to fragmentation of activities at the local level.

In addition, ties between the two NGOs that are responsible for carrying out objectives 1 to 3 of

NAPCOD`s phase III agenda, namely the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia (DRFN) and the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU), are not very pronounced. Although both organisations are supposed to closely work together to establish national and local level monitoring systems, communication between them needs improvement, according to DRFN staff members.

5 Influence of NAPCOD on Framework Conditions Relevant to Processes of Desertification

National programmes aiming to bring about a more sustainable management of natural resources and thereby to decrease land degradation should not be looked at in isolation. Instead, because of their inter-sectoral and multi-dimensional nature, such programmes operate in a complex web of numerous national policies and laws, which influence natural resource use. Therefore, framework conditions determine, to a large extent, the impact national programmes can possibly have on natural resource management.

In Namibia, policies and legislation relevant to natural resource use have in many cases evolved in isolation from each other and on an *ad hoc* basis. As a result, policy objectives are often contradictory and rules and regulations unclear – and thus not conducive to sustainable natural resource management. This highlights the need to co-ordinate the planning of new policies and legislations and to harmonize existing ones, which is reflected in NAPCOD`s objectives for its current phase.

The actual influence the most active institutions of NAPCOD`s Steering Committee have exerted until now in this regard is difficult to assess because of two major reasons: Firstly, besides some significant exceptions (like the National Drought Policy and Strategy), policies usually continue to be formulated and proposed exclusively by individual ministries. Secondly, policy influence of NAPCOD strongly relies on personal informal contacts of committed individuals.

Framework conditions can generally be brought closer to coherence in two different ways: formally through co-ordinated official proposals and recommendations as well as formalized inter-ministerial committees, and informally through information exchange and consultations of individuals at the legislation- and policy-making levels.

Formally influencing policies requires that the institution which submits policy or proposals has a formal mandate to do so. Policy-making mandates of governmental organisations usually tend to be allocated along sectoral lines, restricting ministries to their main fields of responsibility. The NAPCOD Steering Committee and other institutions of the programme as such do not have such legal mandate. However, since the programme is located under the auspices of the MET, and MAWRD and several other ministries are represented in the SC (each of whom are mandated to make policy proposals in their respective field of responsibility) close co-operation between these actors and joint policy planning, in theory, could compensate for the lack of formal authorization of the Steering Committee itself. In practice, however, participation of different governmental organisations in the SC differs significantly and co-operation is, for the reasons outlined, not as close as would be necessary for joint policy-making. In addition, the two organisations, which currently appear to be the driving forces behind NAPCOD, namely the DEA and DRFN, appear not to have sufficient political support and legitimation to exert much influence on framework conditions. The first argument is underpinned by the shares of the national budget allocated to the MET and subsequently to the DEA and which can be interpreted as reflecting political priorities. The second argument can be derived from the low degree of participation by other actors in the NAPCOD Steering Committee as well as opinions expressed by decision-makers within several governmental institutions, some of which have been addressed above.

Informal networking: In view of these practical difficulties and institutional barriers, committed individuals within the NAPCOD Steering Committee mainly resort to informal networking in order to promote their case at the technical level of policy debate and law preparation. This approach has several advantages but also severe drawbacks.

Personal communication between representatives of different governmental organisations on the one hand facilitates social cohesion, thereby bringing about an atmosphere of mutual trust. It furthermore helps shipping around political and bureaucratic barriers and therefore can, at least partially, compensate for a lack of formal authorisation for policy-making. In addition, informal networking ensures that co-operation takes place between persons actually committed to the objectives of NAPCOD. On the other hand, co-operation and the eventually resulting influence on framework conditions relevant for natural resource use mainly relies on individuals. As a result, the continuity of co-operation is at risk when some of these individuals change their professional position or become temporarily or permanently unavailable for other reasons. Another point of concern is that informal technical consultations on prospective policies and legislation can only be fruitful where co-operation partners exist at least in the most relevant institutions and these partners are *de facto* in a position to influence decision-making in the organisations they are working in. Although NAPCOD members seem to have effectively established informal policy networks, their functionality is at risk, because fluctuation of members is high and some of the more important players are about to leave the network. In addition, informal co-operation usually takes place during after-hours or on weekends parallel to the permanent jobs of the persons involved. As a result, it can never take the form of fulltime committment, a fact which imposes limitations on the impacts such networking can possibly have.

Nevertheless, considering the political realities and tensions NAPCOD is currently operating in, an informal approach to influencing framework conditions seems to be a more realistic and viable way than the formal alternative. At present, it cannot be assessed if this practice will be rewarded with success – but it definitely seems worth to be continued. In the longer run informal approaches cannot, of course, substitute formalized procedures.

6 Implementation of NAPCOD at the Local Level

NAPCOD and related programmes of sustainable natural resource management have fostered capacities for combatting desertification at the local level. By establishing and developing Community-Based Organisations, awareness of the local population in the programme`s pilot areas has been created. Capabilities and eagerness of CBO-members to initiate efforts to improve rural livelihoods and stop the spread of land degradation have also been raised substantially. However, **local level organisations still depend on outside support in many respects** and their knowledge and expectations with regard to what kind and level of support they need has grown. CBOs visited by the research team in particular stressed the need for improvements of rural livelihoods as being essential to lasting efforts in sustainable management of natural resources at the local level. They furthermore articulated an urgent demand for training in technical skills and for financial assistance and transport facilities – in addition to furtherance of organisational development.

Community-Based Organisations visited by the study team mostly pursue their activities in isolation from each other. **Only a few cases were observed where several CBOs joined to form a bigger structure pursuing multi-dimensional objectives**. In this respect, local Water Point Committees (WPCs) often proved to be a starting point on which further non-water related activities have been built. Those CBOs co-operating and co-ordinating their activities clearly showed higher capacities for sustainable natural resource management than those working in isolation and they benefit from pooling of personnel and financial

resources as well as greater attention from service and donor organisations.

Decision-making structures in CBOs visited by the research team are mostly of a democratic and participative nature. However, **formal and especially traditional authorities at the local level appear to exert substantial influence on decisions taken within CBO-structures** and on the success these organisations can potentially have.

NAPCOD-facilitators at the local level are well known to the CBOs they are working with, and respective communication was generally assessed as fairly good by CBO-members. However, as most of NAPCOD`s staff members are based in the capital of Windhoek and the number of permanent facilitators present at field level is small, many CBOs in NAPCOD`s pilot regions – although aware of the programme`s existence – were not informed about its concrete objectives and the kind of support they could expect from it. This situation might also be due to the fact that until today only one or two projects were implemented at the local level under the label of NAPCOD itself. In general, NAPCOD`s presence and the current capacity of the organisations responsible for implementing projects at the local level are not sufficient to achieve a broad impact.

Acknowledging this fact, NAPCOD aims at close co-operation with Service Organisations at the local level and at integrating them into the programme`s activities. Integration of SOs into NAPCOD not only calls for establishing linkages between NAPCOD and various SOs but also between SOs themselves as well as between SOs and CBOs. All of the mentioned levels of co-operation, however, have essentially not been established as yet.

Regarding co-operation between NAPCOD and different Service Organisations, serious shortcomings exist. Systematic collaboration is being promoted between NAPCOD and SARDEP, upon whose achievements the former programme is based to a large extent. However, integration of NAPCOD into the activities of other SOs or programmes tends to be sporadic. As a result, parallel and unclear implementation structures and doubling of efforts at the local level are maintained and in some cases even aggravated. Similar arguments hold true regarding co-operation between different SOs and co-ordination of their activities.

In addition, communication and co-operation between CBOs and several Service Organisations turn out to be difficult in several cases. While co-operation with local facilitators of SARDEP and extension officers of the MAWRD`s Department of Rural Water Supply have in general been described as fruitful and ongoing by those CBOs interviewed by the research team, relationships with the MAWRD`s DEES and several NGOs were assessed as difficult or non-existent in many cases. Besides inadequate personnel and logistical capacities on part of the DEES, lack of mutual trust between the organisation`s extension personnel and farmers as well as the impression articulated by the latter not to be treated on equal standing seem to be among the root causes.

At the present stage, it therefore appears crucial to enhance co-operation and co-ordination structures at the local level for NAPCOD to achieve a broad and lasting impact on natural resource management.

7 Recommendations

In view of the findings outlined above, some suggestions for improving the performance of Namibia`s National Action Programme to Combat Desertification have been developed by the research team.

7.1 Focussing NAPCOD`s Approach

NAPCOD adopted a very broad approach to pursue its objectives, which reflects the multi-dimensional nature inherent in problems of land degradation. In practice, however, this produces major operational problems. As pointed out

above, these operational difficulties mainly relate to three interlinked aspects:

Firstly, the multi-dimensionality of NAPCOD`s approach amounts to a major need for inter-sectoral and inter-organisational co-ordination and co-operation – a task by which the programme`s institutions are currently overburdened.

Secondly, NAPCOD`s "identity" remains vague and so does knowledge of the programme on the part of many national level decision-makers.

Thirdly, at the local level implementation of NAPCOD remains insufficient due to the problems mentioned above.

Considering these circumstances, it seems advisable that NAPCOD – while keeping in mind the multi-dimensional nature of land degradation processes – restricts its activities to a few areas of strategic importance, namely strengthening co-ordination of policies and programmes as well as co-operation between actors involved in policy-making and implementation at the national level. Improvement of both aspects would simultaneously contribute to a more pronounced profile, and raise efficiency and effectiveness of the programme.

7.2 Improving Co-Operation and Co-Ordination at the National Level

Bringing about co-operation of different actors involved in NAPCOD and co-ordinating their activities will require a long-term and continuous process of communication and establishing priorities and roles of different organisations. NAPCOD`s Steering Committee serves as a forum for such processes, but should play a bigger role in this regard.

Improving intra-organisational communication and co-operation: Ensuring information flows between different units of an organisation is a prerequisite for a consistent co-ordination of its activities. As outlined above, information exchange between different departments within the two major ministries involved in NAPCOD, namely MAWRD and MET, often remains sporadic and on an *ad hoc* basis. Establishing mechanisms for communication and information exchange should therefore be given higher priority within the ministries mentioned. Databases on research results and publications with relevance to environmental degradation should be made freely accessible to other organisations and to the public.

Strengthening the position of the Steering Committee: The capacity of the SC to increase the quality level of co-operation between its members needs strengthening. To achieve this objective, several approaches could be adopted, some of which are complementary to each other:

— Informal networking between the Steering Committee members should be continued and expanded.

— To account for the limited personnel capacities and time budgets of organisations and actors involved in the SC, the role of the existing Technical Working Groups should be strengthened. To ensure, that these groups can fulfill their tasks it appears advisable to provide incentives for participation.

— A third approach would be to formalise and reform the role and structure of the NAPCOD Steering Committee. This would include a formal mandate for co-ordinating policies and legislation and clearly defining its role and responsibilities within Namibia`s political landscape.

7.3 Improving Implementation at the Local Level

**Extending NAPCOD`s geographical scope:** The impact of NAPCOD is limited to few pilot areas till now. Whereas this might be a prudent approach during a programme`s initial stages, since it allows for learning processes, being present on a broader scale is obviously desirable at a later point. However, because of limited personnel and financial capacities of the organisations currently responsible for local level implementation, this

will only be feasible by realising synergy effects from close co-operation with Service Organisations operating at this level. Many of these SOs carry out programmes and projects related to issues of sustainable natural resource management and improvement of rural livelihoods in Namibia`s communal areas. However, NAPCOD is not integrated into the majority of these activities or only to a low degree. Hence, instead of developing own projects at the local level and thus creating parallel structures, it seems desirable that NAPCOD puts a stronger focus than at current on building upon the activities of SOs and their implementation structures already present there.

Strengthening organisational co-operation and co-ordination: The personnel capacity of NAPCOD at the local level is presently too low to implement and monitor own projects or establish co-ordination and co-operation linkages between CBOs, CBOs and SOs as well as between different Service Organisations. Improving organisational co-operation and coordination at the local level appears to be crucial to achieve broad scale and lasting outcomes in combatting land degradation – and should constitute the main role of NAPCOD at the field level. Adequately skilled local facilitators or co-ordinators can play an important role in bringing about local level co-ordination and co-operation and should be employed by NAPCOD to serve more of Namibia`s communal areas than at present. In this regard, it appears desirable that experienced facilitators currently employed by SARDEP are taken over as the latter is terminated.

Monitoring achievements: Activities, which are implemented by NAPCOD at the local level are not being monitored regularly and systematically until now. It is difficult to see how project outputs and achievements are to be assessed and communicated to resource users at the local level and national level decision-makers under such circumstances. Establishing local level monitoring systems and linking them to monitoring systems at the national level thus remains an objective which should continue to rank high on NAPCOD`s agenda.

7.4 Establishing Linkages Between the National and Local Level

It is especially important to ensure that regional specifics of environmental degradation and thus varying applicability of strategies to tackle these problems are given due consideration. Centralised planning and implementation of programmes and policies dealing with sustainable natural resource management therefore need adequate mechanisms of information exchange. Organisations which provide such interlinkages are therefore highly relevant to bring about lasting improvements in sustainable natural resource management in Namibia. Again, NAPCOD facilitators could play an important role in this regard. At present, however, such organisations are hardly visible at the regional level and if they are, their composition often lacks transparency and does not include all relevant stakeholders. In some respects, this seems to hold true for the current Constituency and Regional Development Committees. The envisaged decentralisation policy of the Namibian government offers significant new perspectives in this regard as soon as implementation will gain momentum.

I Introduction

Land degradation and related processes of desertification in arid, semi-arid and sub-humid areas have been gaining momentum during the last five decades. Today, desertification is a world-wide phenomenon affecting more than 110 countries – developing and developed ones alike. According to estimates of the United Nations Environmental Programme, almost seventy per cent of the world's total dryland area used for agricultural purposes is moderately or severely degraded, having lost much of its productive potential and its capability to sustain life.[1]

To address these problems, the United Nations launched an international Convention to Combat Desertification (CCD) in 1994. Today, 172 nations have ratified the CCD. An innovative approach taken by this convention is the combination of measures planned for poverty alleviation and prevention of land degradation. In the convention's framework human-induced pressure on natural resources, which is identified by the CCD as the main cause for desertification processes, is seen mainly as a result of poverty. Therefore, poverty reduction is regarded as a precondition for halting the world-wide spread of land degradation. Implementation of the convention is envisaged to take place through National Action Programmes (NAPs). These NAPs shall be planned by signatory states providing for broad participation in order to ensure ownership of governments and affected stakeholders at the local level.

In Namibia, land degradation is widespread. The country's climate is predominantly arid or semi-arid. Namibia is the driest country in Sub-Sahara Africa and rainfall varies significantly annually and seasonally as well as between different regions. In consequence, the probability of droughts is high, and fertile and arable soils are rare and vulnerable to degradation. Overuse of natural resources and subsequent degradation of land resources are common phenomena in many parts of the country. The following factors can be identified as the main causes of human-induced resource degradation:

— High regional concentration and growth of the country's population, leading to a use of natural resources, which exceeds the natural carrying capacity.

— The majority of the population relies heavily on natural resources: Wood for purposes of construction and energy generation, cropping for food and livestock keeping for purposes of food self-sufficiency, social prestige and the generation of cash income.

— At the same time, poverty is widespread and rights of resource use are poorly defined and insecure. In consequence, people do not have sufficient incentives to invest in sustaining soil productivity and individual economic rationality entails resource overuse.

Namibia's National Action Programme to Combat Desertification (NAPCOD) came into effect in 1994 and represents the Namibian efforts to fulfil the obligations the country has taken on as a signatory state of the CCD. The programme mainly focuses on two interlinked purposes: Firstly, improving sustainability of natural resource use through establishment and training of Community-Based Organisations, and secondly, reducing poverty through safeguarding existing as well as generating alternative sources of income. Activities undertaken in the framework of NAPCOD are predominantly targeted at the country's communal areas. However, in many parts of Namibia organised forms of joint natural resource management by user groups have evolved only recently at the local level.

To understand NAPCOD's development one must take into consideration that a climate of co-operation between different ministries and NGOs evolved only after independence. Therefore, linkages between governmental and non-governmental stakeholders involved in NAPCOD were not very tight in the programmes first years. In consequence, insufficient co-operation and communication hindered NAPCOD's progress in its first phases. Today, NAPCOD is in its third phase, which started in 1999 and focuses on build-

1 Cf. UNEP (1991), p. 9.

ing capacities of Community-Based Organisations as well as enhancing drought preparedness of Namibia's rural population.

The field work endeavoured to

— contribute to a more complete documentation about NAPCOD, its organisational structures and status of implementation;

— assess the potential of Community-Based Organisations to contribute to combatting desertification within the framework of NAPCOD;

— analyse and systemise the necessary preconditions for strengthening the operational capacity of CBOs;

— gain information about the actual role CBOs play in planning and implementing measures to combat desertification, and

— contribute to the identification of opportunities for income diversification by CBOs.

The research team's preliminary findings have been presented to and discussed with a large group of people, most of whom are members of the NAPCOD Steering Committee.

A. Background Information

1 The Global Challenge of Desertification

1.1 Defining Desertification

The term desertification refers to the degradation of land resources in arid areas, i.e. the decline of soil quality and the potential for sustained use. Land degradation, however, does not automatically lead to desertification. Whereas a general decline in the quality of land resources is a common phenomenon in most parts of the world, it only leads to desertification where the long-term regenerative capacity of soils, and thereby the economic and natural productivity of ecosystems is persistently reduced. This is a common impact of land degradation in regions where an arid, semi-arid or sub-humid climate prevails.[1] Consequently, desertification can be defined as a process of "land degradation in arid, semi-arid and sub-humid areas resulting from various factors, including climatic variations and human activities."[2] Hyper-arid areas such as deserts are excluded from this definition. For simplicity's sake, however, the terms desertification and land degradation are used synonymously in this report since Namibia has an arid to semi-arid climate.

1.2 Causes of Desertification

Desertification results from a complex interaction of many factors. Usually, unsustainable practices of natural resource use are regarded as the major determinants triggering land degradation, which is therefore perceived as a mainly human-induced process. The most commonly named forms of unsustainable resource use are overcultivation, overgrazing, deforestation, overuse of water resources. A special case are poorly designed irrigation practices, which lead to salinisation, waterlogging or erosion of soils.[3] Natural factors such as climate change and droughts magnify the adverse effects of resource overuse.[4]

Resource overuse, however, is only a symptom visible on the surface. It has manifold causes, which are well known, but in past attempts to combat land degradation have rarely been addressed sufficiently.[5] Among the most important causes of desertification are population growth, poverty, inadequate economic incentives, lack or insecurity of rights of resource use, lack of knowledge of sustainable practices of resource management and an unfavourable position in international trade.[6]

It is important to keep in mind that it is the combined and interdependent effects of these factors which contribute to land degradation. Therefore, any approach aiming to effectively prevent the spread of desertification has to be multidimensional and has to address the factors underlying these practices, namely political, socio-economical, institutional and legal framework conditions:

— Population growth leads to an increased number of people using a limited amount of land. In many cases, population density per unit of land far exceeds the natural carrying capacity of soils, water and forest resources. As a result, the natural and economic productivity of these resources declines. However, substantial migration from previously used lands can also cause degradation if the workforce necessary for effective resource management declines to insufficient levels.

— Where opportunities to generate reliable and sufficient incomes are lacking, the need for short-term survival will dominate the behaviour of the people affected and thereby the

1 In accordance to international standards, the ratio between mean annual rainfall and evapotranspiration in arid, semi-arid, dry sub-humid areas figures between 0.5-0.65. Cf. UNEP (1991), p. 9.

2 UNCED (1992), chapter 12.

3 Cf. UNCCD (1995), p. 22; UNCCD (2000a), p. 3.

4 Overuse of natural resources is defined here as the use of natural resources through human activities which exceeds the resource` natural carrying capacity.

5 Cf. Wolfensohn (1999), p. 3.

6 Cf. UNCCD (2000a), pp. 3 ff.

practices of natural resource use applied. Simultaneously, interests to maximise the long-term utility of soil, forest and water resources are suppressed. Poverty forces many people in the developing world to extract as much from their land as possible in the short run, thereby exploiting it. The relationship between poverty and desertification is, however, not uni-directional. Whereas poverty may contribute to degradation of natural resources, the latter also causes and perpetuates poverty.[7]

— Economic incentives play an important part in determining patterns of natural resource use. Ideally, the economic costs of natural resource use should reflect their relative scarcity. However, in many cases "resource prices" are distorted. Subsidies for natural resource use or inputs needed for production as well as an inadequate regulation of prices lead to artificially low individual costs of resource use, thereby establishing incentives for unsustainable uses. The same is true for price distortions in the opposite direction. Taxes on resource use, which artificially push "resource prices" above their equilibrium level cause excessive costs for resource users. This might result in extractive management practices, particularly in naturally extensive locations.

— Reliable resource entitlements provide individuals with the planning security needed to invest in their land to maintain or increase its productivity. Where such rights are not in place, strong incentives exist to exploit land, water and forest resources, since it is uncertain whether they can still be used in the future. Under such conditions, economic rationality leads to a minimisation of investments in sustainability and a maximisation of short-term returns from natural resource use. Rights for resource use, however, do not necessarily have to be granted in an individual, exclusive form, but might also refer to a well defined group of users. In the latter case, however, it is necessary that institutional structures exist to safeguard the sustainability of resource use, i.e. regulation, monitoring and sanction mechanisms. In either case, access to natural resources must be reliable as well as regulated.

— In some cases, people lack the knowledge and/or technology to manage their resources in a sustainable manner, thereby causing degradation. Often, changing economic and political conditions have rendered traditional practices of resource management unsustainable without adequate alternatives replacing them. Here, training of resource users and transfer of appropriate technologies are necessary to give people the "tools" needed to stop the spread of land degradation.

— International trade patterns and policies influence the options available to combat desertification in many developing countries. Distorted world market prices for agricultural products and a strong dependency on exports of primary goods can contribute to overuse of natural resources and limit options available for a more sustainable socio-economic development. The line of argument is essentially the same as in the case of distorted domestic prices and unequal access to resources outlined above.

1.3 Global and Regional Scope of Desertification

Desertification is not a new phenomenon. Evocative descriptions of land degradation in the defined sense can be traced back to ancient Sumerian literature dating back as far as 2000 B.C. However, the world-wide decline of soil quality has gained momentum during the last five decades. Therefore, urgent action to combat the root causes of desertification and mitigate its environ-

7 For a detailed discussion on the relationship between environmental degradation and poverty see Leach / Mearns (1992).

mental, social and economic costs and consequences has become imperative.[8]

Seen on a global scale, desertification currently damages about thirty per cent of the world's total land area and almost seventy per cent of the dryland area used for agricultural purposes.[9] The incident of land degradation is, however, very unevenly spread geographically as is shown in figure one.

is estimated that North America is the continent where degradation of arid lands is most widespread and is currently threatening almost three quarters of the continent's total dryland area. The figures for Africa are similar with 73 per cent of total dryland area showing signs of moderate to severe degradation. In Latin America and Asia the situation is equally disturbing. Here seventy three and seventy one per cent respectively of the regions` total arid soils have deteriorated in quality.

Figure 1: Agricultural Lands Affected by Degradation

Although reliable figures regarding the regional extent of desertification do not exist until now[10], it

Europe is the least affected part of the world. Nevertheless, four member states of the European Union do have problems with desertification, namely Spain, Greece, Portugal and Italy.

Today, land degradation is negatively affecting the livelihoods of approximately one billion people in some 110 countries, which is equivalent to almost a sixth of the world's total population. More than 135 million people – as much as the combined population of France, Italy, the Nether-

8 Environmental costs of desertification result from the loss of regenerative capacity of soils, which leads to a reduction of their capability to sustain life. Environmental degradation results in decreases of the economic productivity of land resources. These are economic costs of desertification, represented in form of declining agricultural yields and reduced opportunities for employment and income generation. Finally, these combined effects of desertification cause social costs in the form of unemployment, rising rural-urban migration and a loss of traditional livelihoods.

9 Cf. UNEP (1991); Cf. UNCCD (1995), p. 9.

10 The biggest problem about different estimates of regional desertification is the lack of standardised and agreed-upon measuring procedures. Different statistics come up with different figures, which should therefore be dealt with due caution.

Box 1: International Efforts to Combat Desertification Prior to the CCD

The **United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office** was set up in 1973 as a reaction of the international community to the great Sahelian drought and famine of 1968-1974. It constituted the first internationally co-ordinated effort to mitigate the effects of drought and desertification. Originally intended to assist nine drought-prone countries in West Africa, its activities were subsequently enlarged to twenty-two African countries.

In 1985, the **International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)** established a **Special Programme for Sub-Saharan Countries Affected by Drought and Desertification** through which projects for drought relief were financed in twenty-five countries in Africa.

Both programmes were founded as a reaction to major droughts and the measures undertaken were mainly of a curative nature.

The **United Nations Plan of Action to Combat Desertification** was passed during the **UN Conference on Desertification**, held in Nairobi in 1977. It constituted the first internationally backed effort focussing on cutting back land degradation rather than undertaking curative measures of drought relief alone. The Plan identified desertification as a world-wide economic, social and environmental problem. It was set up in order to stimulate and co-ordinate financial support of donors and offer developing countries assistance to design such plans and strategies.

Although clearly a step in the right direction, implementation of the Action Plan fell short of expectations. Fourteen years after the plan had been agreed upon by more than eighty governments, national plans to combat desertification existed in less than a quarter of the affected countries. Furthermore, donors as well as governments of affected developing countries gave insufficient priority to the Plan, a fact clearly reflected by the inadequate availability of funds.

lands and Switzerland – are in acute danger of losing their land.[11]

Desertification surely is a more urgent problem in some regions and countries than in others. Nevertheless, the world-wide extent of land degradation clearly shows that it is not limited to the developing world but takes place on a global scale. It is thus a problem of global significance although its concrete effects are felt first and most sharply at the national and local levels. However, as a consequence of limited financial resources and fewer options for sustainable natural resource use at hand, the developing world faces greater problems than most developed countries.

2 The United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (CCD)

The "United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification in those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, Particularly in Africa" (in the following called CCD) is an international effort to halt and reverse the world-wide spread of land degradation and its negative environmental, social and economic impacts on countries affected by drought and desertification. Besides the UN conventions on climate change and biodiversity it is the third important agreement within the United Nations framework dealing with environmental issues. Passed in 1994, following the UN Earth Summit 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, the convention came into effect in December 1996. Today, 172 nations – developing and industrialised countries alike – have ratified the convention.

2.1 History of the CCD

International attempts to address problems of desertification have been undertaken long before the CCD came into effect. Most of them have only been of limited success. Box 1 gives an overview of international efforts to reduce world-wide land degradation and mitigate the effects of droughts.

The failure of the CCD's predecessors led to increased pressure on the part of affected developing countries to address problems of desertification in the framework of an international convention. This demand was articulated during the United Nations` Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro 1992. Desertification, developing countries ar-

11 Cf. UNCCD (1995), p. 9.

gued, could not be halted effectively by affected poor nations alone. Instead, an internationally co-ordinated effort and substantial financial support by donors were needed to tackle the problem. Furthermore, many developing countries regarded such support as obligatory for industrialised countries, since they significantly contribute to global warming, which is probably one important factor underlying processes of land degradation.[12]

The importance of the global desertification problems was never controversial. Industrialised countries nevertheless stressed that desertification and its negative effects are regionally and locally concentrated processes and therefore favoured plans of action at the regional and local levels. The industrialised countries finally agreed to negotiate the convention because it was hoped that through concessions to the developing world the latter's support for future environmental conventions could be secured. After one and a half years of negotiations, the CCD was passed in 1994.

2.2 Objectives and Approach of the CCD

The Convention itself describes its main objective as: "[…] to combat desertification and mitigate the effects of drought in countries experiencing serious drought and/or desertification, particularly in Africa, through effective action at all levels, supported by international co-operation and partnership agreements, in the framework of an integrated approach which is consistent with Agenda 21, with a view to contributing to the achievement of sustainable development in affected areas."[13]

Measures which are to be implemented in the convention's framework should aim at

— establishing sustainable land use practices to prevent land degradation;

— rehabilitating partly degraded lands;

— reclaiming soils where desertification takes place in an already advanced stage, and thereby

— improving the living standard of people in affected areas.[14]

Whereas the listed objectives are comparable to those of past efforts to address problems of land degradation, several innovative features can be highlighted, which distinguish the CCD from its predecessors: its focus on preventive measures, the combination of combating desertification and poverty alleviation and its call for participatory development of anti-desertification-plans. The convention adopts an integrated multi-dimensional approach and calls for simultaneously addressing the physical, biological and socio-economic aspects, which are regarded as the root causes of land degradation.[15] It is therefore clearly committed to more than just addressing symptoms of desertification.

Poverty reduction is an integral part of this approach and is also reflected in the CCD's regional orientation: Although the convention contains four regional annexes for implementation (one for Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Northern Mediterranean), it gives clear priority to Africa as the continent which has the highest concentration of countries simultaneously suffering from land degradation and extreme poverty. The CCD expresses the view that "sustainable economic growth, social development and poverty eradication are priorities of affected developing countries, particularly in Africa, and are essential to meet sustainability objectives […]".[16] Alleviating poverty is therefore regarded as a prerequisite for the long-term effectiveness of any effort to halt the spread of land degradation.

At the core of the CCD are the so-called National Action Programmes (NAPs). These programmes are to be developed by affected countries and

12 Cf. Kürzinger (1998), p. 56.

13 UNCCD (1994), Art. 2.

14 Cf. UNCCD (1994).

15 UNCCD (1994), Art. 4.

16 Cf. UNCCD (1994), Preamble.

provided assistance to by the CCD's permanent secretariat as well as by donors. Whereas the secretariat sets out to provide guidance and know-how, donors are encouraged to assist affected developing countries with technical and financial support.

To ensure that duplication of efforts and competition between different donors, authorities, plans and projects is minimised and financial and technical resources are channelled to priority areas of action, the convention calls for improved co-operation and co-ordination between all parties involved at the international, regional and sub-regional levels.[17]

Regarding the process of developing NAPs, the CCD follows a bottom-up approach. NAPs shall be planned and implemented with the participation of all relevant stakeholders at the national, regional and local level, according to the needs of local people and communities. Furthermore, representatives of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and donor agencies are to be integrated into the planning process.[18] After a NAP is developed, partnership agreements between the actors involved shall lay down procedures and responsibilities for its implementation.

National Action Programmes are not to be planned and implemented in isolation from other policies. Instead, to ensure that their objectives can be achieved and their financing from national budgets ensured, it is crucial that they are consistent with a country's long-term development goals and integrated into comprehensive development strategies and policies.[19]

17 Cf. UNCCD (1994), Art. 3.

18 Ibid.

19 Cf. UNCCD (1994), Art. 5.

2.3 Rights and Obligations of Contracting Parties

In addition to the general obligations of all contracting parties, which are reflected in the CCD's approach to combat desertification, affected and developed countries alike take on a set of specific obligations. Those of affected developing countries mostly refer to the development and implementation of plans and strategies to combat desertification and ensure that the principles of poverty eradication and broad participation of stakeholders are met. Developed countries mainly commit themselves to support such efforts by providing and mobilising new and substantial technical and financial assistance.

In particular, signatory states affected by desertification are obliged to

— classify anti-desertification-policies as a priority objective of national development policy;

— allocate adequate financial resources for this task;

— establish, implement and monitor strategies and National Action Programmes;

— address the socio-economic problems underlying desertification processes;

— facilitate and ensure participation of local stakeholders;

— integrate efforts to combat desertification into long-term development policies, and

— provide adequate legal and economic incentives for a sustainable use of natural resources.

Developed countries, on the other hand, commit themselves especially to

— support measures undertaken by affected parties to combat desertification;

— co-ordinate their support;

— provide technical and financial assistance;

— mobilise additional funding from the public and private sector, and

— assist developing countries to obtain technology and knowledge relevant for combating land degradation.[20]

Although the CCD's provisions are legally binding to the contracting parties, they can be described as "soft law". This means that there is no legal body which could impose sanctions to contracting parties who fail to fulfil the commitments taken in the convention`s framework. Success or failure of the CCD therefore heavily depends on the serious commitment of the signatory states to the convention`s objectives and its reflection in development and co-operation policies.

2.4 How Programmes to Combat Desertification Are to be Financed

Contrary to the UN conventions on climate change and biodiversity, efforts to combat desertification are not to be financed by the Global Environmental Facility (GEF)[21], which is managed jointly by the United Nations Development and Environment Programmes (UNDP and UNEP). Instead, funding of programmes under the CCD is to be mobilised through a new institution, called "Global Mechanism" (GM).

In contrast to the GEF, the GM is not a central fund. Its functions can be described more as those of a broker between industrialised and developing country parties regarding the mobilisation and channelling of funds for the CCD´s implementation. The GM's main task is "...to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of existing financial mechanisms and promote actions leading to the mobilisation and channelling of substantial financial resources to affected developing country parties."[22]

As a result, financing of measures to cut back or prevent land degradation relies mainly on future and existing agreements on bilateral or multilateral development assistance. Therefore, the availability of funds depends on a country's commitment to the convention`s objectives as in the case of the two other environmental conventions of Rio. Furthermore, countries with few donor activities may not be able to effectively address desertification problems because they lack opportunities to negotiate financing.

Financing the CCD´s implementation has been a controversial issue since negotiations of the convention started in 1992. Whereas donor countries expressed the strong feeling that before additional financial resources for combating desertification could be provided, recipient countries had to undertake substantial efforts to increase the efficiency of foreign aid, developing countries stressed the need for additional funding for successful implementation of NAPs. During the four conferences of parties held until today, developing countries repeatedly demanded that GEF financing be also made available for activities relating to preventing the spread of land degradation. Up to now, the issue of financing has not been solved to all parties` satisfaction and more time is needed until the effectiveness of the Global Mechanism can be assessed.

2.5 Implementation Experiences

The CCD is a relatively young convention, so that little experience is available regarding its implementation. Not all affected signatory countries have completed the preparation of National Action Programmes and in many of those who have, implementation is still in an experimental pilot phase. Besides the often disputed question of adequate funding of the CCD's implementation, a major challenge of implementation seems to exist regarding the integration of programmes to combat desertification into long-term development policies. Solving this problem will not only require a long-term oriented and integrated approach to planning, but also close co-operation and co-ordination of activities of the many differ-

20 Cf. UNCCD (1994), Art. 6.

21 The GEF supports activities of developing and transition countries in the fields of climate change prevention and protection of biodiversity, which are of global environmental interest.

22 UNCCD (1994), Art. 21; Cf. Ryden (1999), p. 28.

ent actors involved in such a task. It can safely be assumed that in many countries – developed and developing ones alike – substantial processes of institutional learning and reconciling of diverging interests will have to take place as a prerequisite for successful efforts to halt further land degradation.

B. INFORMATION ABOUT THE COUNTRY

3 Desertification and Socio-Economic Background of Namibia

3.1 Scope and Patterns of Desertification in Namibia

Namibia is situated on the south-western coast of Africa. The coastal plain (100-150 km wide) comprises one of the world's oldest deserts, the Namib, which extends to mountains that rise to 2000 metres above sea level and from there descend to a flat inland plateau at 1000-1200 metres a.s.l.[23] Namibia has three natural vegetation zones: the desert (sixteen per cent of the total land area), the savannah (sixty-four per cent) and the dry woodlands (twenty per cent). The geology and soils associated with these zones are shown in figure A 3.

The climate prevailing in Namibia is predominantly arid and semi-arid. Mean annual rainfall varies significantly annually and seasonally as well as regionally. In general, the rainy season lasts from November to March. During this period it might not rain for several weeks, but by February most parts of the country should have received a significant proportion of their annual rainfall.

While the entire western coastal zone, which is hyper-arid desert, receives less than 100 mm annual precipitation on average, rainfall amounts to 500-700 mm in the northern sub-humid areas.[24] The latter area, however, is relatively small, so that only eight per cent of the country receives more than 500 mm rain per year – the minimum considered necessary for dryland cropping.[25] Annual variations of rainfall ranges from 2-380 mm per year in the Namib desert, indicating a high probability of severe droughts,[26] to 348-871 mm per year in Namibia's north-eastern parts, where rainfall not only tends to be more intense but also more regular.

Corresponding to fluctuations in precipitation, the mass of standing vegetation as well as variations of the carrying capacity of terrestrial ecosystems also varies significantly from year to year. Furthermore, rainfall patterns affect Namibia's wetland ecosystems, many of which are ephemeral and only occasionally flooded or wet. The only perennial rivers in Namibia are found along the northern and southern borders.[27]

Presently, desertification can be identified as the major threat to Namibia's environment and resources both in commercial and communal areas. Observed symptoms include declining ground water tables, soil erosion, loss of forest vegetation, grasses and shrubs, bush encroachment, salinisation of soils and decreasing soil fertility.[28] In the following, the most important determinants for desertification processes in Namibia will be outlined.

23 For a detailed description of Namibia´s geography: Cf. Hueser / Bluemel / Eitel (1998), pp. 238 - 244. Also: Cf. Byers (1997), p. 4.

24 Cf. Sweet / Burke (no date).

25 Cf. Byers (1997), p. 5. Also confer to chapter four.

26 Cf. Merwe (1983), maps 10-14, and: cf. Maurer (1996), pp. 115-116.

27 Cf. Jacobson / Jacobson / Seely (1995), 160 pp. Cf. chapter 4.

28 Cf. MET (DEA) (2000b), pp. 3 – 50 ff. Bush encroachment is a major form of degradation, especially on commercial farms in the central, eastern and northern areas, leading to economic losses, cf: Barnard (1998), p. 240.

Table 1: Mean Annual Rainfall

Source: Byers (1997), p. 4

3.2 Determinants of Desertification in Namibia

Desertification processes can be influenced by natural and man-made determinants as has already been described in chapter one. Without human influences, ecosystems normally tend to exist in a state of equilibrium. Although they might be degraded by droughts, their regenerative capacity usually allows for recovery in following years.
Irreversible damages to land resources are mostly a result of a complex interaction of both natural and man-made determinants of desertification. However, the latter seem to be major contributors to processes of accelerated degradation of land resources as they can be observed in Namibia and will therefore be focussed on in the following sub-chapters.[29]

3.2.1 Natural Determinants of Desertification

Desertification processes in Namibia are mainly related to the prevailing patterns and variations of rainfall. During the extended dry periods plant growth slows down or stops completely, leaving soils extremely vulnerable to erosion and other processes of land degradation. While substantial variations in plant growth can be considered as normal under arid conditions, reduction of the regenerative capacity of land resources in many areas of Namibia has advanced to a stage where natural conditions of forage cannot be regained. As degradation continues, soils may pass different phases of degradation: from grassland to bush encroachment areas to deeply eroded ground.

Water is the primary limiting factor for ecosystem integrity and socio-economic development in dry environments such as Namibia. As rain falls in short, intense episodes, infiltration of water into the soil and thus into aquifers is low, which constrains posterior use for human purposes: on average, approximately eighty-three per cent of total

29 Cf. Maurer (1996), p. 141.

annual precipitation evaporate, another fourteen per cent are transpired, about two per cent appear as surface runoff, and only one per cent contributes to recharge of groundwater resources.[30] Increasing problems of unsustainable use of wood resources, which are used both for construction purposes and as firewood, further lower the capacity of soils to store water. At the same time, soils become more vulnerable to erosion and salinisation as the speed of runoff and evaporation increase.

Soil composition in Namibia is also unfavourable for sustaining a large biologic diversity, since it tends to be thin and sandy. The majority of soil types found in Namibia is "[…] neither suitable for dryland agriculture due to difficult climatic conditions, nor suitable for irrigation agriculture because of the rapid build-up of salinity caused by high rates of evaporation and mineral salts in the soil."[31] Once these fragile soils start to degrade, they lose their function in the terrestrial ecosystem as provider of nutrients, as a protector of deeper soils from erosion and as natural habitat for small animals.

3.2.2 Man-Made Determinants

Human-induced overuse of natural resources is a major cause of desertification in Namibia. While the most important man-made determinants of desertification were already outlined in chapter one, the following ones are of special relevance for processes of land degradation in Namibia:[32]

— The majority of the population still relies directly on the use of natural resources: wood for building and fuel, cropping for food, as well as livestock keeping for purposes of food self-sufficiency, capital accumulation, social prestige and income generation.

— Urbanisation and industrial development lead to increased demand for water and energy.

— The country's population grows fast. Furthermore, people are unevenly distributed geographically. About twenty-eight per cent of the entire population live in just one per cent of the country's total land area. Both aspects lead to utilisation of natural resources above their natural equilibrium level.

Heavy overexploitation of tree and bush resources prevails in the communal areas of the north and south. But the commercial areas, too, have severely overexploited their timber resources over the last 25 years or so.

Human pressure on the environment is most perceivable considering the use of forest, water and land resources. Patterns of water and land use prevailing in Namibia will be described in chapter four.

3.3 Costs of Desertification in Namibia

Desertification processes can be analysed with regard to their impact on the economy.[33] Costs of resource degradation might be differentiated according to types of natural resources affected, e.g. deforestation, loss of plant and animal species, rangeland degradation or declining productivity of arable land. Each type of cost can then be estimated on the basis of household needs. The costs of desertification can be interpreted as the amount of money needed to fully compensate the affected households, e.g. for their loss of resource availability and agricultural outputs, and enable them to fulfill their needs. Until now, the economic impact of desertification has only been calculated for a few regions in Namibia. In the future, costs of desertification processes should be estimated more frequently and regularly to make economic losses more visible to decision-makers and the population as well as to gather information on trends of desertification and their impact on the

30 Cf. Seely (1991), p. 9; also: cf. Quan / Barton / Conroy (1994), p. 12.

31 MET (DEA) (2000b), p. 3 – 49.

32 Cf. Ashley / Müller / Harris (1995), p. 2.

33 Cf. Quan / Barton / Conroy (1994).

Table 2: Trends in Environmental Degradation in Namibia, Their Direct and Indirect Causes

Type of degradation	Trend	Direct cause	Indirect cause
Drop in aquifer water tables	Worsening	Abstraction of groundwater	Aridity: lack of surface waters; provision of water on demand; increased population/ increased water demand
Decrease in surface waters	Will worsen rapidly	Damming, abstraction	Aridity: lack of surface waters; provision of water on demand; increased population/ increased water demand
Water pollution: salinisation	Worsening	Irrigation, abstraction of water from surface aquifers	Aridity: desire to produce food regardless of effects of irrigation
Disruption of drainage in oshanas	Has occurred	Roads and canals	Ignorance, lack of planning
Decline in riparian vegetation	Worsening	Use of trees for fuel, construction, carving; grazing stock	Overpopulation leading to increased use of resources; poverty leading to reliance on natural resources; loss of traditional management practices; lack of education
Decline in fish populations	Worsening	Inappropriate fishing gear, overfishing	Overpopulation leading to increased use of resources; poverty leading to reliance on natural resources; loss of traditional management practices; lack of education
Degradations of floodplains	Worsening	Growth of crops; use of trees (construction, fuel, carving); grazing stock; trampling when fishing	Overpopulation leading to increased use of resources; poverty leading to reliance on natural resources; loss of traditional management practices; lack of education

Source: Day (1997), p. 38.

country's economic performance and social situation.

3.4 Political and Socio-Economic Background

Although the Republic of Namibia enjoys political stability and moderate economic growth, it faces serious challenges as to future development. The combination of a high dependency on natural resources, a narrow export base, small domestic markets and limited availability of human resources limits the country's potential for economic growth and renders it vulnerable to external fluctuations. High population growth and rising prevalence of HIV/AIDS put additional pressure on people and the economy.[34] Furthermore, income distribution and access to natural resources are highly skewed and economic structures extremely dualistic – a heritage from the times of colonial and apartheid rule. This chapter will give a brief overview of the political development of the country until independence and the current socio-economic and political situation in Namibia.

34 In the period 1970-1995, long-term population growth figured around 2.7% per annum. AIDS is today the main cause of death in Namibia (12.4% of total reported deaths) and there is a rising tendency. The officially stated rate of HIV-positive people amounts to more than 20% of the total population. Cf. UNDP (1999), p.iii.

3.4.1 Political and Socio-Economic Development Until Independence

Namibia has a long history of colonial rule. European settlements were established as early as the second half of the eighteenth century by the Boers. German missionaries arrived around 1840[35]. In 1878, Great Britain annexed Walvis Bay, Namibia's only deep sea harbour. Only three years later, the German trader Adolf Lüderitz established an important trading base at the south-western coast, and was granted protection by the German Reich. Growing colonial interests of the German Reich led to treaties between Germany, and the colonial powers of Portugal and Great Britain in 1886 and 1890 respectively, in which the borders of the new German colony "German Southwest Africa" were defined.

The German colonial administration divided the country along ethnical lines, thereby laying the foundations for a dualistic socio-economic development. The majority of European settlers, on the one hand, were located in the central, southern and south-western part of the country and granted special protection by the colony's armed forces. Focal points of economic development in these areas consisted of extensive commercial livestock farming and mining of diamonds and base metals (and later also uranium). Walvis Bay served as an export platform for primary commodities. The majority of black Namibians, on the other hand, lived in the country's northern parts or were resettled there. Here, no significant development efforts were undertaken by the colonial administration. The bulk of economic activities remained restricted to subsistence-farming and small-scale livestock keeping. As a result, the northern areas stagnated in terms of social and economic development, while the south prospered, driven by the demand of the German Reich for natural resource exports.

In 1915, German colonial rule in Namibia ended and the country became a protectorate of the South African Union. After the end of the First World War, South Africa was mandated to administer Namibia on behalf of the League of Nations and later, after the Second World War, of the newly founded United Nations. South Africa repeatedly demanded of the UN that Namibia be formally incorporated into the territory of the South African Union, which the UN rejected. However, rather than only administer the country according to their mandate, the new rulers effectively regarded Namibia as a new province of South Africa.

As a result of the application of South Africa's Apartheid policy to Namibia, the social and economic division of the country was enforced and cemented. Following the recommendations of the Odendaal-Commission of 1963, separate homelands were created for the country's different ethnic groups, each with limited rights of self-administration.[36] Non- whites living outside these homelands were deprived of their rights of permanent residency. In consequence, townships – home of the non-white workforce of "white cities" with poor standards of housing - developed and grew. Access to jobs for the black population was restricted and wages significantly lower than those paid to whites. Not surprisingly, the result of such policies was a highly unequal distribution of income and access to education and health services.[37]

Efforts of economic development also concentrated on the "white" parts of Namibia, where the main pillars of the country's economy, namely commercial agriculture, the fisheries industry as well as industrial and mining activities were concentrated. The northern areas` contribution to Namibia's GDP before independence is estimated to have been as low as three to four per cent.[38]

During the late fifties, domestic and international pressure on South Africa to give up its *de facto*

35 Cf. Vedder (1997), pp. 238 ff.

36 Cf. Halbach (2000), pp. 8 ff.

37 Cf. Halbach (2000), pp. 11 f.; cf. UNDP (1999), p. 7.

38 Cf. Halbach (2000), p. 14. Detailed information on the productive potential of the northern regions is not available.

Box 2: German Colonial Rule and the Herero-War of 1904-1907

The German Reich declared parts of Namibia as its colony in 1890. Eager to expand its territory in Southwest Africa, the German colonial administration started pressing the ethnicities of the Herero and Nama, mainly living from livestock keeping, to sell their land. In the following years, the colonial administration developed plans to establish special reservations for the Herero people and effectively deprive them of their land. Meanwhile, livestock diseases, malaria and rising debt lead to growing impoverishment and marginalisation of the Herero. In 1904, the Herero started a revolt against the colonists, which resulted in victims also on the German side. The colonial administration`s reaction was to declare war on the Herero, which culminated in the battle of the Waterberg on August 11th in 1904, after which the Herero fled to the east into the Kalahari desert. What followed is a shameful chapter of German colonial history: The colonial administration under General von Trotha deprived the Herero of their citizenship and ordered to shoot them on sight within the country`s borders. This order was not withdrawn until 1905. Although the exact number of victims in the Herero population is not clear, it is estimated that within less than one year up to 60.000 people were killed or died from thirst, hunger and exhaustion. The war between German troops, Nama and Herero continued up to 1907 until the latter`s resistance was completely broken.

colonial regime increased. In 1958, the "Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO) was founded, representing the interests of large parts of Namibia`s non-white population. Sam Nujoma, Namibia`s current president, was one of the founding members. A year later, Nujoma and others subsequently established the "South West African National Union" (SWANU), which started to organise mass protests against forced resettlements and special regulations for the black workforce. The South African administration answered brutally to these demonstrations. In 1960, Nujoma left the country and renamed the OPO into "South West Africa People`s Organisation" (SWAPO). After the UN withdrew its administration mandate from South Africa in 1966, the SWAPO started a campaign of armed resistance and was later recognised as "authentic representative of the Namibian people" by the UN.

Until 1983, South Africa managed to maintain its grip on power in Namibia but peace talks between South Africa, the SWAPO and other political parties did finally start in 1984. In the following year, South Africa handed over power to a transitional government and elections for a constitutional convention were held in 1989 paving the way for the country`s formal independence. Namibia`s new constitution entered into force in February 1990 and Sam Nujoma was elected president. In March of the same year, Namibia finally became independent.

3.4.2 Current Political System and Political Developments Since Independence

The Republic of Namibia is a democratic state with a bi-cameral parliament, a president with far-reaching executive powers and regular multi-party elections. The Namibian constitution guarantees extensive citizen rights and the classical separation of powers as well as a commitment to a market-driven economy and the protection of private property. At the regional level, elected regional councils represent the formal institution responsible for administration and co-operation with the national level ministries.

Since independence, a central objective of Namibia`s government has been the reform of the country`s asymmetric regional structure stemming from the colonial and Apartheid periods. A first step to decentralise Namibia`s administrative structure consisted of a territorial restructuring, which was completed in 1992. Today, Namibia consists of thirteen regions and fifty-three constituencies. Regarding decentralisation of power, some major problems can be observed. Regional and local authorities often do not fulfil the requirements needed for successful decentralisation. Most of them lack sufficiently trained personnel and adequate financial resources to fulfil tasks of administration and governance in an effective and efficient manner. Tasks like poverty reduction, investments in social and physical infrastructure and development of the education sector are not

likely to be solved if these shortcomings are not addressed systematically. Furthermore, regional and local governments lack decision-making powers in many respects. Whereas they have been granted limited administrative rights and responsibilities, executive powers for the regions still remain in the hands of the central government.[39] As a matter of fact, decentralisation of powers so far remains incomplete and capacity-building for local and regional authorities will still require significant time and effort.

Since the first elections of 1989, president Nujoma and the SWAPO have managed to extend their power in two following parliamentarian and presidential elections. The constitution, which restricted the maximum period of office for the president to two presidential terms, was changed in time to allow Nujoma to candidate for a third term in 1999. Today, the SWAPO has a two-thirds majority in parliament, giving it effective control over all legislative decisions.[40] This is even more important, since according to the constitution, ministers and vice ministers have to be recruited from parliament. As a result, members of the SWAPO hold more than half of all ministerial posts, although the government was prudent to allocate a substantial amount of ministerial posts to members of other political parties. Regional councils and administrations are also clearly dominated by the SWAPO. Regarding this process of concentration of powers in the hands of the SWAPO, critical observers remark that Namibia – although in a democratic manner – has turned into a "dominant party state".[41]

In recent years, the military involvement of Namibia in Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo as well as unsolved problems of land reform and the sometimes irritating rhetoric of some SWAPO politicians regarding foreign investments in Namibia threaten to shake the trust of foreign investors in the economic and political stability of the traditionally market friendly and secure country and its future prospects of economic growth.[42]

3.5 Prospects and Problems of Socio-Economic Development

With a per capita income of more than US$ 1,940, Namibia can be considered a middle-income country. However, income distribution and access to education, health and social services is highly skewed – a legacy from the eras of colonial and Apartheid rule.[43] Most of Namibia`s poor live in the densely populated rural northern part of the country – the former homeland areas where opportunities of income generation are low and subsistence agriculture is widespread – while population groups with higher income are concentrated in the central and south-western parts of Namibia, the areas dominated by whites before independence. Whereas the wealthiest ten per cent of the population receive more than sixty five per cent of GDP, the rest makes a living from only thirty-five per cent of the national income.[44]

Regional disparities are not only limited to questions of income distribution, but are also present in the form of unequal availability of physical and social infrastructure components. While roads, electricity supply, schools, medical services, access to safe drinking water and adequate sanitation facilities are comparable to western standards in the south-western and central parts of Namibia, they are underdeveloped in the country`s northern areas. In consequence, poverty, reflected by low income, life expectancy and literacy rates is a problem, which is – although not exclusively –

39 Cf. Halbach (2000), p. 50.

40 Cf. Halbach (2000), p. 56.

41 Diescho (1996).

42 Cf. Ulenga (2000).

43 UNDP calculates the Gini-coefficient for Namibia as high as 0.7, reflecting the most unequal income distribution in the list 175 countries included in UNDP`s annual Human Development Reports. Namibia also has one of the lowest possible ranking in the United Nations` Human Development Index (rank 107 out of 175). Cf. UNDP (1998a).

44 Cf. Halbach (2000), p. 176.

heavily concentrated in Namibia`s communal areas.

Potentials for employment and income generation and thus for reducing poverty can mainly be seen in intensifying land use in communal agricultural areas, promoting job opportunities through community-based tourism and fostering the establishment of small enterprises.[45] It is clear, however, that such approaches have to be consistent with sustainable use of Namibia`s natural resources if they are to have a lasting impact on poverty. Although poverty eradication and improvement of the social infrastructure of Namibia`s underprivileged regions rank high on the political agenda since independence, success has so far been limited. This seems, in the first place, not to be due to a lack of commitment on part of the Namibian government, but to factors such as high population growth, limited availability of financial resources and the sheer size of the task.

Namibia can be described as a country with limited scope and options for future economic development. Its small domestic market, limited human resource and industrial base and its high dependency on natural resource exports and imports of manufactured goods all constitute as substantial barriers for future economic development. The relatively undiversified range of trade partners works to the same effect.

Economic policies in Namibia have traditionally been market friendly and sound. However, in recent years a trend towards a lasting imbalance of the government budget can be observed. Since 1999, the running budget deficit increased to about four per cent of GDP.[46] This development is mainly due to increased military spending by the Namibian government which increased from 7.8 per cent to 9.8 per cent of the total annual budget in 2000. Although the prospective deficit was budgeted by the Namibian government at four per cent it remains to be seen whether this objective can be reached. On the revenue side, the situation will remain dependent on the economic health of the main contributors to government revenue, namely the sectors of mining, agriculture and fisheries – which are all highly vulnerable to external fluctuations. At the same time, the potential of these sectors for further growth is limited, as will be explained below. As a result of these combined factors, there is a growing danger of macroeconomic imbalance.

The economic development of Namibia has always depended on the exploitation and export of the country`s natural resources. As a result, the economy is vulnerable to the consequences of unsustainable natural resource use and variations of external factors such as world market prices for primary commodities. Upper ceilings for sustainable utilisation of natural resources have been reached and in some cases exceeded – at least in the agricultural sector. Therefore, further degradation of natural resources, unless reversed, is likely to undermine the country`s long-term potential for future economic development.

The biggest scope for future growth can be seen in the tourism and transport sectors. Whereas recent developments of the former are more than encouraging, the future role of the latter will depend on developments in neighbouring Angola. An end of Angola`s civil war would open up the promising opportunity to Namibia to serve as a trade and transit platform for its neighbouring countries, especially since the country`s physical infrastructure is excellent and it has a deep sea harbour.

Two economic sectors, however, are of special relevance for processes of land degradation and efforts to effectively combat it: agriculture and tourism. Different systems and practices of land use put different pressure on natural resources and thus contribute to a varying degree to soil degradation or conservation. Namibia`s tourism sector seems to offer the biggest potential for generating non-agricultural income opportunities and thus for poverty reduction, which is a prerequisite to effectively combat desertification in Namibia`s poor rural areas. After a brief and general overview of the Namibian economy`s most important sectors and their potential for future growth, a detailed

45 Cf. GON (1998b), pp.11 ff.

46 Cf. Brandt (2000), p. 1.

description of sectors relevant for desertification will follow in chapter four.

The Mining Sector

Mining activities in Namibia mainly consist of the exploitation of diamonds, uranium and base metal deposits. Traditionally, the sector is the main pillar of the country`s economy and a major contributor to GDP and export earnings. Different branches in the sector developed differently during the last ten years. While base metal mining[47], especially copper, shrunk due to deteriorating world market prices, diamond and uranium mining grew. Today, diamond mining is the most important branch of the sector, accounting for approximately two thirds of total value added in mining and contributing about ten per cent to GDP and forty per cent to the country`s total annual export earnings.[48]

Although these figures underline the relevance of the mining sector for Namibia`s economic development and stability, its significance is declining. Both its absolute and relative contribution to GDP declined continuously during the last twenty years. Whereas the sector`s contribution to national income was more than thirty-two per cent in the period 1980 -1982, it amounted to less than fourteen per cent in 1997.[49]

Table 3: Sectoral Contributions to GDP, Employment and Export Earnings (Average 1997-1998)

	GDP (in %)	Employment (in %)	Export earnings (in %)
Mining	14	< 3	47
Fisheries	> 10	n.n.	25-30
Industry	15	n.n.	13
Agriculture	8	> 38	15

Source: UNDP (1998); Halbach (2000)

Due to the mining sector`s high capital intensity and the closing of one of the biggest mining sites it only plays a minor and declining role in terms of its contribution to employment. Today, the mining employs less than three per cent of the country`s workforce.[50]

The future development of Namibia`s mining sector is hard to predict. On the one hand, the potential for the exploration of new diamond and base metal deposits is expected to be substantial, so that the negative effects of a further decline of world market prices and demand might at least be compensated for by increased production. On the other hand, the sector`s development will remain vulnerable to price fluctuations on the world market and so will its contribution to economic development.

Fisheries

The fisheries industry is – together with tourism – the most dynamic and rapidly growing part of the Namibian economy and prospects for its future development appear promising. However, the sector`s future development will strongly depend on the sustainability of current uses of Namibia`s fish stocks. With a share of ninety-eight per cent of total production being exported, the fisheries industry contributes about twenty-five to thirty per cent to Namibia`s annual export earnings, which makes it the second important source of foreign currency – with a growing tendency. [51] The same is true with regard to the sectoral contribution to GDP, which climbed from approximately 5.4 per cent in 1990 to more than ten per cent by 1998.[52]

Due to the post-independence policy of "Namibianisation" of the fisheries industry, its contribution to total employment also increased significantly. After the agricultural sector, the fisheries

47 Base metals found in Namibia include copper, lead, vanadium, gold, silver, tin and zinc.

48 Cf. Halbach (2000), pp. 111 ff.; cf. UNDP (1999), p. 6 f.; cf. IMF (1997), p. 9.

49 Cf. UNDP (1999), p. 6.

50 Cf. Halbach (2000), p. 112.

51 Cf. GON (1998a), p. 11.

52 Cf. UNDP (1999), p. 24.

industry is currently the second biggest employer in the Namibian economy.[53]

Manufacturing and Industry

Namibia imports most manufactured goods from South Africa. Those industrial branches which are operational and competitive are export-oriented and serve only a minimal share of the demand of domestic markets.[54] Dominating industries are fish and meat processing – branches which depend heavily on developments in the markets and in the agricultural and fisheries sector and their natural resource base. Therefore, sustainable management of Namibia`s natural resources is of vital importance for the whole economy.

The industrial base of the Namibian economy is very small and potentials for its future development are slim. The Apartheid policy of the South African era left Namibia with a very thin base of human resources and knowledge, which is insufficient for a broad industrial development. In addition, markets are small, so that in most cases possibilities to realise economies of scale do not exist. The development of a competitive manufacturing and industrial base is further hampered by the free access of South African companies to Namibian markets, their high market shares and superiority in terms of efficiency. In consequence, market entry barriers for Namibian enterprises are high and cannot easily be overcome.[55] Finally, in comparison to exporters from neighbouring countries, Namibian producers find themselves in a disadvantageous position regarding labour and transport costs.

The establishment of several export processing zones (EPZ) with far reaching economic incentives for investors to induce foreign and domestic investment in the manufacturing and industrial sectors so far could not meet its objectives.

Agriculture

Namibia`s agricultural sector comprises two distinct sub-sectors, namely agricultural activities on so-called commercial, i.e. privately owned land, and on communal, i.e. communally or state owned land.[56]

Agriculture plays a less significant role in Namibia`s economy in terms of contribution to GDP. Due to climatic conditions as well as other internally and externally induced barriers for sectoral growth[57], the development potential of agriculture is clearly limited. Severe water scarcity, frequent droughts and declining productivity of land are major obstacles for increasing agricultural productivity. In consequence, the contribution of agriculture (mainly cattle production) to national income never exceeded ten per cent and currently stands at eight per cent.[58] Contribution to total annual export earnings nevertheless amounts to about fifteen per cent.[59]

These figures, however, do not reflect the significance of the sector for the Namibian population. Agriculture contributes a lion`s share to total employment. In 1998 approximately thirty-six per cent of the total labour force were directly em-

53 UNDP (1999), p. 23 f.

54 The fish and meat processing industries both export more than 95% of their total production. Beverage production is the third significant industrial branch in Namibia. Here, the share of total production going into export is lower but still significant. Cf. GON (1998a), p. 46.

55 Besides the European Union, South Africa is Namibia`s main trade partner – in terms of imports from South Africa as well as Namibian exports to the country.

56 A detailed description of both subsectors, their relevance for processes of land degradation and their potential for future development is given in chapter four.

57 As a signatory state of the Lomé IV convention, Namibia obtained an export quota for beef to the European Union`s markets – besides South Africa Namibia`s main trade partners - of 13,000 t.p.a..

58 This figure can be disaggregated into a contribution of the commercial agricultural sector of 5.5% and 2.5% of the communal agricultural sector respectively. Cf. IMF (1997), p. 10; Cf. UNDP (1999), p. 23.

59 Cf. Halbach (2000), p. 91.

ployed in agriculture.[60] In addition, the majority of the people living in the country`s communal areas rely on subsistance agriculture – a fact not reflected in national statistics.[61] Furthermore, a large percentage of those who are employed in the industrial sector also depend indirectly on the agricultural sector`s development.[62] This underlines the important role the agricultural sector plays and will continue to play in the future for the Namibian economy.

Tourism

Tourism is the most dynamically growing sector of the Namibian economy and offers the biggest opportunities for future growth and creation of employment opportunities. With a contribution to GDP of currently seven per cent, the sector has become an important pillar of the economy and growth rates are far above average.[63] Tourism is also the third biggest contributor to export earnings.[64] Furthermore, because of the sector`s high labour intensity, the number of people employed is rapidly increasing. In face of the high unemployment rate – officially about thirty-five per cent of the total workforce – this development is encouraging and underlines the key role tourism might play for future socio-economic development.

Some of the most important attractions for tourists in Namibia derive from the country`s wildlife population. Wildlife-based tourism in Namibia is most widespread in the commercial farm areas, because eighty per cent of the larger game species are concentrated on these private grounds and infrastructure is well developed here. Communal lands comprise only around nine per cent of the larger game species, while the rest is found inside formal conservation areas.[65] As a result, the biggest economic benefits from wildlife-based tourism are generated by commercial farmers, while people in communal areas have rarely participated until now.

Regarding efforts to combat desertification in Namibia, tourism might play a key role because of the considerable scope it offers for the generation of alternative, non-agricultural income opportunities for the rural population. By supporting the tourism industry and ensuring its environmental sustainability, the spread of desertification can be reduced, at least theoretically, because sustainable tourism usually puts less pressure on natural resources than extensive livestock herding under arid climatic conditions.

4 Economic Sectors Relevant for Desertification

4.1 Patterns and Trends in Water Use

Water consumption in Namibia has grown rapidly during the last years. While the total annual water demand amounted to about 240 million cubic metres in 1995, it is estimated to exceed 300 million in 2005.[66] If current trends continue, Namibia`s national water balance might turn negative by 2015. Even today, several districts heavily rely on inter-regional transfers of water resources.

The availability of permanent and reliable sources of freshwater in Namibia is extremely low and mainly depends on the perennial rivers on the country`s northern and southern borders. Because

60 This figure can be broken down into a share of 28% for the communal and 8% for the commercial agricultural sector. It has to be noted, however, that in the communal subsector the number of people relying on agriculture will be higher than the figure given due to the strong prevalence of subsistence agriculture. Cf. UNDP (1999), p. 23.

61 Cf. GON (1998b), p. 11 f.

62 The largest industrial branches in Namibia are meat and fish processing. Cf. Halbach (2000), pp. 122 f.

63 Since 1986, the contribution of the tourism sector to GDP grew with an annual average of about ten per cent. Cf. GON (1998a), p. 16 f.

64 Cf. Halbach (2000), p. 142 ff.

65 Cf. Barnard (1998), p. 244.

66 Cf. Ashley / Müller / Harris (1995), p. 11.

Table 4: Water Consumption in Namibia (1993/94)		
Water consumption (m^3 per year)	**% increase from 1980 to 1993**	**% of total 1993/4 consumption**
Livestock	45 %	16 %
Irrigation	53 %	56 %
Domestic rural	54 %	4 %
Urban	176 %	21 %
Mines	-55 %	3 %
Total	**57 %**	**100 %**
Source: Ashley / Müller / Harris (1995), p. 11.		

these rivers are located in great distance from the major demand centres such as Windhoek, inter-regional transfers of water resources become necessary – a costly undertaking, which involves considerable losses of freshwater. Therefore, more than fifty per cent of the country`s total water demand are met from groundwater resources, while less than twenty-five per cent are extracted from the northern border rivers.[67]

Sustainability frontiers for groundwater use have been reached in many areas of Namibia and often exceeded.[68] In several parts of the country, however, there appears to be unutilised scope for the development of alternative sources of water, such as direct water recycling, treatment of wastewater for agricultural purposes, desalination, and fog and rainwater harvesting.[69]

Namibia's water is used mainly for irrigation purposes (fifty-six per cent), livestock keeping (sixteen per cent) and domestic purposes (urban twenty-one per cent, rural four per cent).[70] The latter figures clearly reflect the high rural urban disparities prevailing in Namibia. While water demand increased in all economic sectors except mining between 1980 and 1993, urban water demand shows the highest increments.[71] Nevertheless, urban domestic water use varies among income groups: In the Windhoek area, water consumption of low income groups averages about twenty litres per capita and day (l.c.d.) compared to 170 l.c.d. for the middle income group. These figures illustrate the positive correlation between economic wealth and water use – a fact that will lead to increasing problems of water scarcity and water competition between different types of use as economic development in Namibia proceeds.[72] Water supply for livestock is organised corresponding to the country`s distinct land use systems. In commercial farming areas, farmers are responsible for their water supply, so that they have to bear the total resulting costs.[73] This does not hold true for the communal areas. Here, the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development`s Department for Water Affairs provided water in the past on demand by creating water points, which could then be used free of charge. This subsidisation of water use – although meant to support the poor – led to inefficient and excessive water use, depleting water tables, drying up

67 Cf. Water & Environment Team (1999), p. 9. It has to be noted, however, that actual water demand will significantly exceed water supply because the prevailing water scarcity does not allow for equilibrium water supply in many areas. Such imbalances are more pronounced during the dry seasons, when water availability is lowest and water demand for socio-economic and ecosystems tends to be highest.

68 Cf. Day (1997), p. 10.

69 A small but significant proportion of the water provided in Windhoek (about 12%) comes from the reclamation of sewage water to potable quality and the recycling of wastewater effluents for parks and sports fields, cf. Day (1997), p. 3. Furthermore, desalination of sea water is developed in coastal towns, although it is very expensive. Cf. Water & Environment Team (1999), pp. 10 - 11.

70 Cf. Ashley / Müller / Harris (1995), p. 11. The remaining 3% of water consumption are used for mining.

71 Cf. table 4.

72 Cf. Water & Environment Team (1999), p. 10. For comparison: German demand for water is on the average of 128 l/c/d, cf. Wasser- und Energieversorgung (2001). In a study for the United Nations` World Health Organisation, Falkenmark et al. estimate, that approximately sixty litres per capita and day are to be considered a minimum requirement to meet basic needs such as drinking, cooking and personal hygiene.

73 In the case of boreholes used in Namibia for livestock water supply, costs of water supply mainly arise from drilling activities and variable fuel and pumping costs.

of wells and overexploitation of adjacent natural resources.

To cope with these problems, measures to increase the efficiency of water use and to encourage water savings, such as water tariffs, are currently being considered for all urban and rural areas.[74] Until now, water charges are in place only for urban domestic water users, whereas rural areas frequently continue to be supplied free of charge.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development has, however, formulated a policy of community water supply management regarding the management of every single water point in the country`s communal areas.[75] Within the framework of this policy, management responsibilities, such as operation and maintenance of water supply infrastructure as well as the collection of water charges, are to be transferred gradually to local Water User Associations (WUA). The intention is to achieve operation and maintenance cost recovery within ten years. Although perceptions as to the benefits of this policy differ among the rural population, most rural water users feel the new system "would be more responsive to their needs".[76]

To guarantee affordable water supply and sanitation services to all Namibians and minimise problems of water competition, a Water Supply and Sanitation Sector Policy (WASP) for Namibia has been approved in 1993. It gives clear priority to domestic water supply and livestock watering because of their high social value and their significance for food supply and subordinates other forms of water use, such as commercial and industrial activities.[77]

In spite of these policies, competition for water resources between different groups of water users as well as between water supply for human purposes and natural ecosystems remains a problem in Namibia. As long as no clear rights and regulations of water use and withdrawals exist, overuse and degradation of ecosystems are among the consequences. To effectively combat desertification, it will be important to increase water use efficiency and realise water savings in order to satisfy both human and ecological needs.

4.2 Agriculture

With regard to processes of land degradation and desertification, agricultural land use and practices of soil resources' management are of special relevance. Unsustainable agricultural practices, however, not only contribute to declining soil productivity but also to the perpetuation of poverty because they lastingly undermine opportunities for rural income generation and subsistence farming. In Namibia`s agricultural sector, many signs and symptoms of unsustainable use of natural resources can be observed. Addressing agricultural resource use therefore is of major importance with regard to combating desertification and poverty in Namibia. This chapter starts with an overview of the main factors restricting agricultural land use in Namibia. Subsequently, the main features of different land use and tenure systems prevalent in Namibia are highlighted, followed by a detailed description of the country`s commercial and communal farm sectors with a focus on livestock and crop production. Finally, possible interactions of resource use and land tenure in Namibia are described.

While the importance of agriculture as a key source of income to the majority of the Namibians cannot be overplayed, the role of the agricultural sector in the economic development process of

74 The Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development initiated the project WATCOM in 1993 to investigate commercialisation of the government`s water supply function. As a result they proposed to commercialise water because of economic and ecological reasons. Cf. Jacobson / Jacobson / Seely (1995), p. 98.

75 Cf. GON (MAWRD) (2000): National Water Policy White Paper, p. 19. For a description of the CBM program cf. chapter 5.5.

76 Blackie (1999), p. 8.

77 Water & Environment Team (1999), p. 9.

Namibia is limited. The semi-arid climatic conditions and the environmental constraints allow but an extensive production system. Furthermore, Namibia's low and widely dispersed population renders the achievement of economies of scale in production, processing and marketing difficult.

4.2.1 Types of Land Use and Tenure in Namibia

The land use patterns found in Namibia are a result of the prevailing climatic and economic conditions, the availability of natural resources and the historically grown socio-political structures of the country. Namibia is rated as the driest country in Sub-Sahara Africa with a high annual, seasonal and spatial variability of rainfall and a high probability of droughts. The country's soils have very low capacity to store water, which is due to their low content of clay. In addition, they are generally deficient in most of the major plant nutrients.[78] Considering these facts, only about one per cent of Namibia`s total surface area - or 820,000 ha - is estimated to a have medium to high potential for rainfed and irrigated crop production. The bulk of these soils is located within the communal areas of Namibia`s north-eastern part.[79] As a result, cattle farming is the predominant activity in the agricultural sector.

Other important types of agricultural land use include:[80]

— dryland cropping and livestock production in the northern and north-central parts of the country in both commercial and communal areas;

— small stock (sheep and goats) production in most of the southern and western areas of the country, and

— irrigated cropping below the Hardap Dam and along the rivers Okavango and Oranje.

Interventions in land use rights and land distribution during the colonial and Apartheid eras have had lasting impacts on land tenure systems in Namibia. Originally, large parts of the Namibian population were nomadic or semi-nomadic hunter gatherers and stock herders. This nomadic lifestyle allowed people to be highly mobile and therefore adapt quickly to the country`s unpredictable rainfall conditions. With the establishment of the commercial farm sector, resettlements of parts of Namibia`s non-white population and the application of South Africa`s homeland policy to the country, the nomadic lifestyle was restricted. A strong tenurial dualism with distinct types of production systems evolved and is still existent today.

Today, land tenure in Namibia can be categorised by three broad types:

— Freehold tenure on commercial farmland is practised on approximately forty-four per cent (36.2 million ha)[81] of the country`s total land area, mainly in the central and southern parts of Namibia. Under freehold tenure, exclusive property rights are granted to farmers, clear demarcation of property exists and farm sizes are big enough to allow commercial production.

— Communal tenure is practised on forty one per cent (33.5 million ha) of the total land area. Communal lands are concentrated in the country`s northern parts. Here, land ownership is in the hands of the central government but soils are managed communally by the local population. Therefore, the role of the state usually remains that of a custodian. Communal tenure, however, can only be classified as communal to the extent that access to land is based on membership of a group. This does not automatically imply that all resources are actually being used communally. Land tenure issues considerably hamper the introduction of improved and sustainable land management practices on communal lands, because demarcation of properties are often unclear

78 Sweet / Burke (no date), p. 4

79 Sweet / Burke (no date), p. 8.

80 MET (DEA) (2000a), p. 56.

81 MET (DEA) (2000a), p. 35.

and resource use rights and access are not adequately defined.

— The remaining fifteen per cent of Namibia`s total land area is owned and managed by the state, including conservation areas.[82]

4.2.2 Patterns of Commercial Land Use

The commercial agricultural sub-sector consists of 10,919 farm units belonging to about 4,200 farmers. Commercial farming is well developed, capital-dependent and export-oriented and its production of livestock accounts for approximately sixty-nine per cent of total agricultural output. About 35,000 farm workers are employed in the commercial sector.[83]

Beef cattle ranching is the largest contributor to commercial farming income whereas sheep herding is largely concentrated in Namibia`s dry southern parts. Due to the climatic conditions prevailing in Namibia, all grazing livestock is raised under extensive ranching conditions relying on natural pasture. As a result, the size of commercial farms is usually large, although averages differ among districts according to variations of grazing potential.

The commercial areas are divided into fenced ranches, which are subdivided into further paddocks. These usually serve as the basis for rotational grazing. In comparison to Namibia`s communal areas, stocking rates tend to be more cautious and use of forest resources also appears as more sustainable. Fire clearings have been abolished and cutting of firewood appears to be minimal, although large portions of construction timber have been cut over the last twenty-five years. As a negative side effect of these management practices, however, large parts of the savannahs receiving medium to high rainfall have become severely bush-infested, so that their grazing potential has deteriorated.

In response, a marked shift from cattle to game farming and wildlife tourism has taken place in the commercial areas in recent years.[84] This development can also be interpreted as a recognition of the difficulties and consequences of monospecific domestic stock farming on the part of commercial farmers. Wildlife stock is generally better adapted to prevailing climatic conditions and therefore less demanding in its need of water and feed. Wildlife tourism is only likely to be practicable if wildlife and natural resources are kept intact, which requires, that they are managed sustainably. Thus, the observable shift to game farming and wildlife tourism is likely to reduce human-induced pressure on natural resources in the commercial agricultural sector if sustainability requirements are met.

Some developments in the commercial sector might, nevertheless, lead to a compensation of these positive developments. Historically, commercial farmers have been granted support by the central government regarding necessary inputs of agricultural production such as access to credits, veterinary services, extension and marketing facilities. Communal farmers in contrast were neglected. However, in recent years, subsidies have been cut back significantly. At the same time, production costs have increased and revenues declined, so that today many farming units are no longer able to sustain enough livestock numbers to ensure financial viability. In the consequence, indebtedness of farmers in the commercial sector is growing. Studies estimate that, to be economically viable, a farming unit has to be able to sustain at least 400 pieces of cattle. About thirty-eight per cent of all commercial farms in Namibia fail to fulfil this criterion.[85]

Bank depts of commercial farms stand at 30 N $ / ha, dept service amounts to 35 % of gross

82 Cf. Halbach (2000), pp. 20 ff.

83 Ministry of Environment and Tourism (Directorate of Environmental Affairs) (2000a), pp. 15 ff.

84 It benefited to a large extend from subsidies from the former mandate government on fencing.

85 MET (DEA) (2000a), p. 163.

Table 5: Production Aspects of Commercial Livestock Farming Areas

Different production areas[a]	Farming business		Hectares			Official carrying capacity (ha/LSU[b])
	Number	%	Total	%	Average	
Area A & B (high and medium potential Cattle)	1,851	43.5	12,517,565	34.6	6,763	8-10
Area C (mixed Cattle/Sheep)	923	21.7	6,287,247	17.4	6,812	12-15
Area D&E (Sheep high potential)	1,120	26.6	11,967	33.1	10,600	18-30
Area F (Sheep low potential)	345	8.2	5,392	14.9	15,496	36-60
Total	4,251	100,0	36,164,880	100,0	8,507	8-60

[a]Areas

A: high potential cattle area with a mean annual rainfall of 450mm

B: medium potential cattle area with rainfall averages from 250 mm to 500mm annually

C: mixed cattle and sheep zone with rainfall averages from 250mm to 350mm

D: high potential sheep farming zone with 150mm to 250mm

E: medium potential sheep zone with annual rainfall from about 100mm to 200mm

F: low potential sheep zone with annual rainfall of 50mm to 100mm

[b] LSU: Large Stock Unit

Source: Department of Agriculture and Rural Development (1991)

income. High indebtedness and the uncertainty currently prevailing among commercial farmers regarding the approach and procedures of a likely future land reform alter the time horizon of their land use and investment rational. Both factors provide strong incentives to minimise investments in sustaining soil productivity and changing to alternative forms of land use. Instead, it is assumed rational to maximise short-term profits from land use. The resulting overuse of land, water and timber in the commercial agricultural sector significantly contributes to processes of desertification in Namibia.

4.2.3 Communal Land Management

In contrast to commercial farming, communal agricultural activities were neglected under colonial and Apartheid rule, which hampered the subsector`s development. Since independence, however, government policies pay more attention to communal farmers. The structural duality prevalent in Namibia`s agricultural sector is nevertheless persistent and will require substantial efforts to overcome. In terms of access to physical and social infrastructure, markets, technical extension services and credit, the communal areas are still severely underdeveloped.

The formerly so-called homelands, which are the present day communal lands, provide the basis for agricultural activities of about 1,000,000 people – more than seventy per cent of the country`s total population. In most cases, only the cropping areas are allocated to individual households, while grazing areas tend to be shared by the community members. The prevailing production systems are labour-dependent and based on pastoralism and

agro-pastoralism.[86] Furthermore, they are mostly subsistence oriented and strongly limited in their use of technology and external inputs. In most rural areas the percentage of the economically active people employed in agriculture, be it in wage employment or self-employment, is about sixty per cent or more. Subsistence farming in communal areas contributes as much as fifty-one per cent to household incomes as compared to twenty-seven per cent from wages, five per cent from business income, fourteen per cent from pensions and three per cent from cash remittances.[87] Livestock farming represents the predominant form of land use also in Namibia`s communal areas.

Livestock Production in Communal Areas

Livestock production in communal areas accounts for about five to six per cent of Namibia`s total agricultural output. While the commercial farms are managed according to grazing potentials, on communal grazing lands, in general, everyone is allowed to keep livestock, which is then permitted unrestricted movement. In addition, the number of livestock that a household may keep on these lands is not limited. As a result, people and livestock are highly concentrated in the vicinity of permanent water sources while other areas remain under-utilised. Water availability therefore seems to play a more important role with regard to land use than the quantity of available forage.

Outputs and objectives of livestock keeping in communal areas are much more diverse than those prevalent in commercial livestock production. Incentives consist of a complex mixture of availability of draft power, subsistence production of milk, dung and meat as well as the generation of monetary income and opportunities for capital accumulation. Socio-cultural factors, such as prestige also play an important role in a household`s decision for livestock keeping. These diverse objectives seem to be met best by a strategy of herd maximisation rather than turnover. Even owners of large numbers of livestock tend to sell their cattle only in times of acute liquidity gaps.

Results of such strategies of land use consist in overstocking, overuse of land and water resources and poor performance of land management systems in general. As a consequence, desertification is spreading in Namibia`s communal areas, leaving people and land resources increasingly vulnerable to the effects of droughts and reduced future opportunities for subsistence farming and income generation.

In Namibia`s communal areas, different types of management have evolved for grazing areas mainly as result of highly unequal personal and regional distribution of herd sizes. [88] The most important types of land management are:

— Demarcated, fenced and individually managed grazing systems, where farmers with fenced plots initially graze their cattle in communally used areas and revert to their private land only after the grazing potential of the former areas is depleted.[89] This practice of dual grazing increasingly creates tensions between those, who are fenced out and those who feel a need to protect their private grazing land.

— Demarcated, fenced and communally managed grazing systems: These are those parts of the communal lands, which were demarcated into blocks of fenced farms during the colonial era, but are today managed communally.

— Demarcated, not fenced and non-demarcated open grazing areas, which are used communally.

86 Pastoralism can be described as pasture use alone, whereas agro-pastoralism is pasture use in combination with cropping production.

87 Schade / Kalili / Simson (2000), p. 7.

88 Schade / Kalili / Simson (2000), p. 9.

89 Such fencing practices are at present illegal and take place predominantly aroung newly established water points.

Consequently, the most prevalent problem emerging for small-scale farmers concerns the issue of land enclosures, which in turn contributes to land degradation and a variety of other problems:

— The unfenced grazing area is increasingly insufficient to support the existing livestock population. As a result, land is overstocked and overgrazed.

— Privatisation of wellsites and boreholes restricts access to water for livestock from surrounding cattle posts, which can lead to unsustainable use of accessible water resources and uneven grazing pressure.

— Herd owners are fined by borehole owners when cattle stray onto fenced land, which gives rise to conflicts among resource users.

— Access to more distant seasonal grazing areas is blocked by fences, thus contributing to increased punctual degradation of soils.

Crop Production in Communal Areas

The northern communal areas are the only parts of Namibia`s total land area, which is suitable for rainfed or irrigated crop production. Low-input and extensive crop cultivation characterise the production systems found here. Pearl millet is the most widely grown cereal but not the region`s main staple food.[90] Therefore, food self-sufficiency at the household level is minimal in Namibia`s communal areas. The average area cultivated by household is three hectars and only nine per cent of all farmers in the northern communal areas have secure access to cultivated areas of more than 8.5 ha. In all communal farming areas of the country, approximately 295,600 ha were used for rain-fed and irrigated crop production (on subsistence or semi-commercial levels) in the cultivation season 1998/99.[91]

In most of northern Namibia, crop production seems to be constrained by a seasonal lack of labour and oxen power, whereas the availability of arable land seems to be sufficient. Labour shortages in these areas are a result of the low labour productivity in crop production and resulting low wages[92] and high rural-urban migration. To overcome such labour shortages, a shift to more capital-intensive crop production would be necessary to maintain stable cropping outputs. However, shortage of financial resources and access to appropriate technology and inputs lead to insufficient opportunities to intensify agricultural production and thus to low yields per land unit even in relatively densely populated areas.

Under such conditions, the basis is often laid for a circle of insufficient investments in sustaining land productivity, resulting land degradation and poverty perpetuation. Limited scope for profitable crop production and the lack of opportunities for cash-cropping (due to lack of finance and access to necessary additional production inputs, such as labour, pesticides and fertiliser) reduces incentives for maintaining soil productivity and preventing land degradation.

Recent attempts by Namibia`s Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development to increase crop production in communal areas by providing fertiliser and other inputs at highly subsidised rates have failed to show much impact. Likewise, the application of manure remains insignificant, which is mainly due to insufficient supply, lack of unskilled labour, storage, treatment and transport facilities and know how of application methods. Additionally, manure demand for cropping and fuel is competing in some areas. Alternative methods to increase soil productivity by nutrient recycling are limited.[93] Movement of dwellings and kraals[94] within field areas contributes little to

90 Maize is the main staple food in Namibia, but largely has to be imported due to the crop`s high reliability on sufficient seasonal rainfall.

91 Cf. Schade / Kalili / Simson (2000), pp. 13 ff.

92 Labour productivity in crop production is to be considered as low mainly because of high risks of crop failure and lacking opportunities for cash-crop production.

93 Cf. MET (DEA) (2000a), p. 116.

94 A kraal is a small fenced-off area near the houses used as a stable for animals.

recycle nutrients. Due to the prevailing climatic conditions, the scope available for a change to crops, which put less strain to limited and fragile land and water resources also has to be categorised as clearly limited.[95] Therefore, creation of non-agricultural income opportunities is of high significance with regard to halting land degradation in Namibia`s communal areas. This is also recognised by the country`s National Programme to Combat Desertification.[96] An encouraging development is that an increasing number of households start to diversify their sources of income, mainly through non-agricultural activities. The contribution of crop production to household incomes in Namibia`s communal areas is therefore losing significance.

4.2.4 The Current Debate on Land Reforms

Currently, due to domestic political pressures and recent developments in neighbouring countries like Zimbabwe, the question of land reform ranks high on the political agenda in Namibia. As can be concluded from the information given above, it is not only the dualistic structure of the country`s agricultural sector and inter-twined aspects of unequal distribution of land resources but also questions of improving agricultural productivity and environmental sustainability, which are at the heart of this debate.

Sustainable resource and land management depends to a large extend on the land tenure regime prevailing in a particular area. Environmental change in general and land degradation in particular are largely by-products of tenure systems, that fail to provide incentives for soil conservation but instead give rise to the short-term exhaustion of land resources. This holds especially true for Namibia`s communal agricultural sector, where sustainable natural resource management is hampered by the lack of well defined and secure land use rights. While the Namibian government has transferred limited rights of natural resource use to rural communities, it has not decentralised property rights accordingly. In consequence, communities lack legal powers to exclude or include outsiders from utilising their communal resources.

To improve the sustainability of land resources management in Namibia`s communal areas, the following priority fields of action can be identified:

— guaranteeing secure land use rights to the local population;

— establishing a system of land administration and registration;

— introducing mechanisms of control regarding illegal fencing of grazing lands;

— abolishing land allocation fees currently demanded by traditional chiefs;

— moving herds of wealthy farmers to commercial grazing lands, and

— recognising the special needs of women for secure land use rights.

The objectives listed above require implementation of land reforms, which cannot be restricted to communal areas alone. Instead, giving secure land-use rights to the population of Namibia`s communal areas calls for a redistribution of scarce usable land on a national scale – and therefore also a transformation of the country`s commercial agricultural sector. In semi-arid pastoral environments, however, the transformation of large commercial cattle ranches into smaller units, which would be one effect of land redistribution, does not necessarily ensure improvements in soil productivity and sustainability of land resources management. Neither a subdivision of commercial ranches into family livestock farms, nor group or co-operative ranching are currently viable options. The costs of resettling families with their livestock while ensuring reasonable standards of social and physical infrastructure are very high and the economic return of such measures is most

95 However, intercropping of legumes, such as cowpeas, bambaranuts and groundnuts represent adequate ways to restore nutrients under the prevailing conditions.

96 Cf. chapter seven.

likely to be negative.[97] In addition, far reaching negative environmental effects can be expected. Skills and knowledge of small-scale communal farmers of grazing management techniques on fenced commercial farmland under dry climatic conditions appear to be rather low. Consequently, in the narrow confines of sensitive and unstable ecosystems prevailing in Namibia, grazing pressure will tend to be excessive – to the detriment of people, animals, pastures and soils. Furthermore, commercial agriculture currently is an important contributor to export earnings and employment. Therefore, restructuring of the sub-sector in terms of the outlined approach to land reforms invariably bears the risk of speeding up processes of land degradation, jeopardising the commercial sector`s contribution to the economy and generating significant additional unemployment. In case political developments should result in an accelerated land reform, such efforts would have to be supported by an appropriate packet of services in order to prevent negative side effects. Furthermore farm sizes, stocking densities and labour/ha would have to be based on ecologically and economically sound analysis of carrying capacities.

C. Efforts to Combat Desertification in Nambia

5 Namibia's National Action Programme to Combat Desertification (NAPCOD)

As a signatory state of the United Nations` Convention to Combat Desertification, Namibia committed itself to develop and implement a National Action Programme (NAP) to halt the spread of land degradation on its territory. NAPCOD, the Namibian National Action Programme to Combat Desertification, was initiated in 1994.

NAPCOD is rooted in Namibia's "Green Plan", which was prepared for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro 1992. The Green Plan is a country statement about the state of natural resources in Namibia and represents the Namibian government's framework for environmental policy. It adopted an innovative approach insofar as it stressed the linkages between poverty, population growth and environmental degradation. NAPCOD is one of several programmes to operationalise the Green Plan.[98]

According to the obligations Namibia has taken on in the context of the CCD, NAPCOD aims to develop plans and strategies to combat desertification and at the same time to contribute to poverty reduction. The programme strives to ensure the livelihood of the Namibian population by preventing degradation of natural resources. Furthermore, the programme sets out to simultaneously address the political, socio-economic and bio-physical aspects underlying processes of land degradation in Namibia.[99] To achieve these objectives, political and public awareness of desertification and its negative social, economic and environmental impacts has to be raised on a nation-wide scale. In addition, to ensure that strategies to combat desertification are accepted by all parties affected and are planned according to the needs of the local population, processes of planning and implementation should integrate all relevant stakeholders at the local, regional and national levels.[100] Finally, it is recognised that a lasting success of NAPCOD can only be achieved if the programme is integrated into long-term national development policies and if complementarity, respectively coherence, of relevant sectoral policies is ensured.

NAPCOD shall be implemented through partnership programmes between governmental, public and private Service Organisations, non-governmental organisations, Community-Based Organisations and individuals.[101]

97 Cf. Adams (2000).

98 Cf. Dewdney (1996), p. 1.

99 Cf. NAPCOD (2000), p. 1.

100 Regarding implementation of concrete projects regarding NRM, NAPCOD tries to avoid establishing structures parallel to already existing ones.

101 Cf. Zeidler (2000), p. 27.

The programme objectives guide the implementation, and an annual work plan shall ensure that specific and clearly defined outputs can be achieved. Up to now, the implementation of NAPCOD comprises three different phases, each with specific objectives and different actors involved. The programme therefore shows considerable flexibility, allowing for the continuous integration of results and learning processes from previous stages of implementation. While the first two phases mainly dealt with questions of consensus building, strategy and policy development and awareness raising activities, implementation of concrete measures in the communal areas to halt land degradation starts with phase III.

5.1 Institutional Set-up

In 1994, the Namibian government instructed the Directorate of Environmental Affairs (DEA)[102], an administrative unit located within the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET), to co-ordinate planning and development of a national strategy to combat desertification and to design a NAP. With respect to co-ordination of processes involving different ministries and resulting organisational frictions, the government preferred that DEA would centrally handle policy development.[103] DEA/MET initiated NAPCOD in 1994 in collaboration with the German Organisation for Technical Co-operation (GTZ).[104] DEA takes the institutional responsibility for NAPCOD and co-ordinates it in a full partnership with the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development and the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia (DRFN).[105]

5.1.1 Actors and Institutions in Charge of Planning and Co-Ordination of Activities

A multi-agency and multi-disciplinary Steering Committee (SC) fulfils the function of a national co-ordinating body for Namibia`s Programme to Combat Desertification.[106] It has a mandate for providing strategic guidance to NAPCOD. Its main objective is to promote cross-sectoral participation. The SC is chaired by the MET/ DEA.

The main actors represented in the SC are:[107]

— The Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET); the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (MAWRD); the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR); the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing (MRLGH);

— the Social Science Division of the Multidisciplinary Research Centre as a representative of the University of Namibia;

— the Namibian Agricultural Union (NAU)[108] and the Namibian National Farmers Union (NNFU)[109];

102 DEA is one of four directorates under the MET. Its duties comprise environmental protection, environmental planning and co-ordination of activities to support the sustainable and equitable use of natural resources and national development. Furthermore, it promotes the protection of environment and human welfare from unsustainable and inappropriate pratices. The Directorate`s responsibilities within NAPCOD are the identification of environmental problems in areas of main emphasis, addressing these problems, implementation of countermeasures in close co-operation with Service and Community-Based Organisations and the preparation of necessary changes of environmentally relevant regulations. In addition, DEA shall co-ordinate planning and implementation activities within NAPCOD and makes information on the programme available to the broad public and all actors involved in NAPCOD. Furthermore, it is connected to decision-makers at all levels of government. Cf. GTZ (1999), p. 17.

103 Cf. GTZ (1999), p. 9.

104 Cf. NAPCOD (1999), p. 12.

105 DRFN is an independent, non-governmental organisation which was founded in 1991. It is dedicated to research and training activities concerning the sustainable use of Namibia's natural resources.

106 Cf. NAPCOD (1999), p. 5.

107 Terms of Reference for the NAPCOD III Steering Committee will be found in annex 7.

108 NAU is the Namibian union of commercial farmers.

109 NNFU is the Namibian advocacy unit of communal farmers.

— the Namibian NGO Forum (Nangof), the Namibian Development Trust (NDT), the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU)[110] and the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia (DRFN) as representatives of non-governmental organisations, and

— the Namibian Nature Foundation (NNF).[111]

The SC meets irregularly, usually between three and four times per year, and *ad hoc* meetings are called as necessary. Membership is not formalised, but granted by invitation. Although the Steering Committee fulfills functions, which are vital for the success of NAPCOD, it has neither formal legal status nor financial autonomy.

5.1.2 Agencies Responsible for Implementation of NAPCOD

Strategies and instruments for implementation and research are worked out mainly by two NGOs: The Desert Research Foundation of Namibia and the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit. This is due to the fact that these tasks were delegated by the DEA to these NGOs in 1999, further on referred to as "the consortium".[112] Other governmental and non-governmental Service Organisations are also involved in implementation, but to a lesser extent.

5.1.3 Funding of NAPCOD

Financing of NAPCOD as a programme is shared between the Namibian government and foreign donors. The Federal Republic of Germany contributes the lion`s share of foreign funds, i.e. about 2.7 million US $ for the current phase of the programme.[113] This is more than forty per cent of the total budget estimated for the programme`s third phase (approximately 6.5 million US $). The contribution to the project by the Namibian side amounts to 14 percent of NAPCOD`s total budget. The MET has entrusted the Namibian Nature Foundation with financial management and control.[114]

The German contribution to NAPCOD is regulated by a contract between the MET and the Federal Republic of Germany. The MET has charged DEA to take on the responsibility for the budget and respective investment activities.

5.2 Past and Current Phases of NAPCOD

Up to now, development and implementation of Namibia`s National Action Programme to Combat Desertification comprises three separate phases. Each phase was developed on the basis of new information on land degradation processes in the country and experiences of the former phase. Phase I (1994) started with a broad consultation of relevant stakeholders, scientists and political decision makers and culminated in a national workshop. Phase II (1995-1999) focused on preparing the structures for the implementation of eight objectives defined in phase I, as well as on awareness raising. Phase III (1999 – 2003) concentrates on the implementation of pilot projects at the community level. Here, the participative approach of the programme is clearly visible, as Community-Based Organisations are regarded as key players for achieving NAPCOD`s long-term objectives.[115]

110 NEPRU assists the Namibian government „through research for policy formulation and decision-making in strategic macro- and socio-economic areas, to build an information resource base on Namibian affairs (Namibian Socio-Economic Database) and to train Namibians in relevant skills", http://www.nepru.org.na (02.04.01).

111 NNF shall be vested with responsibility for financial control and financial management services for the programme; cf. agreement MET/consortium; NAPCOD (1999), p. 12.

112 Cf. GON / BRD consortial treaties (1999).

113 Cf. GTZ (1999), p. 18.

114 Cf. Eger / Lang (1998).

115 Concerning CBOs cf. chapter 6.

5.2.1 Phase I (1994)

During phase I, which can be described as a consensus building and planning phase, the MET, MAWRD and DRFN developed a proposal for a National Action Programme to Combat Desertification. It contained three main objectives, namely to "[...] conduct a preliminary assessment of the basic state of desertification in Namibia, to raise general, national awareness of desertification and to incorporate the findings from the preliminary assessment into a proposal for a second long-term programme, the NAPCOD phase II".[116]

During a national workshop held in July 1994 with more than 225 participants, a draft policy to combat desertification was developed, geared to a general aim, and eight subordinated objectives. This approach of planning appropriately accommodated the participative approach demanded by the CCD. The primary objective of NAPCOD was expressed as an effort "[...] to combat the processes of desertification by promoting the sustainable and equitable use of natural resources suited to Namibia's variable environment for the benefit of all Namibians both present and future."[117] The eight subordinated goals are as follows:

— Key players are identified and their capacity is established and improved.

— Mechanisms for information collection, analysis and communication are established, strengthened and functioning.

— Integrated planning procedures and strategies are developed and introduced at all levels on the basis of clearly defined policies.

— Appropriate inter-disciplinary research programmes are elaborated and implemented.

— Appropriate training and education is provided according to needs at all levels.

— Natural resource users and managers are empowered to plan and implement sustainable management practices in an integrated and decentralised manner.

— Framework conditions, incentives and decision-making processes affecting sustainable resource management are identified, monitored and influenced.

— Organisational management structures are established and functional.[118]

5.2.2 Phase II (1995-1999)

NAPCOD phase II was launched in early 1995. Activities within this phase aimed at achieving the objectives set out in phase I and thereby pave the ground for implementation of concrete programmes and projects in phase III. Again, this stage took the form of a partnership programme involving the MET, MAWRD and DRFN.

Raising public awareness was a major focus at his stage. Radio, press and television broadcasting campaigns were started, documentation material was disseminated and special theatre performances started to make known the problems of desertification and environmental degradation and concepts for their prevention to a broad public.[119] In addition, DRFN implemented a Regional Awareness Programme (RAP) in several communal areas, which was funded by the GTZ. The programme aimed to develop and strengthen communication and networking between traditional leaders, NGOs, CBOs, government agencies and individuals at the communal level in order to mutually tackle environmental problems. Information gathered during the programme was made available to decision makers at all levels.

116 Dwedney (1996), p. 2.

117 Dwedney (1996), p. 2.

118 Cf. Dwedney (1996), p. 2.

119 Cf. Brown et al. (1999), p. 86; concerning success of awareness-raising, refer to chapter nine.

5.2.3 Phase III (1999-2003)

NAPCOD's phase III has started in 1999 and will continue until 2003. While the two previous stages centered on consensus-building and awareness-raising, the third phase concentrates on improving drought preparedness of the country and capacity building of actors involved in combating desertification at all levels.

Six objectives, internally mostly referred to as components, have been defined for phase III, i.e. to:

— establish and render functional information and monitoring systems in order to track and help understand key desertification indicators at the national and local level;

— strengthen the capacity of selected Community-Based Organisations to plan and sustainably manage their natural resource base, as well as their capacities to promote diversified livelihoods, and

— strengthen the capacities of Service Organisations to provide more effective and appropriate services to community-based natural resource users, managers and organisations;

— improve national-level framework conditions for sustainable natural resource management practices and their implementation;

— share and communicate national experiences to halt land degradation to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and international partners, and

— document the NAPCOD process.[120]

According to the treaties between MET and the DRFN/NEPRU, the consortium overtook the responsibility for the implementation of components 1-3. Components 4-6 will be pursued by DEA/MET, mainly by the national co-ordinator of NAPCOD. Furthermore, both contracting parties agreed to inform each other " [...] at the earliest opportunity of any event that might jeopardise the successful implementation of the project".[121] In addition, DEA signed a financing contract with the GTZ, thereby taking the responsibility for financing of the consortial services.

Drought preparedness depends on the availability of a sufficient amount of reliable data on climatic variations and their effects on livelihoods. Both at the national and local levels, the establishment of monitoring systems shall provide a picture of the extent and development of land degradation in Namibia. The two sub-systems shall complement each other in their operation: While monitoring at the national level shall mainly provide information on the state of desertification in Namibia, local level data collection is meant to comprise the monitoring of socio-economic, bio-physical and resource use data at the community level.[122]

With regard to capacity-building, NAPCOD phase III is expected to focus more at the local level and is targeted at Community-Based Organisations, which are intended to be the main vehicle for NAPCOD`s implementation. Especially those capabilities of CBOs which relate to planning and establishment of sustainable natural resource use and diversification of income generating activities shall be upgraded.[123] NAPCOD`s combined approach to stop land degradation and alleviate poverty is therefore clearly reflected in the programme`s current phase. Regarding poverty reduction, NAPCOD`s aims are ambitious. Measures planned include the development of appropriate farm management systems, substituting the sheer number of cattle in communal areas by improved productivity, enhancing the market access and marketing facilities for communal farmers and establishing appropriate social security and safety systems.[124] To achieve these objectives, NAPCOD envisages close collaboration with SARDEP.[125]

120 Cf. Napcod (2000), p. 1.

121 Agreement MET / consortium.

122 Cf. DRFN / NEPRU (1999), pp. 19 ff.

123 Cf. DRFN / NEPRU (1999), pp. 22 ff.

124 Cf. NAPCOD (2000), p. 1.

125 Regarding SARDEP cf. to chapter 5.5.

However, building up the capacity and thereby raising expectations of people at the community level is deemed ineffective as long as Service Organisations responsible for providing training to the local population lack knowledge and personal and financial resources themselves.[126] Therefore, a range of activities is planned to be undertaken in phase III to improve the performance of SOs. It is obvious that adequate capacity of trainers is a prerequisite for any attempt to systematically build up capabilities of newly founded and often inexperienced local level organisations.

Currently, four pilot sites in communal areas have been selected, all of them located in former SARDEP areas.[127] These pilot sites shall "[…]cooperate as much as possible with that of the Sustainable Animal and Range Development Programme and other similar projects."[128] The mentioned areas are located in the Uuvudhiya constituency in the north, Grootberg and Olifantputs in the north-west, Omatjete in the west, Epukiro in Namibia`s eastern part and Gibeon in the south.[129]

Regarding the implementation of phase III, some institutional changes can be observed in comparison of the two previous stages of NAPCOD. The Counterpart Network (CN) – a loose informal cooperation of Service Organisations at governmental, private and NGO-level – was established and assigned a more significant role. The Counterpart Network is assigned supportive functions, mainly with regard to information-sharing and feedback conferring to components 1 - 3. Most Steering Committee members are also members of the Counterpart Network. Meetings are held monthly and are documented.[130]

As the Steering Committee is not directly involved in the process of implementing phase III, Technical Working Groups (TWG) have been established to improve implementation. These are informal groups below the Steering Committee whose main objective is to oversee and direct the progress of the NAPCOD III components.[131] Their main duty is to ensure an active and involved Steering Committee. The Technical Working Groups include members of the Steering Committee and any other experts on different subjects who have a general interest in the NAPCOD process. To improve information exchange the chairpersons are expected to report back at each Steering Committee Meeting. Nine TWGs have been established so far. They have the following topics:

— national overview of desertification and land degradation / Geographical Information System (GIS) and remote sensing;
— social and economic information and small enterprise development;
— biophysical data gathering, research and synthesis;
— awareness-creation;
— policy analysis;
— capacity-building of Community-Based Organisations and Service Organisations;
— bush encroachment;
— international relations / links with other conventions and reporting to the CCD, and
— related studies, training and research.

The establishment of the Technical Working Groups documents NAPCOD`s "rolling approach", which attempts to improve the programme`s institutional and organisational structures successively. Although most TWGs are not yet operational, their establishment and specialisation might be supportive for the future development of NAPCOD.

126 Cf. DRFN / NEPRU (1999), pp. 27 f.

127 Cf. Zeidler (2000), p. 27.

128 Agreement MET/ consortium (1999).

129 Cf. NAPCOD (2000), p. 5; A map of NAPCOD`s pilot sites and those chosen as study areas by the research team can be found in annex 2.

130 Klintenberg et al. (2001), p. 8.

131 Klintenberg et al. (2001), p. 6.

5.3 Linking NAPCOD to Other Activities in the Field of Natural Resource Management

To effectively combat desertification, it is planned to assign the function of an umbrella programme for various resource management programmes in Namibia to NAPCOD.[132] Thereby, it shall be ensured that activities of different organisations and foreign donors are effectively co-ordinated, overlapping of activities and resulting organisational inefficiencies are minimised and financial and human resources are bundled. However, of the many activities currently undertaken by different organisations with regard to NRM only a few have been formally integrated into NAPCOD up to now.[133]

5.4 Integration of NAPCOD Into Long-Term Development Policies

Environmental issues are taken into account in many of Namibia's national policies and reflected in legislation. Article 95 of the Namibian Constitution is dedicated to sustainable management of the country`s natural resources and assigns the state the role of a protector of Namibia`s natural environment: "The State shall actively promote and maintain the welfare of the people by adopting [...] policies aimed at [...] maintenance of ecosystems, essential ecological processes and biological diversity of Namibia and utilisation of living natural resources on a sustainable basis for the benefit of all Namibians, both present and future [...]"[134] The second National Development Plan (NDP) for the period 2001 - 2006 also expresses the opinion that sustainable resource management has to be seen as the most daring challenge for Namibia`s future development.[135]

As policies determine i.a. how natural resources are used and managed, sustainability of natural resource management can only be achieved if such issues are integrated into long-term national development policies.[136]

5.5 Existing Programmes Concerning Sustainable Natural Resource Management

Programmes launched by the MAWRD

Sustainable Animal and Range Development Programme (SARDEP)

As desertification processes are threatening the livelihood of communal farmers in Namibia, SARDEP was launched in order to support communal farmers in improving the sustainability of land use and livestock keeping, thereby reducing the spread of land degradation.

SARDEP was launched in 1991 by the MAWRD and is implemented by its Directorate of Agricultural Research and Training (DART).[137] Additional funding for the programme is provided by the GTZ. The main concept of SARDEP is the full participation of the rural population in the implementation of strategies by empowering them to manage their own interests and needs.[138] The approach adopted by SARDEP therefore resembles that of NAPCOD. In a bottom-up process, communal farmers are encouraged to organise themselves in Community Management Committees and Community-Based Organisations, and combine their efforts according to their needs and capabilities. These CBOs should be empowered and local capacity systematically build up in order to communicate their needs and demands to Service Organisations. This process is mainly supported by local facilitators who promote participatory strategies and encourage Service Organisa-

132 Cf. Eger / Lang (1998), p. 23.

133 Napcod (1999), p. 5; UNCCD (2000), p. 39; confer also to chapter 5.5.

134 DRFN / NEPRU (1999).

135 Cf. Brandt (2000), p. 1.

136 Cf. chapter eight.

137 Cf. Kruger, A. (2001), p. xxi.

138 Cf. Kruger, A.S. (2001), p. ix.

tions to adjust their services to the needs of communal farmers. In addition, SARDEP shall co-operate with the Department of Agricultural and Engineering Services of the MAWRD, which is responsible for providing training, fostering institutional development of CBOs and identifying prevailing social and economic incentives for resource use.

Parallel to its activities at the local level, SARDEP intended as well to operate at the national level. It started policy initiatives and promoted institutional changes and capacity-building at the national level.[139] In addition, a sound policy framework conducive for sustainable natural resource management has been identified as necessary pre-condition for any future strategy of sustainable livestock and rangeland management.[140]

While the programme itself is expected to come to an end by the end of 2001, at least some of its projects will be continued through NAPCOD.

Department of Engineering and Extension Services (DEES)

The strategy of the DEES refers to the fundamental statements on Extension and Engineering services contained in the National Agricultural Policy. The aims of the DEES are to enhance agricultural production, to increase employment creation and improve living conditions for the larger population of Namibia:

> *"Extension and Engineering Services exist to promote the adoption of improved agricultural technologies and practices in order to increase agricultural production, empower farmers and facilitate sustainable improvement in living conditions of rural communities."*[141]

The extension services are sub-divided into four divisions south, north-west, north and north-east. Each division is headed by a deputy director and each region within a division by a chief agricultural extension officer. Within each region there are several agricultural development centres, led by an agricultural technician.

In order to improve the work of the DEES, local farmers have been organised in Farmers Extension Development Groups (FEDs). The information exchange between the DEES and communal farmers shall take place through the representatives of FEDs. On the one hand, these representatives shall demand services, on the other hand, extension technicians shall offer services based on own initiatives.

Due to the agricultural and technical knowledge of the DEES staff, they can support NAPCOD on its way to improve sustainable natural resource management and to combat desertification processes.[142]

Community Management Programme (CBM)

The Namibian Government is in charge of supplying communal areas with sufficient and potable water. The GON mandated the Directorate of Rural Water Supply to provide water to the communal areas according to the government`s Community Management approach, which was introduced by the Water and Sanitation Policy (WASP).[143] Obligations of the DRWS include the construction of new water points and major maintenance works.[144]

The CBM programme was implemented in 1997 and will end in 2007. Its major aim is to establish community participation and to achieve cost recovery of water supply in communal areas. This shall be achieved by gradually transferring the responsibility for operation and maintenance of

139 Cf. Kruger, A.S. (2001), p. 15.

140 Cf. Kruger, A.S. (2001), p. viii.

141 MAWRD (DEES) (1999), p. 4.

142 Regarding co-operation of NAPCOD and DEES cf. chapter nine.

143 Cf. chapter eight.

144 Cf. GON / DRWS (2001), p. 1.

water points from the government to newly established Water Point Committees. However, all infrastructure and water rights remain in the hand of the state. Before transferring water points, they have to be rehabilitated by the DRWS. The process of handing over is currently lagging behind schedule, since an adequate legal background is missing. As WPCs are dealing with the sustainable use of water resources, they would contribute to the success of NAPCOD if integrated into the programme.[145]

Northern Regions Livestock Development Programme (NOLIDEP)

The Northern Region Livestock Development Project (NOLIDEP) promotes sustainable livestock development in the northern communal areas through participatory planning and management of rangelands. Its project regions are Kunene, North Central, Kavango and Caprivi. The programme is funded by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and will be implemented over an eight-year period (1995/96 - 2002/2003). Responsibility for the programme lies with the MAWRD, which co-ordinates it through the DEES. The implementation of each component is exerted by the DRWS and the DART. The programme comprises the following five core components: [146]

— sustainable rangeland management;
— livestock support services;
— animal health and veterinary services;
— training, and
— institutional support.

Programmes launched by the MET:

Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)

The CBNRM approach deals with the sustainable management of natural resources, particularly with regard to wildlife on communal land. It is conceptually based on in the common property theory.[147]

Besides the government a lot of non-governmental organisations like the WWF 'Living in a Finite Environment' (LIFE) programme, funded by USAID, NACOBTA and NNF deal with the CBNRM approach. The Namibian concept of CBNRM is to support communities and rural households in establishing conservancies, to promote community-based tourism and to monitor wildlife stocks. Its main emphasis is on social empowerment, institutional development, and devolution of rights and responsibilities to manage renewable natural resources.[148] Therefore, CBNRM aims at assisting communities to develop institutions which can manage common property resources successfully.[149] Regarding these aspects, CBNRM supports NAPCOD in a suitable manner and co-operation with NAPCOD would be desirable.

Bush Encroachment Research, Monitoring and Management Project

This project is located within the MET and was launched under the auspices of NAPCOD in September 2000. It is administrated by DEA/MET. The long-term objective of the project is to promote and establish appropriate systems for sustainable land management in encroached areas. The project`s short-term objective is to establish a common information-base and understanding on issues related to bush encroachment, as well as to prepare a monitoring system and integrated management programme. [150]

145 Regarding co-operation of WPCs and NAPCOD cf. chapter ten.

146 MAWRD (NOLIDEP) (no date).

147 Cf. Jones, B.T.B. (1999), p. 296.

148 Cf. Ashley, C. (1998), p. i.

149 Cf. Ashley, C. (1998), p. 3.

150 Cf. Klerk (no date), p. 2.

Other Programmes

Forum for Integrated Natural Resource Management (FIRM)

This forum is a platform of Service Organisations who jointly empower and develop Community-Based Organisations on their way to improve livelihood and promote sustainable management of the environment. FIRM adopts a demand-oriented approach. This means that the forum acts as an intermediary between Service Organisations and communal farmers. Local farmers request support services from the forum which, in turn, selects suitable Service Organisations among its members.

At the moment, this forum mainly co-operates with the Grootberg Farmers Association (GFA). GFA was registered in 1998 as a conservancy and got user rights over wildlife and tourism. FIRM supports the GFA to express and implement their own ideas on sustainable development of the area and to effectively co-ordinate the technical and financial inputs of support agencies (GON, NGOs, private sector organisations and donors). This demand-oriented approach is promoted by the Permanent Secretaries of the MET and the MAWRD, who documented their support by signing an "Agreement of Co-operation".

The present partners in FIRM are MET, MAWRD (SARDEP, DEES, DRWS), DRFN, NNF and WWF/LIFE.[151]

6 Role and Potentials of CBOs

This chapter tries to outline a concept of Community-Based Organisations concerning the role they can play in development processes. The following arguments focus on the potential of CBOs to combat desertification and poverty, especially related to measures of natural resource management. Criteria are derived to provide a framework for analysing the effectiveness of CBO-organisation and their integration in local, regional and national structures, and basic prerequisites to ensure the sustainability of these organisations.

In order to effectively combat land degradation, it is of fundamental importance to integrate people in rural areas into such efforts. As the local population uses the natural resources and directly depends on them,[152] land degradation processes threaten the livelihood security of resource users, but are at the same time caused and aggravated by the local people themselves.[153]

Participation is widely regarded as a key for success of development processes. Ideally, the equitable and active involvement of all stakeholders in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development activities should be ensured to foster ownership and thereby sustainability of the project.[154] Participation can be seen as both a means and an end of development.[155] It is expected that participation as a means will lead to a substantial improvement of the project`s results and outcomes. As an end, participation aims at empowering communities or marginalised groups to set up a process to control their own development (see Box 3). This empowerment may involve a certain shift in power. Consequently, the commitment of governments to support participation as an end tends to be restricted when they regard the integration of local people into political processes as a threat to their own power.

151 Cf. FIRM (2000), p. 1.

152 Cf. Uphoff (1998).

153 This argument indicates a major need to combine measures of combating desertification with those of poverty alleviation.

154 Cf. FAO (2000), cf. Nelson / Wright (1995) and cf. BMZ (1999). There are various degrees of participation ranging from simple consultation over joint decision-making to self-management by stakeholders, determined through a negotiation process (Schwedersky (1996), p. 16).

155 Cf. Karl (2000).

Box 3: Participation Effects
Participation is the key to sustainable development initiatives, since it will lead to: • the use of existing potentials and capacities; • a greater sense of ownership on the part of stakeholders; • increased commitment of stakeholders to the objectives and outcomes of projects and programmes; • long-term social sustainability; increased self-help capacities; and • stronger and more democratic institutions and partnerships.
Source: Nelson / Wright (1995).

To effectively enable the rural population to participate in development processes, participation should be institutionalised. That means local people should build up a representative organisation which allows them to be integrated into local co-operation systems. CBOs may represent an adequate form of such institutionalised participation, as they are the organisational means by which groups of rural residents can collectively identify and pursue their interests.[156]

6.1 Objectives of CBOs

From the perspective of natural resource management, CBOs can ideally be defined as organisations of people at the local level using the same resources and trying to manage them in a sustainable joint effort.[157] The aim of establishing CBOs is to empower local people to sustainably manage relevant natural resources by enhancing their rights, responsibilities, institutions and capacity, and revitalising their conservation ethics. To increasingly participate in decision-making processes on resource use and to exercise a certain power on the local level[158] CBOs should have a specific internal structure consisting of a leading committee elected from its members. In an ideal case, all members further agree upon certain rules for exclusive resource use elaborated in a management plan. This system of rules should rely on the principle of rights and obligations and should include possibilities to sanction free riders.

Mainly in three sectors, the management of natural resources by CBOs is of major importance: Firstly water is unique among resources, because it is needed to generate value out of most other resources. Secondly the agricultural sector is of especially high social and economic importance in most developing countries, since large parts of the population are gaining their livelihood from livestock keeping or subsistence farming in rural areas, or depend indirectly on employment in the agricultural sector**.** Thirdly the promotion of off-farm opportunities is equally essential for an effective poverty eradication, because ongoing land degradation often impedes people to gain sufficient income from farming.[159] In order to take pressure off the scarce natural resources, tourism can be a viable option for income generating activities and risk management.

156 Ashley (1998), p. 3. To ensure a long-lasting process which is difficult to undermine or reverse, approaches have to be backed up by committed institutions (cf. Wright / Nelson (1995), p. 9).

157 CBOs are typically user groups living in a defined geographical area of a local administrative unit, or of a cultural or ethnic group (cf. Leach / Mearnes / Scoones (1997), p. 4). The community-organisations evolve out of local self-initiative or encouragement by Service Organisations.

158 Cf. Uphoff (1998).

159 Cf. Zeidler (2000), p. 28.

6.2 Criteria to Assess the Effectiveness of CBOs

To achieve their objectives, CBOs need an effective and sustainable organisational structure. Finding out their "felt needs", prioritising them and elaborating solutions to their problems requires first the capacity of communities to organise themselves. As the rural population is commonly still marginalised and geographically dispersed, being organised can already be regarded as an important aspect of empowerment. The organisational structure must be appropriate to the CBOs tasks and must be flexible enough to adapt to new challenges or to overcome unforseen problems. Due to the fact that communities are normally not homogenous groups, effective functioning of CBOs depends further on clear, legitimate internal rules and regulations that define exclusive rights and obligations. They should lead to unified actions and should promote social cohesion in order to compensate for faded traditional structures.[160]

Such actions could take place in the following fields of activities: In an ideal scenario, CBOs would, for a start receive access to water boreholes and be allowed to allocate the resource to an exclusive user group in order to avoid over-use. In turn, responsibility for maintenance and management stays with the CBO members. Financial efficiency could mainly be ensured by water fees.[161]

To sustain livelihood security in rural areas and halt degradation processes, sustainable natural resource management is required.[162] This concept of resource conservation is implemented in form of a management plan that conforms both to ecological guidelines and the economic goals of the managers and beneficiaries.[163] Organisational forms to advocate interests and demands and rules are set in order to guarantee an effective control of resource use as well as respective conflict resolution.[164] Activities of NRM carried out by CBOs can include e. g. land-use planning in form of rotational farming or grazing systems, livestock co-operatives and livestock rating.[165]

In southern Africa, wildlife management in so-called conservancies represents such an alternative source of income. A conservancy consists of „[...] a group of commercial farms or areas of communal land on which neighbouring land owners or members have pooled resources for the purpose of conserving and using wildlife sustainably."[166] Conservancies seek to increase income, and than local responsibility and ownership over wildlife and tourism through harvesting quotas, trophy hunting, sale of live game and from tourism concessions delivered by the state.[167]

Additionally, effectiveness is influenced by the incentives set by CBOs to follow rules that lead to and ensure co-operation at the local level. The effectiveness can be measured by the benefits derived from CBOs, may they be of a financial or a non-financial nature.[168] Overall, CBO-activities are rarely effective in the long run if carried out in isolation. Therefore, CBOs have to be integrated into local, regional and national structures to be fully functional.

160 Horn-Haacke (1999), pp. 7 - 8.

161 See chapter four and especially chapter ten for more details.

162 In a general view, a livelihood is sustainable if it can „cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the long and short-term." (Chambers (1992), p. 7 - 8.)

163 Cf. Øgard / Vedeld / Aune (1999), p. 69.

164 Cf. GTZ (1997) and GTZ (no date), cf. Jacobson / Jacobson / Seely (1995), p. 12.

165 Cf. Pratt / Le Gall / de Haan (1997).

166 DEA (2001).

167 Cf. Jones (1997).

168 Studies about southern Africa revealed that conservancies are emerging as an important complementary component in rural development process. As fitting within spatial niches, wildlife will only replace livestock to a limited extent (cf. Barnes (1998), p. 14).

6.3 Incentives and Benefits to Ensure the Sustainability of CBOs

6.3.1 Empowerment Through Ownership

Once established, CBOs may generate substantial additional non-financial benefits. Local organisations contribute to empowerment if they enable local people to take part in decision-making processes. Through participation CBO members increasingly identify themselves with the objectives of their organisation and projects. Ownership can be further strengthened through decentralisation of decision-making processes. This approach of community development aims at "[...] improving the economic, social, and cultural conditions of communities, [...] enabling them to contribute fully to national progress, and moving community development away from [...] state intervention to a facilitator of community responsibility."[169] Finally, ownership depends on the achievement of tangible results. If major expectations of people participating in CBOs are not fulfilled, ownership can be at risk.[170]

6.3.2 Empowerment Through Capacity-Building and Organisational Development

Although difficult to measure, empowerment through capacity-building and organisational development definitely are major incentives to become active in a CBO. An essential component which determines the capacity of individuals or groups is knowledge.[171] Raising awareness about the causes, effects and remedies for desertification reinforce traditional practices of NRM. Therefore educational programmes and appropriate extension services as well as monitoring of resource use should play a major role in development strategies. In the first place awareness of degradation processes is considered as a precondition to adopt a more conscious and sustainable approach to natural resource use.

In order to institutionalise stakeholder participation, it is essential that the capacities of local institutions are strengthened. As Community-Based Organisations currently do not have all the necessary skills and capacities to plan, manage and use the full diversity of natural resources and opportunities at their disposal, they strongly depend on external support.[172] In this context, access to information and education must be ensured, as an unhindered exchange of information and visions between all levels is a precondition for transmitting needs and priorities of rural people. Furthermore, an appropriate, long-term capacity building strategy by SOs is required to achieve sustainability.[173] Especially in initial phases, organisational development is highly important to build up effective local structures. This process offers new ways of community development to the local population, including possibilities for personal development of self-esteem and leadership-skills.

6.3.3 Co-ordination With Other Actors

CBOs can serve as a democratic forum to identify a common purpose and strive collectively to real-

169 UNEP (1997). The general assumption is that power in developing countries is moving to the people rather because of the widespread failure of the state. It is widely recognised that communities play an important role within the development process, although this process might not be necessarily aimed at by governments. Cf. Horn-Haacke (1999), pp. 15 - 16.

170 Since initiatives for establishing the community-based institutions often come from "above", the progress and success of local capacity strengthening will depend on how quickly and effectively this initiative can be turned into a broader participatory process.

171 Especially indigenous knowledge and existing traditional practices is often considered as a major source for sustainable resource use.

172 Lack of traditional knowledge, lack of technical support and low education often impede investment in conservation activities (cf. Boyd/ Slaymaker (2000), p. 1).

173 Respective training offered by Service Organizations can represent a strong incentive in the way that CBO-members benefit from the access to these measures, as often no development activities at all have ever reached certain communities.

ise it. This unification helps to establish closer links between community members and offers new ways to participate in community life through local decision-making. By defining members and boundaries that have to be accepted by their neighbours,[174] and by executing community projects, CBOs can also stimulate their recognition by outside authorities.[175] Government agents, SOs and donors can then build further on these existing structures through co-operation.[176] This co-operation may help to ensure the sustainability of applied measures and intensify adequate capacity-building.[177]

The dual decision-making structure of parallel formal and informal rights may create conflicting and unequal situations with regard to the allocation of rights, access and practices concerning natural resources and their management. Therefore, local and regional authorities shall be involved more intensively in local development processes. Integrating them would decentralise decision-making and can bring problem-solutions closer to the community level. For the same reasons, co-operation with traditional authorities is extremely important.[178] Customary leadership may have comparative advantages in taking a lead role in co-ordinated resource management,[179] and traditional leaders may reduce conflicts and lower transaction costs of enforcement.

6.4 Institutional and Social Conditions: Legal Framework

With regard to sustainable resource use on communal land, a government guaranteeing the rule of law has to fill the prevailing regulatory vacuum. Related conflicts mainly derive from the difficult relationship between state and people, since the state has often made tenure less predictable and secure in law and practice.[180] CBOs may be a vehicle for conflict resolution if their members agree on certain rules.[181] But, as a rule, higher-level support may still be needed to manage conflicts of resource use between different user groups, as conflicting interests in resources and their use are often conditioned by political processes and power relationships between influential groups in the community. As community-based regimes may be perceived as legitimate tenure systems, the focus on community-based development can improve state responsiveness to local needs, ideas and people.[182]

Legally secured rights of access to land and the use of resources are crucial for participation of CBOs in sustainable resource management[183] as they enable user groups and communities to take

174 In the case of conservancies, these have to be legally recognised by the government.

175 Ashley (1998), p. 5.

176 Studies about self-organisation capacities of local communities in Africa have assessed a strong tradition of community organisations, (cf. Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (2001), p. 1) but state interventions and retirement of donor support have been destructive for the sustainability of the community movements in the 70s and 80s (ibid, pp. 7 - 8.).

177 Especially extension officers, who operate as technical advisors for resource management should ensure the provision of services appropriate to the demands of CBOs.

178 This is a lesson learned by SARDEP, which first had tried to exclude local decision-makers and then integrated them in community processes at the request of the local people themselves.

179 This can be the case if they live close to resources and people, knowing particularities of different interest groups and general circumstances for management and of the dynamics, productivity, and resilience of resources. As customary leaders with an ascribed genealogical status, they often carry prestige and garner respect. Provided they have the personal capacity needed and perform according to expectations, they may create trust (cf. Baland and Platteau (1996)).

180 Local people experience the state expropriating land for crop cultivation, penalising people for grass burning or collection of fuelwood, unduly restricting transhumance and shifting cultivation, and regulating conflicts in an unpredictable manner.

181 Cf. Ostrom (1997), p. 5.

182 Cf. Lewis (1997).

183 See chapter four.

the responsibility for their own development.[184] Where local user groups are given rights over natural resources (e.g. over wildlife), CBOs can strengthen their control over their environment due to the combination of new skills and legitimacy - even if only informally. User rights give them more power to negotiate and to implement collective management practices and land-use planning. As a result, user rights enhance the multi-functional approach of CBOs substantially, because they may be a first step forward to obtain communal property rights. Beyond that, communal property rights can strengthen this process.[185] The distribution and content of tenure rights needs to be reshaped clearly by government policy and project interventions.[186]

6.4.1 Financial Benefits

CBO engagement can substantially improve livelihood security either by contributing to the upgrading of natural resources[187] or through offering alternative income sources.[188] When there are direct short-term benefits, substantial participation is likely to occur.[189] CBOs can provide opportunities for rural residents to earn cash-income as employees in tourism enterprises, as sellers of products on expanded markets and as beneficiaries from collective income by conservancies and community institutions. Of course, effective supporting structures are essential to ensure such economic benefits. In the long run, access to technology and inputs as well as physical infrastructure and extension services have to be provided.

6.4.2 Cultural, Environmental, Social and Political Benefits

Communities also gain cultural benefits when / where wildlife returns and local traditions are revitalised through traditional villages and other tourism activities. Revitalising of traditional practices may engender a deeper conscience of the community`s own cultural specifics, enhancing community pride in their culture and traditions even in the younger generation.[190] This can be perceived as a valuable benefit by CBO members. But increased tourism also involves socio-economic impacts which may partly be destructive for traditional elements in local cultures.[191]

Undoubtedly, Community-Based Natural Resource Management can also serve national objectives: Empowered communities with strong institutions strengthen the country`s democracy, and lay foundations for decentralised rural development as well. Improved food security, maintenance of the natural resource base, as well as economic benefits all contribute to national economic objectives. Furthermore, CBNRM can encourage

184 With the competence for decision-making in their hands, local groups are led to understand the direct interaction between responsible management and its impact on their resource basis, cf. Wolf (2000), p. 7.

185 Communal property rights systems are generally very complex social relations, as rights to resources are normally divided along resources and functions, according to social status and organisational hierarchies of society, cf. Øgard / Vedeld / Aune (1999), p. 66.

186 It is often assumed that land tenure contracts would increase willingness to invest in improved land management practices, but there is little evidence from African experience to support this assumption. Other constraints such as poor infrastructure, inadequate access to markets and technology, high transaction costs of trade, low populationdensity, and distorted government policies seem to be much more hindering (cf. Berry (1993), cf. Le Roy, Karsenty, and Bertrand (1996); World Bank/ OED (1998). Cf. also Shanmugaratnam and others (1992)).

187 An example would be improved drought management in the form of Water Point Committees.

188 E. g. through conservancies. Possibilities for income diversification in rural areas are of major importance in order to keep qualified work force and investment there and to reduce migration of young people, cf. Ashley (1998), p. 16.

189 Cf. Boyd / Slaymaker (2000), p. 5.

190 Cf. Ashley (1998), p. 3.

191 The impact of CBO engagement on natural resources can be seen, first, by the changes in how they are managed by communities, and, second, through observable improvements in the natural resource base. This requires that respective documentation and monitoring exist.

changes in attitude towards sustainable development at the national level, which would complement improved natural resource management at the community level.[192]

7 Framework Conditions Influencing Natural Resource Management: Actors, Policies and Relevant Legislation

National programmes aiming to bring about a more sustainable management of natural resources and thereby decreasing land degradation cannot, and should not, be viewed in isolation. Instead, because of their inter-sectoral and multi-dimensional nature, such programmes operate in a complex and interlinked web of numerous national policies and laws, which influence natural resource use. Framework conditions therefore determine the possible impact national NRM-programmes can have.[193]

Often, however, such conditions have evolved in isolation from each other and on an *ad hoc* basis. As a result, policy objectives are often contradictory and rules and regulations unclear. Framework conditions for natural resource management therefore tend to be inconsistent in many developing countries, conflicting and fragmented and are thus not conducive to the aims of sustainable NRM. In this regard, Namibia is no exception. In the following, a short list of policies, legal statements and actors responsible for their formulation and implementation will be given.[194]Although it is not intended to provide a comprehensive policy-analyses, illustrative examples of policy impacts on desertification will be given for each of the policies presented.

7.1 Constitution and National Development Plans

Article 95 of the *Constitution of the Republic of Namibia* declares the protection of ecosystems and biodiversity as well as ensuring a sustainable use of the country`s natural resources as important responsibilities of the State and underlines their significance for Namibia`s future socio-economic development.[195]

Namibia`s *First National Development Plan* since independence (NDP I), [196] is geared to four broad development goals for the period 1996-2000: sustained economic growth, increased employment opportunities (mainly through private sector development), reduced poverty, and improved equality of income distribution. The constitutionally established responsibility of the state for environmental protection is not reflected explicitly in these objectives.[197] It is nevertheless obvious from the prevailing structure of, and future prospects for, the Namibian economy that their realisation is closely linked to sustainable management of the country`s natural resources as a *conditio sine qua non*.[198] Against the background of current discussions and proposals for NDP II, it seems likely that these links between socio-economic development and sustainable natural resource manage-

192 Cf. Ashley (1998), p. 24.

193 Also cf. chapter one.

194 This list does not claim to be complete. Instead, it represents a selection of framework conditions and actors which the authors regard as especially significant regarding their impact on natural resource use. Although NGOs play an important role regarding the formulation of policies and do excert influence on the public opinion, the list of actors given here is restricted to governmental institutions.

195 Cf. GON (1991), Art. 95.

196 The validity of NDP I expires in 2000. However, NPD II was still not available in its final version at the time of writing in April 2001.

197 Although NDP I contains a chapter on environmental policy, it is only roughly linked to the four major development goals set out in the plan.

198 For an overview of the Namibian economy see chapter three.

ment will be stressed more explicitly in Namibia`s *Second Development Plan*.[199][200]

7.2 Water

So far, Namibia lacks a comprehensive Water Policy, which would ensure long-term sustainability of water supply and use. In 1993, the Namibian Government passed the *Water and Sanitation Sector Policy (WASP)*. The policy primarily aims at improving access to save drinking water for the majority of Namibians at socially acceptable costs.[201] Furthermore, several instruments of demand management, like water prices and cost sharing agreements between water suppliers and users have been introduced by the WASP. However, current water prices are still too low and subsidisation of water supply is too high to raise water use efficiency to sustainability levels, thereby contributing to processes of resource degradation and desertification.[202] Activities targeted at the conservation of water resources will have little effect as long as economically and environmentally unsustainable types of water use (e.g. irrigation) are encouraged by the absence of proper pricing.

Water use is currently regulated by the *Water Act No. 54 of 1956*, which today is outdated because it takes neither environmental water needs nor natural recharge rates of aquifers into consideration. The Water Act is furthermore conflicting with Namibia`s constitution. This holds true especially regarding the issue of private property of water resources, which the act allows for, whereas the constitution renders all water resources of the country property of the state.[203] Reforms of the current water policy and law are urgently needed and currently being discussed, but have yet to be passed.[204] Water policy and legislation fall under the responsibilities of the Department of Water Affairs (DWA), located in the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development.

7.3 Land Policy, Land Reform and Resettlement

Forms of land tenure have their ecological impacts. Land policy and land tenure reform therefore play an important role regarding processes of land degradation in Namibia.[205] Currently, an overall and consistent land policy framework is missing in Namibia - a fact, which seriously constraints any effort of integrated land use and development planning. Resource overuse and land degradation are among the consequences.[206]

Namibia`s *National Land Policy* dates back to 1998 and refers to both the country`s communal and commercial land areas. However, the policy does not appear to be fully operational as of yet. Tenure rights allocated under the policy or subsequent legislation are meant to "[…] include all renewable natural resources on the land […] These natural resources include wildlife, tourist attractions, fish, water, forest resources and vegetation for grazing."[207] In this context, the policy aims at promoting group tenure in Namibia`s communal areas but does not clearly spell out on what basis rural communities can register and obtain such entitlements. Thus, the land rights situation in communal areas remains unclear and uncertain and hardly provides incentives for the rural population to invest in uncertain sustained land productivity and prevention of land degradation.

199 Cf. GON/DANCED (2000).

200 Drafting of the NDPs, and the co-ordination of policies and programmes contained in them, is among the responsibilities of the National Planning Commission (NPC).

201 Cf. GON (1993).

202 Cf. GON (2000), pp. 165 ff.

203 Cf. Constitution; Cf. GON (1956).

204 A White Paper on National Water Policy has been drafted in 2000 and currently awaits its approvement by the Namibian Parliament.

205 Cf. also chapter four.

206 Cf. Dwedney (1996), p. 12 ff.

207 GON (1998), p.11.

This situation is not significantly changed by the *Agricultural Land Reform Act of 1995* or the *Communal Land Reform Bill of 1999,*which – in addition to the *National Resettlement Policy of 1996* – deal with both issues of land tenure and redistribution.[208] Nevertheless, communal areas remain state property. Especially decisions on land redistribution will require careful preparation, planning and monitoring if negative environmental impacts are to be prevented. Experiences in that regard have, in many instances, been disappointing until now. Among other reasons, this situation is due to the fact that resettlement decisions are taken entirely at the ministerial level in Windhoek. They therefore often lack transparency and appear not to take into account existing specifics of farming systems sufficiently at the field level. In consequence, current resettlement programmes tend to promote rather than prevent land degradation. Management practices of the people relocated are in many cases not well adapted to the constraints of farming systems in the resettlement area and efforts to systematically upgrade farmers` management skills and other supporting services are rare and poorly co-ordinated.[209] The *Communal Land Reform Bill* is, up to now, heavily disputed. Furthermore, land redistribution, for which objectives are laid down in the *National Resettlement Policy*, and issues of land tenure are currently dealt with separately, thereby adding to the already existing lack of a consistent strategy concerning land related issues.

7.4 Decentralisation and Customary Law

Land use in communal areas is, in many regards, regulated by customary law, which is enforced by Namibia`s traditional authorities. However, the latter`s roles and responsibilities are not formally acknowledged by legislation and were significantly weakened after independence. Customary law includes regulatory methods with relevance for sustainable natural resource use, e.g.

- imposing quotas for harvesting of natural resources;
- establishing harvesting seasons and resting periods;
- imposing livestock quotas;
- allocating land for cropping and livestock to farmers, and
- establishing protected areas.

Due to the lack of implementation capacity, government authorities, who formally took over these functions after independence, often failed to effectively implement regulations on land use in Namibia`s communal areas, thereby creating a regulatory vacuum. The country`s recent decentralisation policy and related legislation make it likely that traditional authorities will again play an important role with regard to land allocation and use of communal lands in the future. However, decentralisation in Namibia at present remains in an early stage. While the *Regional Councils Act No. 22 of 1992* is unclear in many respects regarding the division of powers between central and regional governments, the *Traditional Authorities Act No. 17 of 1995* recognises the role of traditional authorities and calls for the sustainable use of natural resources in communal areas.[210] Decentralised management of natural resources is also promoted by the MAWRD`s *Community Based Management Policy.*[211] The formulation of policies and legislation relating to land use mostly takes place under the auspices of the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR), often in co-operation with the MAWRD and the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing (MRLGH).

7.5 Agricultural Policy

Agriculture is one of the most significant sectors of the Namibian economy. Being the country`s biggest land user, it also plays a major role with

208 Cf. GON (1995); Cf. GON (1999).

209 Cf. GON (2000), p. 167 f.

210 Cf. GON (1992); GON (1995b).

211 Cf. GON (1997a).

regard to land degradation. Therefore, the *National Agricultural Policy of 1995* has a major influence on any efforts to increase the sustainability of natural resource utilisation in the country. Its main objective is to increase income and employment opportunities in rural areas through sustainable agricultural growth and diversification.[212] In general sustainable management of natural resources ranks high among the policy`s principles and many of its elements are relevant with regard to combating desertification.[213] The *National Agricultural Policy* is beset with some shortcomings and inherent tensions, however. The goal of sustainable use of Namibia`s agricultural resources, for instance, is legally backed inter alia by the *Soil Conservation Act No. 76 of 1969*, which calls for the adoption of control measures for resource use, but whose provisions exceed the legal capacity needed for law enforcement in practice.[214] Furthermore, the Act is valid only for the commercial agricultural sector. Although a new *Conservation and Utilisation of Agricultural Resources Bill* was drafted in 1992, it never passed legislation.

An even more critical aspect of Namibia`s agricultural policy is the ambiguous use of the concepts of food security and food self-sufficiency. Whereas food security implies that national income has to be sufficient to ensure adequate nutrition for every Namibian, the concept of food self-sufficiency demands that the food needed to achieve this goal has to come from inland production. In arid surroundings like Namibia, where water requirements and costs of large-scale crop production usually exceed those of foreign producers, following the concept of food self-sufficiency almost inevitably leads to inefficient and unsustainable use of natural resources.[215] Whereas Namibia`s agricultural policy supports the concept of food security, the *First National Development Plan`s* chapter on agriculture stresses food self-sufficiency. It is thus not clear which of these concepts is to be finally adopted by the Namibian government.

Another point of concern from an environmental perspective are subsidies for livestock production, which have been directed to Namibia`s communal areas since independence and been driven by political rather than environmental or economic criteria. In the past, livestock subsidies contributed significantly to overstocking of land and resulting land degradation. Although the policy states that it is committed to phasing out livestock subsidies, it does not entail any concrete description of how this is to be accomplished. Finally, the *National Agricultural Policy* is not yet fully operational in Namibia`s communal areas.[216]

Drought preparedness of farmers and the rural population is highly relevant for determining natural resource use patterns during periods with low precipitation when ecosystems are especially vulnerable. In the past, practices of drought management and assistance to farmers tended to maintain livestock levels during drought-periods and thereby had an adverse effect on sustainable land use. The *National Drought Policy and Strategy* was developed in a joint effort by various actors from government and donor agencies and established in 1998. It aims at improving drought preparedness of Namibian farmers and reducing pressure on government budgets by gradually transferring the responsibility for managing drought related risks away from government and into the hands of farmers themselves. It does so by removing drought assistance and subsidy schemes, which used to generate incentives for farmers to keep unsustainably high stocking rates during periods of drought. Reduced stocking rates and higher adaptability of farmers to droughts are welcomed from the perspective of sustainable natural resource management because they reduce

212 Cf. GON (1995a).

213 The *National Agricultural Policy inter alia* aims at combating land degradation and bush encroachment, reducing the number of livestock on vulnerable land areas and diversifing sources of income of Namibia`s rural population.

214 Cf. GON (1969).

215 Cf. GON (2000), p. 171.

216 Planning and implementation of agricultural policy is among the responsibilities of the MAWRD.

pressure on land resources. Until today, however, *Namibia`s National Drought Policy and Strategy* appears to be implemented by the responsible Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development only in an unsystematic and inconsistent manner.

7.6 Environmental Policies

The depletion of forest resources and their overuse for construction and fuelwood are also significantly contributing to processes of land degradation in Namibia. The *National Forestry Policy of 1992* aims at ensuring rural communities` subsistence use of forest resources while at the same time preserving these resources.[217] However, due to the policy`s focus on state property and control of resource use, ownership of local communities regarding forest resources falls short, thereby risking the alienation of the local population from conservation policies and keeping incentives for conservation or upgrading of forest resources low. A new forestry policy and legislation is on its way and is expected to be passed in the near future.

Nature and Wildlife conservation also play an important role regarding natural resource use. A relatively new development in Namibian environmental policy and legislation is the allowance for conservancies – nature and wildlife reservation areas administered by local communities, which ideally allow the latter to diversify their sources of income and reduce human-induced pressure on natural resources by increasing the number of game and reducing livestock in the conservancy area. The *Nature Conservation Amendment Act No. 5 of 1996* allows for the formal registration of conservancies in both commercial and communal areas and sets out the necessary prerequisites for such registration.[218] Although a step in the right direction, this *Conservancy Act* conflicts with existing legislation on communal lands because it provides for fencing-off of communally used lands, which the *Communal Land Reform Bill* does not envisage. Policies and legislation on forestry and nature Conservation are both planned and drafted by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

7.7 Industrial Policy

Industrial growth and development can have ambiguous effects on the sustainability of natural resource use. On the one hand, growth of the industrial sector can substitute for income generating activities, which directly rely on natural resources. On the other hand, increased industrial production generates additional demand for natural resources needed as production inputs. Namibia`s *Industrial Policy of 1992*, formulated by the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI) focuses attention on fostering manufacturing growth, increasing industrial diversification and generating employment and income opportunities, especially in rural areas.[219] The latter aspect is stressed even further by the Ministry`s *Policy and Programme on Small Business Development of 1997*, which underlines the importance of income diversification and generation to improve rural livelihoods.[220] Whereas the policy`s objectives most likely constitute a positive step in terms of reducing pressure on natural resources, its implementation in many rural areas falls short of expectations. This is, among other reasons, due to a lack of investment opportunities and access to financial services on part of the rural population.

7.8 Conclusions as to Framework Conditions

The given list of policies, laws and regulations clearly illustrates the multitude of framework conditions relevant for processes of land degradation in Namibia but also their conflicting objectives and provisions. Examples to that effect have

217 Cf. GON (1992a).

218 Cf. GON(1996a).

219 Cf. GON (1992b).

220 Cf. GON (1997).

been given above. This inconsistency highlights the need for co-ordinated planning of new and harmonisation of existing policies and legislation. In addition serious shortcomings in terms of implementation of policies and enforcement of legislation underline the importance of not only influencing policymaking but also speeding up implementation. The former task is supposed to be facilitated by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism`s *Environmental Assessment Policy of 1995*, which calls for an assessment of predictable environmental effects of policies and programmes at the national, regional and local levels prior to their implementation.[221] However, the legal support for this policy, although drafted, is not yet operational. As will be shown later in this report, bringing about framework conditions which are conducive to sustainable natural resource management is also among the objectives of phase III of Namibia`s National Programme to Combat Desertification.[222]

D. Empirical Study

8 Research Approach

8.1 Objectives

The research team aimed at achieving an improved understanding of the current state of implementation of Nambia`s National Action Programme to Combat Desertification and the effectiveness of the programme`s CBO approach. In particular, the current potential of CBOs to contribute to improved management of natural resources and thereby to reduced land degradation at the local level were looked into. Furthermore, co-operation and co-ordination between the actors and activities at all levels as well as policy harmonisation were assessed.

8.2 Research Dimensions and Guiding Questions

Two interlinked problems were analysed:

a) *Organisational and institutional structures of NAPCOD:* Implementation and especially co-operation and co-ordination processes and their impact on the programme´s operational capacity were assessed.

b) *Rural Livelihood, CBOs and NAPCOD's CBO Approach:* Firstly, information about felt needs and problems of CBO members regarding natural resource use and income generation was gathered. Secondly, this issue was linked to the nature of prevailing framework conditions and procedures for establishing CBOs and incentives for the local population to organise themselves. Thirdly, structures of CBOs and their institutional capacity as well as implications regarding their potential to co-operate with other actors with regard to natural resource management were considered. Fourthly, the research team concentrated on the important question to which extent NAPCOD provides support to CBOs to improve their institutional capacities. Lastly, the integration of CBOs in NAPCOD`s implementation and implications regarding the adaptedness of the programme´s efforts to felt needs and problems of target groups were points of attention.

c) Furthermore, the *Political framework i*.e. national policies and legislation relevant to processes of desertification and NAPCOD`s influence on policy harmonisation has to be taken into account at this point.[223]

8.3 Procedure of Enquiry

The research team studied available literature and documentation on the UNCCD, NAPCOD, desertification in Namibia and international experi-

221 Cf. GON (1995c).

222 Cf. GON / NEPRU / DRFN (1999), p. 1.

223 Cf. Chapter 7.

ences from the involvement of local level user groups in programmes to improve natural resource management. Subsequently, this information was ordered and weighted through discussions with the group`s counterpart organisations in Namibia (DRFN and DEA).

During the first stage of research in Namibia, the team concentrated on raising information at the national programme level through interviews with members of the NAPCOD Steering Committee, of the Counterpart Network as well as independent observers (e.g. scientists, NGOs etc.). This process of information gathering aimed at achieving a better understanding of the organisational and institutional structures of NAPCOD and prevailing patterns and procedures of planning, decision-making, and implementation and deriving implications as to the programme`s effectiveness. In addition, the information gathered about policy and legislation as well as interviews with key government personnel helped to assess how far the integration of NAPCOD`s objectives into long-term development policies has been achieved until now.

During the second stage of research, the team carried out field studies at the local level in the constituencies of Uuvudhiya in the northern, Khorixas and Grootberg in the north-western and Gibeon in the southern part of Namibia.[224] Because of scarce documentation on the implementation of NAPCOD, the empirical phase has been of central importance for the team`s findings. Information gathered at the field level facilitated a better understanding of felt needs and problems of the study areas` populations with regard to resource use and income generation. It further provided a basis to appreciate the activities and measures undertaken by CBOs with regard to sustainable natural resource management and their capacity and potential to contribute to halting land degradation.

The third stage of research comprised evaluation, cross-checking, ordering and interpreting of information gathered during the previous stages. After conclusions and recommendations had been derived, the team presented its findings to its counterpart organisations in Namibia, to members of the NAPCOD Steering Committee and Counterpart Network as well as GTZ for critical comments.

8.4 Characteristics and Quality of Information

In every study undertaken in a foreign cultural setting visiting researchers face particular questions of reliability and validity of their research results. The research team tried to validate gathered information by "triangulation", i.e. cross-checking by taking into account views and opinions of stakeholders at all levels. Adopting this approach, the team is confident to have generated useful and valuable findings.

Documentation on implementation experiences of NAPCOD was limited. Therefore, the team went about its task with rather incomplete *a priori* knowledge. Much of the information regarded necessary to achieve the teams objectives was available only "in the field". Because of considerable uncertainty regarding the state of NAPCOD`s implementation and the degree of CBO-participation in the project regions, the research team applied a flexible and qualitative approach. Research instruments were chosen and adapted according to the situation prevailing in the field. Information and data gathered served as a basis to identify patterns of emerging achievements and problems of NAPCOD`s implementation and of CBOs involved in the project regions.

To assess the performance of NAPCOD at the national and local levels and that of Community-Based Organisations in the field, the research team developed qualitative criteria. This decision was made in view of the fact that a set of "soft" aspects bears on NAPCOD´s performance. Furthermore, concrete impacts of the programme

224 A map of the pilot regions can be found in annex 2.

with regard to reducing land degradation are not measurable in a reliable way as yet.[225]

Both, quantitative as well as qualitative information from policy documents and interview partners were gathered. Written information and data helped to explain the present stage of institutional and organisational capacity of CBOs and how CBOs are integrated into processes within NAPCOD and what opportunities CBOs formally have to articulate their needs and demands. In addition, data such as budgets allocations, provided important information on the priority assigned to NAPCOD within the framework of Namibia`s long-term national development policies. Information provided by groups and key informants at all levels was necessary to identify felt needs and problems of resource users as well as perceptions of national level actors towards CBOs and vice versa, thereby revealing important information on prevailing patterns of communication and co-operation between field and programme levels. The research team has decided to fortify the validity of information gathered by:

— taking into consideration interests and perceptions of different actors involved in NAPCOD, i.e. the local population, CBO-

Box 4: Criteria for Assessing the Performance of NAPCOD and CBOs

A. Criteria to assess NAPCOD´s performance at the national and local levels

1. Institutional capacity
- Personnel capacity
- Access to and availability of funds

2. Influence on framework conditions relevant for desertification
- Formal authorisation
- Degree and impact of informal consultations on policies and legislation
- Degree of political support

3. Networking capacity
- Degree of intra-organisational co-operation and coordination
- Degree of inter-organisational co-operation and coordination

B. Criteria to assess the potential and performance of CBOs

1. Organisational capacity
- Personnel capacity
- Access to and availability of funds
- Access to supporting services and information

2. Networking capacity
- Degree of co-operation with Service Organisations
- Degree of co-operation and information exchange with other CBOs

NAPCOD as well as the prevalent distribution of responsibilities and decision-making powers within NAPCOD. Furthermore, this kind of information was needed to answer the questions of

225 Systemic inputs to combating desertification in Namibia are predominantly of a qualitative nature, while output-criteria are not consistently developed as yet. In addition, processes of land degradation tend to follow long-term cycles. Constituting components of desertification have not been recorded over a sufficient time-span.

members, decision-makers at the local, regional and national levels, qualified independent observers, governmental and non-governmental actors,[226] and comparing the three study regions with their different characteristics and implementation stages;

— interviewing actors at the national, regional and local levels;

— discussing and assessing interview results within the research team and with the counterpart organisation, and

— changing the personal composition of interview teams to allow for a maximum of different perceptions and views.

8.5 Methods of Enquiry

Information was collected by semi-structured single and group interviews. The interview guidelines finally used have been developed in Namibia, because they had to be flexibly adapted to the specific circumstances prevailing in the different project areas. Due to the lack of documentation on the implementation of NAPCOD, an explorative, open-minded and flexible approach was chosen. Single interviews were conducted with key informants at the national, regional and local levels.[227] Group interviews were held with members of CBOs. A list of interviewees was established in Windhoek in consultation with the counterparts.

Interviews were conducted with qualified interpreters. These persons were familiar with the research regions and with local dialects. The team reviewed and discussed interview results between themselves about every second day.

With regard to their relevance to resource management and income diversification, the research team concentrated on CBOs active in the field of agriculture and water management.

8.6 Selection of Research Regions

The second research phase was committed to the understanding of problems, needs and perspectives of the project region`s population and the capacity of CBOs to contribute to combating land degradation, since implementation of NAPCOD`s phase III hinges on these local level organisations. As none of the project areas is adequately documented regarding the number, type and operational capacity of CBOs, the selection of research regions has been done in consultation with the working group`s counterpart organisations. The three study regions are located within the pilot areas of NAPCOD's phase III:

Uuvudhiya is located in the sub-humid Oshakati region, situated about 800 km north of the capital of Windhoek. Although Uuvudhiya functions as a pilot region of NAPCOD only since 1999, a considerable number of CBOs is in place. In some cases, these organisations had already been founded by the MAWRD`s SARDEP-programme and are currently supported financially by different donor agencies. The region represents the climatic conditions, agricultural practices and socio-economic characteristics typical for many parts of northern Namibia.

Gibeon is located in the dry southern part of Namibia about 400 km south of Windhoek. It was one of NAPCOD`s first pilot sites as work here started in 1994. Gibeon also has served as a site of SARDEP. As a result, number and experiences of CBOs are manifold.

Khorixas is located 400 km north-west of Windhoek. This region has a high potential for tourism, and CBOs partly take the form of conservancies. This is a type of local level organisation, which can rely on a relatively well developed legal framework and provide opportunities for alternative income generation.

226 Different actors had different, though not necessarily conflicting, interests. Degrees of committment to the program itself and the participation of CBOs also varied.

227 See list of interview partners in annex 8.

Since the selected regions cover a wide range of socio-cultural and climatic diversity, the research team tried to identify patterns of factors influencing the success of CBO-involvement in efforts to combat land degradation. Thereby the team gained a more general understanding of the effectiveness of NAPCOD`s current approach.

8.7 Selection of Interview Partners

Key informants regarding NAPCOD and its implementation were identified in a range of organisations at the national, regional and local levels.

The team held semi-structured single interviews in Windhoek with representatives of the NAPCOD Steering Committee, members of the Counterpart Network as well as with advisors of the GTZ and other donor organisations. The interviews were conducted by sub-teams of two group members with changing composition.

Interviews with these key informants provided information on the organisational structures of NAPCOD, its operative efficiency and processes of communication, co-ordination and co-operation of actors involved at all programme levels.

In the project regions, semi-structured single interviews were conducted with:

— local and regional decision-makers, i.e. traditional chiefs (headmen) as well as formally legitimated councillors;

— field staff of different government agencies (agriculture, water), and

— field personnel of NGOs active in the project areas.[228]

Group discussions were held with members of CBO-committees in the fields of communal agriculture, tourism, forestry and water management.

228 Concerning quotations single interviewees are kept anonymous.

9 Findings

9.1 Organizational Co-operation and Co-ordination at the National Level

According to the UNCCD, NAPCOD shall function as an inter-disciplinary and inter-sectoral national programme. NAPCOD aims at contributing to the reduction of land degradation in Namibia by influencing national policies and by subsumizing all existent programs and projects under one single organisational umbrella. Up to now, this task has not been fulfilled, because adequate mechanisms within the programme`s Steering Committee to bring about co-operation and co-ordination are lacking. Furthermore, NAPCOD cannot fulfill such an umbrella function as long as the SC is not backed by a formal legal status.

The following chapter presents the results of the research team`s empirical analysis of NAPCOD`s organistional structure. The programme`s capability to co-ordinate programmes and policies at the national level is the major focal point.

9.1.1 Constraints to Co-Operation

The major empirical results indicate that co-operation of stakeholders in NAPCOD at the national level remains insufficient and inadequate. Accordingly, NAPCOD exerts a limited influence on the co-ordination and harmonisation of national policies and programmes relevant to processes of land degradation. There are a number of reasons to back this finding which are described further on.

When analysing the state of co-operation at the national level the historical background of Namibia, which is marked by a weak tradition of co-operation and by institutional isolation has to be taken into account. Attempts to improve inter-organisational co-operation have started only after independence. A national body responsible for national co-operation and co-ordination such as NAPCOD`s Steering Committee is a fairly new approach in Namibia.

Beside this general remark, three factors can be identified, which seem to restrict co-operation at the national level. Restricted willingness of actors involved in the programme to co-operate, a personal endogenous variable mainly caused by political mentality. Of course this type of political rationality does not hold true only for Namibia, but is a rather general political phenomenon. Co-operation, since it implies *inter alia* sharing of rights and responsibilities with others may give rise to the fear of loosing spheres of influcence, sovereignty and thus political weight. Furthermore, participation in co-operative structures results in an increased work load for those involved, since additional meetings have to be accommodated often without beeing remunerated or honoured other wise. Although this might be a short-term effect, and in the long run successful co-operation will reduce work in democratic systems, it reflects the odd political logic. Out of necessity, co-operation tasks are delegated by the political upper stratum to lower ranks in the hierarchy. As those tasks might not always meet focal micro-political interests of ministerial staff, committment and willingness to co-operate tends to remain limited.[229]

Lack of proper incentive structures for fostering co-operation constitutes a second factor working against improved networking. Since the more powerfull organisations tend to reap the lion`s share of rewards and reputation of co-operation efforts, less influential organisations are left with the crumbs. Ministries, as a rule, would not be inclined to engage in efforts of inter-ministerial co-operation without sufficient political support which, in all likelihood, results in improved reputation for decision-makers involved. And, of course, mechanisms to sanction blockade of co-operation have to be in place if interministerial approaches are to produce fruitful results.

Technical constraints, bureaucratic structures and routines can, as a third factor, result in insufficient co-operation. A ministerial staff might be highly qualified but be too small to shoulder the work load of additional participation and meetings. In fact, additional time-consuming responsibilities do not constitute a strong incentive to co-operate.

9.1.2 Internal Communication and Co-Operation of NAPCOD`s Steering Committee

Subsequently, organisational communication and co-operation structures of and between governmental and non-governmental organisations represented in the SC are discussed.[230] Thereby, an overview of the state of co-operation at the national level and of different SC members´ perception of NAPCOD is provided.

To provide for co-operation and co-ordination of policies and projects relevant to combating desertification at the national level figures prominently among the responsibilities of NAPCOD`s SC. Nevertheless, formal communication and co-operation structures within the SC remain insufficient and inadequate.

9.1.2.1 Governmental Organisations

As far as measures to combat desertification go, inter-ministerial co-operation is, in general, functioning. However this functionality is selective, i. e. it is mainly linked to engaged individuals. Naturally, each ministry primarily focuses on its major obligations and aspects of its own policy agenda. Reasons for dysfunctional inter-ministerial co-operation might *inter alia* have their roots in insufficient intra-ministerial co-operation which comprises insufficient co-operation within one ministerial directorate as well as between several directorates within one ministry.

Since intra-organisational co-operation is a major precondition for functioning inter-organisational

229 This is not to say that intervening variables such as improved personal incentives would not also modify willingness to co-operate.

230 Steering Committee members are listed in chapter 5.1.1.

networking, it is allocated a special focus in the following.

MAWRD

Intra-ministerial co-operation: Among MAWRD`s Departments and Directorates, the Directorate of Extension and Engineering Services (DEES) and the Directorate of Rural Water Supply (DRWS) are the most relevant with regard to efforts to combat desertification. Due to the organisational structure of the Ministry, these two Directorates each pursue well-defined tasks. However, this construction does not favour internal co-operation. Interviews with both Directorates underscored that they concentrate on their assigned line activities. Since mutual interest in the ongoing work of the other Directorate is limited, they are, for instance, not informed as to which regions the other Directorate operates in, which outreach and results the directorate achieves, and thereby, what the major operational problems and shortcomings are. Consequently, field services are not co-ordinated due to a lack of communication. In practical terms, provision of extension services of both Directorates at the local level takes place parallel and in isolation from each other. Thus, farmers in the communal areas have to address each department in separate approaches to have their needs served, a fact neither improving efficiency not effectiveness of the services provided.[231]

The interaction between SARDEP and DEES gives another example of the difficulties intra-ministerial co-operation is beset with. SARDEP‘s local facilitators are to support the communal farmers to render animal and range management practice sustainable. This support was *inter alia* achieved through the establishment of CBOs. To have a broader geographical impact, DEES is expected to collaborate with SARDEP in order to take up and continue SARDEP activities after the programme ends in 2001. Up to now, however, efforts to integrate SARDEP into DEES have not been successful. One reason to that effect are the above mentioned problems of intra-ministerial co-operation. A second reason might be rooted in the top-down approach of the DEES, which contradicts the bottom-up approach of SARDEP. This was confirmed by interview partners at ministerial and at the local level as well. CBO representatives complained about extension technicians concentrating on technical matters, thereby neglecting problems of socio-culturally rooted organisation-patterns of farmers.[232] A technically oriented staff, lack of adequately skilled personnel and a general lack of demand orientation on part of the DEES contribute to this difficult situation.[233]

NAPCOD`s phase III does not envisage to establish new structures at the local level. Therefore, its pilot regions were chosen to coincide with SARDEP regions in order to make use of an already developed implementation structure. Where these structures are not functioning well, the success of NAPCOD phase III is at risk. In other words, as long as SARDEP is not successfully integrated into DEES, activities of NAPCOD phase III are severely impeded.

Regarding the inter-organisational co-operation of the MAWRD in the context of NAPCOD and its SC, the research team concludes that MAWRD`s decision-makers are only prepared to go along with the objectives of NAPCOD in a limited way. There is a number of reasons for this limitation.

Although NAPCOD is a full partnership programme, it is the MET/ DEA that is chairing and financially administrating NAPCOD and not the MAWRD. The MET was entrusted to manage the programme for historical reasons. But, since the MAWRD feels sidelined, it tends to neglect the programme in substantial terms. MAWRD staff felt that NAPCOD ought to have been located under their ministry’s auspices. They considered the MAWRD as the more important ministry by

231 Concerning problems of co-operation with DEES at the local level cf. chapter 10.

232 CBOs (personal communication).

233 Concerning co-operation of DEES and SARDEP at the local level cf. also chapter 10.

political and economic sectoral weight.[234] Furthermore, the relevance of agricultural practice and policy as to the process of land degradation was deemed to be of overriding importance. And most important, interview partners of the MAWRD judged that NAPCOD can have a partial effect only as long as it not also geared to the commercial sector. Instruments of agricultural policy were assessed to be more appropriate for NAPCOD`s objectives. [235] Further, MAWRD staff was of the opinion that NAPCOD should to a large extent adopt a natural science approach, which would require a body of technical and academic expertise. Some members of the MAWRD staff went so far as to suggest that NAPCOD could not produce this knowledge because of technical incompetence.[236] In fact, there is a great amount of research pertaining to sustainable natural resource management and benchmark indicators, climate data biomass upgrowth and other farm management data undertaken by the MAWRD, which could be used by NAPCOD – but currently is not.

In addition, the information exchange between MET, MAWRD and DRFN is insufficient. In this context, MAWRD staff complained that NAPCOD relies on a significant amount of information and researchers of the MAWRD without reciprocity.[237] The DRFN, on the other hand stated that some of ist research efforts had in fact paralleled the MAWRD`s because of two constraints. Firstly, requests to the MAWRD would never be answered due to existing communication problems. Secondly, there is no register of MAWRD research publications available.[238]

Another argument for neglecting co-operation is the fact that the MAWRD staff complains about the young and inexperienced NAPCOD researchers, mainly located within the DRFN. This image would entail insufficient reputation and political standing of NAPCOD to qualify for co-operation with the MAWRD.[239] Furthermore, a co-operation with NAPCOD is deemed to be of limited importance as long as the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation is not co-operating with NAPCOD with regard to the questions of land reform.[240]

Finally, co-operation with NAPCOD is limited by a shortage of qualified personal in the MAWRD. Officials could not afford to spare enough time to join further meetings. For example, the NAPCOD co-ordinator in the MAWRD could not even attend one NAPCOD meeting until now.[241]

In conclusion , with respect to above mentioned impediments, the support of NAPCOD is judged a doubtful effort and NAPCOD is not highly valued by the MAWRD staff. That is not to say that NAPCOD is assessed as a useless programme, but it is hardly supported since the MAWRD staff does not take an active part in the NAPCOD process and the respective inter-organisational co-operation efforts. This overall conclusion can be further underlined by the following example: The DRWS also established CBOs in form of Water Point Committees.[242] These WPCs are of great importance, because they are supposed to cover all communal areas in Namibia. These local structures could have been used as the basis for further activities in the field of natural resource management. Instead, SARDEP parallely established its own structures.[243] The same holds true for NAPCOD which, in turn, focuses on SARDEP structures and, so far, fails to systematically include already existing WPCs.

234 MAWRD (personal communication).

235 MAWRD (personal communication).

236 MAWRD (personal communication). Additionally NAPCOD in the understanding of MAWRD means MET and DRFN, so that they ignore themselves as a crucial element in NAPCOD.

237 MAWRD (personal communication).

238 DRFN (personal communication).

239 MAWRD (personal communication).

240 MAWRD (personal communication).

241 MAWRD (personal communication).

242 The WPCs were established according to the Community-Based Management approach (CBM), which was developed in the DRWS; cf. chapter 5.5.

243 Concerning co-operation at the local level cf. chapter 10.

MET / DEA

Between the relevant NAPCOD actors within MET, especially the DEA and the Directorate of Forestry, co-operation appears to be rather hesitant. To give an example, both of these Directorates promote the idea of conservancies without supporting each other through information exchange.[244]

The DEA, however, as the co-ordinative body of NAPCOD, depends on efficient inter-departmental and inter-ministerial co-operation as a precondition for success. Facing a.m. shortcomings the DEA`s staff has to resort to informal personal contacts in order to overcome inter-ministerial frontiers.[245]

Due to internal reasons the DEA / MET retarded the co-operation with the NAPCOD Steering Committee by not nominating a national co-ordinator for a longer period. This delay occurred despite the fact that the DEA had the obligation to nominate a national co-ordinator according to an agreement with the GTZ.[246] Therefore, as an interim solution, the position of the national co-ordinator was shared between the GTZ advisor located in the DEA, the deputy director of DEA and the director of DRFN. This solution, however, was not adequate, in particular with respect to the job description of the GTZ advisor, whose responsibility is that of a facilitator and not that of a co-ordinator. As those three interim co-ordinators were fully occupied with their normal job obligations, many co-ordination duties were de facto overtaken by the DRFN. Consequently, the DRFN worked as a co-ordinator without a mandate. This might have led to a DRFN-driven NAPCOD, which weakened legitimation and acceptability of the programme in the perspective of other SC-members.[247, 248]

Other Ministries

Other ministries had similar problems with co-operation with NAPCOD. The Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation has to deal with an acute capacity problem and therefore has problems to co-operate with other SC members.[249]

Regarding component 2 of NAPCOD's phase III, which strives "[...] to strengthen the capacity of selected Community-Based Organisations to plan and sustainably manage their natural resource base, as well as their capacities to promote diversified livelihoods [...]"[250], it would be necessary to co-operate with the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI). Their knowledge of developing rural microfinance and supporting small and medium enterprises (SME) would be needed to improve the livelihood of the communal farmers. The official responsible for the SME-approach is interested and willing to co-operate, but has, until now, not been invited by its ministry or NAPCOD to do so.[251]

9.1.2.2 Non-Governmental Organisations

Besides ministerial actors, there are also non-governmental organisations participating in the Steering Committee. This fact reflects the standing of NGOs in Namibia, which, contrary to other African countries, are respected by the GON and integrated into co-operation processes.

244 MET (personal communication).

245 Concerning the real power of the MET cf. chapter 9.3.

246 Cf. Agreement MET/ GTZ.

247 Various governmental organisations (personal communication).

248 The international standing of environmental ministries is comparatively good, as environmental problems are seen as a world-wide threat and these problems have to be solved in an international context. Consequently, environmental ministries in developing countries receive relatively large donor funds. Contrarily, their national standing and political power is rather low, since, environmental problems are broadly regarded as a luxury of developed countries. Therefore, in particular „bigger" ministries like the MAWRD tend to hesitate to co-operate with their METs.

249 SC member (personal communication).

250 Cf. NAPCOD (2000), p. 1.

251 MTI (personal communication).

In the following subchapter, only the co-operation between the two most important NGOs, DRFN and NEPRU, is discussed, as those represent the implementation consortium for NAPCOD's phase III. This consortium is responsible for the implementation of components 1 to 3 of NAPCOD's phase III. In particular, NEPRU focuses on components 1A and 1B, whereas DRFN works towards components 2 and 3.

DRFN

The DRFN is an independent, non-governmental organisation which was founded in 1991. It is dedicated to manifold research and training activities concerning sustainable use of Namibia's environment and is widely recognised as a reliable partner.

The intra-organisational co-operation within DRFN is beset with communication problems. DRFN is the biggest NGO in Namibia and therefore dealing with a large number of projects and programs. As a rule, the staff works on several tasks simultaneously. Staff members expressed their desire to be better informed about what others are working on.[252]

As to inter-organisational co-operation, our interviews allow the general conclusion that DRFN is regarded with some suspicion by other NGOs, because as the largest among them, it is used to win the lion`s share of tenders.

NEPRU

NEPRU does research for policy formulation and offers consulting services to the Namibian government with respect to decision-making in strategic macro- and socio-economic problem areas. Furthermore, it establishes a socio-economic database for Namibia. NEPRU concentrates on macro-economic issues rather than on questions of a developmental bottom-up approach, as required with respect to components 1-3. Where it comes to investigation of socio-economic perception of land degradation, baseline studies are missing up to now, since NEPRU has been sub-contracted to take on this task by the DEA only since January 2001.[253]

Up to now, co-operation within the DRFN-NEPRU consortium does not work satisfactorily.[254] Different reasons might be responsible for that fact. Staff capacity is lacking in both NGOs. Further, their perceptions of NAPCOD differ substantially. While the DRFN concentrates on the grass root , NEPRU focuses on macro-economic problems. The consortium has yet to find a practical way to co-operate. Some improvements have already been made since the Technical Working Group of both partners for component 1A has been established.

In summary, co-operation problems within the consortium, which is the main actor in the implementation process of NAPCOD III, raise doubts about the future performance of the SC as a whole.

Other NGOs

As far as natural resource management goes, co-operation of NGOs works relatively well at the national level, since it is mostly based on personal informal contacts backed up by the apex-organisation NACSO. Nevertheless, co-operation efforts with NAPCOD are regarded critically by several participants. Some NGOs complain about NAPCOD and especially about the DRFN as being too academic and loosing contact to the grass-root level. This might also be one reason why some NGOs do not join the meetings of the SC and the Counterpart Network, which they perceive as a waste of time and effort. Other NGOs are favouring co-operation within the CBNRM approach, considering conservancies as a vehicle for

252 DRFN (personal communication).

253 DRFN (personal communication).

254 DRFN (personal communication).

communal access to wildlife and other resources.[255]

Of course, besides all existing co-operation endeavours, NGOs like other organisations, strive to realise individual success, and they would, as a rule, only co-operate as far as they could expect benefits to accrue therefrom.

Counterpart Network

The Counterpart Network (CN) is a large forum of stakeholders with different backgrounds, intended to serve as a platform for sharing information and discussing approaches of mutual interest related to the NAPCOD components 1-3. The CN is led by the above mentioned consortium. Since inter-organisational co-ordination within the SC is insufficient, the CN might represent a good alternative as a co-operation forum. On the one hand, this forum offers the advantage to exchange and discuss opinions, experiences and knowledge. On the other hand, these discussions might not reach adequate professional intensity and thereby not lead to substantial outcomes if too many stakeholders are involved.[256] This could prevent the Counterpart Network from developing, as intended , as a body of experts, assisting the SC.[257]

In fact, the CN members have not agreed on an agenda as yet. Since their meetings do not have clear targets, it makes little sense for members to participate. Therefore, such meetings are held at irregular intervals and participation remains small. In one word, incentives for participation are insufficient.

At the moment, the future development of the CN is beeing discussed controversally. Some prefer the CN to become a national forum of experts as mentioned above. Others suggest that the CN should be regionalised in order to better meet the needs of the local people or abondoned completely. The latter proposal is based on the idea of co-operation as realised in the FIRM approach.[258]

9.1.3 The Influence of NAPCOD on Framework Conditions With Relevance for Processes of Desertification

Influencing framework conditions, which have an impact on natural resource use and processes of land degradation, is one of the main challenges any programme faces when dealing with comprehensive natural resource management. Important interlinkages between framework conditions and processes of land degradation as well as the significance of harmonising these conditions have already been outlined. In this subchapter, framework conditions will mainly be used as an integrating term for national policies and legislation influencing natural resource use and management, whereas other relevant framework conditions like institutional upgrading are discussed in chapters seven and nine.[259]

9.1.3.1 NAPCOD Principles and Objectives for Bringing About Framework Conditions Conducive to Sustainable Natural Resource Management

During the National Workshop on Desertification held in 1994, to influence framework conditions with relevance for processes of desertification was identified as a major guiding principle of the pro-

255 Regarding CBNRM approach cf. chapter 5.5.

256 Klintenberg P. et al. (2001), p. 6; regarding FIRM cf. chapter 5.5.

257 This function might be better fulfilled by the Technical Working Groups.

258 DRFN (personal communication), cf. Chapter 5.5.

259 This interpretation of framework conditions is in accordance with the understanding of framework conditions by a special working group of Napcod, set up to identify framework conditions, which influence processes of desertification. Here, framework conditions are understood as "Social, economic, legal and political environment – and policies – that effect natural resource use […]." Napcod (1995), p. 1.

gramme.[260] In accordance with the principles of the CCD, the programme states: "Integrated strategies should address the physical, biological, social, economic and policy aspects of the processes of desertification."[261] In addition, the proceedings of the workshop stress: "Factors influencing resource management and issues such as desertification can originate in sectors seemingly far removed from those in which the problems manifest themselves. For this reason, decision-makers at all levels […] should be made aware of desertification processes and all policies should pass through an environmental assessment procedure before being approved."[262] Furthermore, NAPCOD aims to " […] provide an enabling environment for Namibians to effectively combat desertification […] by supporting and […] strengthening relevant institutions, programmes and legislation and, where they do not exist, enacting new laws and establish appropriate institutions, programmes and strategies […] at all levels."[263] Seven years later, it seems appropriate to have a closer look at the extent, to which these principles and objectives have been substantiated.[264]

9.1.3.2 Awareness-Raising and Agenda-Setting

Raising the awareness of decision-makers, affected resource users and the broad public has figured prominently in the activities of NAPCOD since the programme started in 1994. It has been a main objective especially of the programme`s first and second phase, but continues to be on NAPCOD`s agenda.[265] Over the past seven years, NAPCOD has launched a whole range of activities serving this objective and seems to have contributed significantly to awareness and agenda-setting at the national level.

Phase I of Namibia`s National Programme to Combat Desertification culminated in a National Workshop, held in July 1994 with the participation of relevant stakeholders from all levels. The workshop thus served as an important forum for awareness-creation, information exchange and consensus-building that resulted in setting an agenda for Namibia`s current efforts to combat desertification.[266]

During NAPCOD`s phase II, a special focus was laid upon awareness-creation among the broad public – an important precondition for policies aiming at sustainable natural resource management to be demanded and accepted by resource users themselves. This in turn would bear on political agenda setting.

In 1995, following an exploratory effort of some SC members (documented in the SC's minutes) an independent consultant was hired to undertake a comprehensive analysis of policies, legislation and economic framework conditions identified to have an impact on processes of desertification.[267] This study clearly indicated major shortcomings and contradictions of national policies and legal framework conditions with regard to the objectives of natural resource management and offered recommendations for reform.[268] The consultant`s final report was published and made available to decision-makers at the national level in 1996.

While awareness-raising and agenda-setting figure less prominently in NAPCOD`s phase III, the programme continues to bring the issue of desertification to the minds of decision-makers in Gov-

260 Also cf. chapter five.

261 Wolters (1994), p. 7.

262 Wolters (1994), p. 8.

263 Wolters (1994), p. 8.

264 This holds even more true as influencing framework conditions is explicitly stated as a major objective of Napcod`s phase III, although formulation of this objectives has been significantly weakened since the programme started in 1994.

265 Cf. chapter five.

266 Cf. Wolters (1994).

267 Cf. Dwedney (1996).

268 Also cf. chapter seven.

ernmental and Non-Governmental Organisations. This is done mainly through three institutions: a) Monthly environmental newsletters (environmental updates), which are prepared by the DRFN and subsequently disseminated among members of parliament and NAPCOD`s Steering Committee, b) the sessions of the Steering Committee itself, in which issues of desertification and relevant framework conditions are discussed among decision-makers of governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations, c) the sessions of the Counterpart Network, were ongoing research on desertification and strategies for problem solution are presented and analysed. Whereas the first two institutions contribute substantially to improved understanding of decision-makers of processes of environmental degradation and possible strategies to reverse these developments, the impact of the Counterpart Network appears to be less significant.[269]

In addition, NAPCOD`s annual objectives and achievements are presented to decision-makers at the ministerial level as well as to interested researchers and the media during annual presentations. However, the research team observed that participation of permanent secretaries or their representatives as well as coverage by the media appears to be low on these occasions. However, informal meetings of members of the NAPCOD Steering Committee and ministerial level decision-makers take place on an *ad hoc* basis and were assessed by the former as sufficient to compensate for low participation of the latter on a formal basis.[270]

Today, awareness among decision-makers of issues of desertification and possible solutions to the problem appears as high and widespread.[271] As a consequence of the "soft" nature of awareness-raising, it is difficult to measure the concrete impacts NAPCOD has had in this regard. This holds true even more because the national decision-makers` awareness of desertification related issues seems to have been comparatively high even before the programme started, and NAPCOD is not the only institution to put these issues on the political agenda.[272]

9.1.3.3 Efforts and Potential of NAPCOD to Influence Policies and Legislation Relevant to Problems of Desertification

Raising awareness of national level decision-makers and putting the subject of land degradation on the political agenda are important prerequisites for bringing about framework conditions which are consistent and conducive to sustainable natural resource management. However, awareness of policy-makers alone is certainly not sufficient to bring about such harmonisation and to develop and implement a comprehensive national strategy. In addition, framework conditions have to be actively shaped, influenced and amended, co-operation between all actors involved in processes of policy-making has to be established on a lasting and sustainable basis and implementation of relevant policies and legislation has to be enforced and monitored. In view of the current shortcomings regarding the implementation of several policies and the enforcement of legislation relevant for natural resource use in Namibia, the latter aspect appears to be particularly important.

Legislation and policy-making can be influenced in two ways: formally through official proposals and recommendations and formalised inter-

269 Cf. chapter nine.

270 Several members of the NAPCOD Steering Committee (personal communication).

271 Different governmental organisations (personal communication).

272 Awareness of political decision-makers regarding processes of desertification can be seen from the relevance, this issue was given in several policies and legislation that were passed before NAPCOD started. Examples for such policies are the Land Conservation Act, The Water Supply and Sanitation Sector Policy and the Forestry Policy (also cf. Chapter eight). Although almost all decision-makers at the national level which had been interviewed by the research team were aware of NAPCOD and it`s objectives, several predecessing programmes, like SARDEP or NOLIDEP, appeared to be better known and understood by them.

ministerial committees, and informally through information exchange and collaboration of individuals at the legislation- and policy-making level. Although preconditions necessary for the success of both strategies differ, these differences are not always clear-cut.

The actual influence, that the most active institutions of NAPCOD`s Steering Committee have exerted until now on the formulation of new and reform of existing policy and legislation can hardly be assessed because of two major reasons: Firstly, besides some significant exceptions (like the *National Drought Policy and Strategy*) policies usually continue to be preformulated and proposed by individual ministries. Secondly, policy influence of NAPCOD strongly relies on personal informal contacts of individuals.

Potential of NAPCOD to Influence Policies and Legislation Through Formal Channels

Formally influencing policies requires the institution making policy recommendations or proposals to have a formal mandate to do so. Policy-making mandates of governmental organisations usually tend to be allocated along sectoral lines. The NAPCOD Steering Committee as such do not appear to have such legal mandate. Nevertheless, the programme is situated in the DEA within the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, which is mandated to formulate and propose policies and legislation relating to environmental issues. Furthermore, the programme`s Steering Committee depends on representatives of the MET, MAWRD, MLRR, MRLGH and other governmental organisations, which are each allocated policy-making mandates in their respective fields of responsibility. In theory, close inter-organisational co-operation between members of the NAPCOD Steering Committee could compensate for the lack of formal authorisation of the programme for policy-making and contribute significantly to the harmonisation of existing policies and legislation as well as inter-sectoral orientation of new proposals and amendments. As long as policies and legislation are planned and formulated jointly, it would not make much of a difference which ministry officially proposes them in the end. However, as has already been discussed, participation of different governmental organisations in the Steering Committee differs significantly and co-operation is not as close as would be desirable for the joint development of policies and legislation. The passing of the *Environmental Assessment Act*, mentioned in chapter seven would be one possible way out of the dilemmata of lacking mandates and co-operation traps, because it would enable the MET to screen relevant policies before implementation, make recommendations accordingly where negative environmental effects are to be expected and allow for contradiction and overlapping of responsibilities. However, as stated earlier, although an *Environmental Assessment Policy* has been passed, its legal backup still awaits ratification.

As can be seen from the lack of co-operation among members of the NAPCOD Steering Committee, influencing national policies will require more than just the formal authorisation to do so. Without a genuine interest of all actors involved in close co-operation and adequate mechanisms to solve conflicts of interests and disputes between participants, joint policy formulation is unlikely to be fruitful. Such mechanisms can consist of allocating decision-making powers to the chairman of an inter-organisational committee like the SC, thereby authorising it to enforce decisions supported by the majority of participants. Alternatively, they can evolve from the professional reputation and political standing of certain committee members. Obviously, those committee members which possess the necessary “definition power” or legitimisation of all parties involved to bring about co-operation in policy planning would additionally have to be interested in exerting it. As a matter of fact, the Steering Committee of Namibia`s National Programme to Combat Desertification is not equipped with any formal decision-making powers. It can serve as a forum for discussion and information exchange, but co-operation and decision-making depend crucially on whether its participants can go along. Furthermore, although it was intended that all partners within the NACOD SC enjoy equal standing, *de facto* they do not – a fact mainly resulting from the varying

degree of commitment its different members show. It appears that the DEA/MET and the DRFN are the most active players in the committee. Many of the other important players do not show continuous commitment or have pulled out of the forum completely[273].

Since the DRFN and DEA appear to be the driving forces of the NAPCOD Steering Committee the question arises whether these organisations have a sufficiently good political standing and support, adequate personnel and financial capacities and the necessary legitimisation from the viewpoint of other actors involved to be influential on the formulation and harmonisation of national policies and legislation. Although both organisations enjoy a relatively good reputation among many decision-makers on the ministerial level[274] and the DEA already serves as a research and policy unit for the MET, both appear to be of rather marginal significance in the political landscape of Namibia. If allocation of the national budget to different sectors and organisations can serve as a rough indicator for the political standing of an institution and priorities and commitment of central government, it becomes apparent that the MET is a rather weak institution within the Namibian ministerial landscape. It has only minor influence on many of the policy-making decisions relevant for natural resource use in Namibia - and the DEA is even weaker.[275] Out of the total national budget, the MET received a mere 1.8 per cent in the fiscal year 1997/98, despite its important responsibility laid down by Article 95 of the Namibian constitution. Of this figure, the DEA was allocated only 1.5 per cent for the same period of time.[276] To date, this situation has not changed significantly and the DEA is, according to several commentators, chronically underfinanced.[277] How much of the DEA`s budget is subsequently allocated to NAPCOD itself is difficult to tell, because NAPCOD-funding is not clearly separated from the current budget figures, as the DEA forms part of the MET.[278]

These arguments are underpinned by the share the Namibian government contributes to NAPCOD`s total budget. Although the programme is supposedly one of national concern and combating desertification is highly important to ensure the long-term development prospects of Namibia`s society and economy, the financial share of the Namibian government in the programme amounted to less than fifteen per cent for the period 1995-1999.[279] Taking into consideration the threat of an accelerating budget deficit the Namibian government faces, it seems rather unlikely that this contribution will be raised in the near future.[280] The remaining amount of the NAPCOD budget is presently provided by foreign donors, mainly by the GTZ, but support is scheduled to come to an end in 2003. How adequate financing of the programme shall be ensured beyond this point is still an open question. Although it can safely be assumed, that efforts to combat desertification will have to adopt a longer-term perspective than the currently envisaged twelve-year period.

Staffing of the DEA also represents a rather chronic problem because of a small labour market in Namibia, but also due to political factors influ-

273 Important stakeholders like the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation and the Ministry of Regional/Local Government and Housing reduced participation in the NAPCOD Steering Committee significantly during recent years or have pulled out of the forum altogether. Minutes of NAPCOD Steering Committee meetings reveal that these organizations perceive it as difficult to find their place and to exert influence within this forum. Cf. Minutes of the NAPCOD Steering Committee meeting, 22.08.2000.

274 Various governmental organisations (personal communication).

275 This also seems to hold true if the budget allocation figures within the MET are analysed. Whereas the DEA received only 1.5 per cent of the ministry`s total budget in the fiscal year 1997/98, about ten per cent was allocated to the Department of Forestry alone. Cf. Schumann (2000), p. 15.

276 Cf. Schumann (2000), p. 15.

277 Various governmental organisations (personal communication).

278 DEA (personal communication).

279 GTZ (personal communication).

280 Cf. to chapter three

encing decisions on staffing. Remarks of interviewees within the DEA indicated that the post of a national programme co-ordinator for NAPCOD in the DEA was effectively blocked for several years because no applicant with the "right political background" could be found – a circumstance seriously hindering the performance of the programme.[281]

Influencing framework conditions is also not covered by the mandate the DRFN and NEPRU are given through the consortial treaty with the DEA,[282] which only covers components 1 to 3 of NAPCOD`s phase III.[283] Nevertheless, since Namibia`s Programme to Combat Desertification started in 1994, the DRFN, in the face of a lack of alternatives, *de facto* took over parts of this task, which by far exceeded the capacity of this organisation and for which, from the perspective of its actual political standing it appears to be ill-suited.[284] In an institutional setting like that of Namibia with its relatively young and often politically shaped landscape of Non-Governmental Organisations, it seems unlikely that NGOs can play an important role in influencing policies through formal channels. The political standing and support of the NGOs involved in the NAPCOD Steering Committee like the DRFN is obviously weaker than that of most government institutions.[285] Again, financial support of NAPCOD`s activities within the DRFN can serve as a rough indicator. In total, an amount of up to 5.8 Mio. Namibian Dollars from GTZ-funds shall be solicited through the DEA to the DRFN during NAPCOD`s phase III. According to DRFN staff members, however, the financial means available to the DRFN are insufficient to effectively fulfil its tasks for the programme.[286]

Finally, legitimisation and capability of both the DEA/MET and the DRFN to carry out Namibia`s National Programme to Combat Desertification and influence framework conditions with relevance for processes of environmental degradation also appears to be discussed controversially by many of the SC-members. One fact pointing to this circumstance is the lack of interest of various institutions involved to send representatives to the meetings of the Steering Committee and, even more pronouncedly, to the newly established Counterpart Network. In addition, especially representatives of the MAWRD articulated the view, that both the DEA and the DRFN lack the necessary capacity and experience to carry out a programme of comprehensive natural resource management like NAPCOD. In consequence, MAWRD-representatives frequently fail to participate in the programme`s recent Steering Committee meetings.[287]

In a retrospective of the first seven years of NAPCOD the impression prevails of political marginalisation and sidelining of an ambitious programme of sustainable natural resource management. The programme, first allocated under the joint auspices of the MET and MAWRD was in fact handed over to the DEA subsequently – a politically rather marginal department within the MET without adequate financing and staffing to effectively pursue the programme`s objectives. Implementation of the components 1 to 3 of NAPCOD`s phase III was then formally handed over to a consortium of even less influential NGOs, the DRFN and NEPRU. The former was

281 DEA (personal communication).

282 It appears that NEPRU could actually play a bigger role than the DRFN in this regard because it serves the Namibian government as a research and consultancy agency in the fields of policy formulation and strategic macro- and socio-economic areas. Unfortunately, according to members of the NAPCOD-staff at the DRFN, NEPRU`s engagement in NAPCOD-activities seems to be of a rather passive nature. DRFN (personal communication).

283 Also confer to chapter five.

284 DRFN, DEA, GTZ (personal communication).

285 Nevertheless, co-operation between governmental and non-governmental organisations appears to be more pronounced in Namibia than in many other African countries. Therefore, the scope of NGOs to informally influence policy-making seems to be comparatively high in Namibia seen in an African context.

286 DRFN (personal communication).

287 MAWRD and other governmental organisations (personal communication).

informally transferred even larger parts of the programme and is apparently overburdened by this task in many respects. This development not only threatens to cost NAPCOD respect on the part of many actors involved but also to effectively render it a "talking shop" with little impact on national level decision-making. The declining influence of NAPCOD on national policies relevant for processes of land degradation also shows in the formulation of this objective, which has been significantly weakened over the years. NAPCOD`s 1994 National Workshop identified the provision of framework conditions as an important prerequisite for effectively combating desertification and clearly articulated how this objective should be pursued. However, five years later, this objective has become very vague. The proposal for the programme`s phase III only speaks of "[…] improving framework conditions conducive for sustainable natural resource management practices […]"[288] without providing a more detailed prescription of which framework conditions are to be influenced and how this shall be achieved.

Efforts of NAPCOD to Informally Exert Influence on Framework Conditions

In view of the practical difficulties and political and institutional barriers described above, committed members of the NAPCOD Steering Committee have mainly resorted to personal and informal contacts and communication to plan and prepare policy and legislation proposals.[289] This approach has several advantages but some limitations can also be observed.

Personal communication between representatives of different governmental organisations, on the one hand, facilitates social cohesion, thereby bringing about an atmosphere of mutual trust. It furthermore helps shipping around political and bureaucratic barriers and therefore can at least partially compensate for a lack of formal authorisation. In addition, informal networking ensures that co-operation takes place between persons committed to the objectives of NAPCOD.

On the other hand, co-operation efforts and the resulting influence on framework conditions relevant for natural resource use mainly rely on individuals. As a result, continuity of co-operation is at risk if some of these individuals change their professional position or become temporarily or permanently unavailable for other reasons. Another point of concern is that informally exerting influence on policies and legislation can only be fruitful if co-operation partners exist at least in the most relevant institutions and if these partners are *de facto* in a position to influence decision-making in the organisations they are working in. Although NAPCOD members seem to have effectively established informal policy networks, their functionality is at risk because fluctuation of members is high and some of the more important players are about to leave the network.[290] One example for such key players about to leave the network is the current Director of the MET`s Directorate of Environmental Affairs.

Additional limitations of informal networking result from the limited amount of time its members can dedicate to it. Informal co-operation usually takes place parallel to the permanent jobs of the persons involved, after-hours or on weekends. As a result, it can never take the form of a full-time commitment – a fact which clearly places limitations on the impacts such networking can possibly have on policy-making. Finally, informally exerting influence on policy-making tends to become obsolete whenever formal decisions and guidelines are contradicting the objectives of informal networking.

Nevertheless, considering the given political realities and tensions, NAPCOD is currently operating in, an informal approach to influencing framework conditions seems to be a more realistic and viable way than the formal alternative. At present, it cannot be assessed if this strategy will be re-

288 DRFN/NEPRU (1999), p. 1.

289 DEA / DRFN / GTZ (personal communication).

290 DEA / GTZ (personal communication).

warded with success, but it definitely seems worth to be continued.

As long as harmonisation of policies and legislation and especially their implementation is lacking, policy failure and inconsistency will determine the scope of action available for natural resource users on the field level – and thus bear on patterns of resource use. Some of these aspects will be analysed in greater detail in the following chapter.

9.2 Performance of NAPCOD at the Local Level

NAPCOD´s work and influence at the local level has been examined empirically in three of the pilot sites by the research team. The findings are presented in the following chapter. They are based on interviews conducted with various partners[291] at the local level. Unless cited otherwise, all individual statements will be kept anonymously.

9.2.1 Overview of CBOs Interviewed

In the following, the Community-Based Organisations interviewed by the research team will be presented. The performance of concrete activities undertaken by CBOs at the field level will not be analysed in detail for this would by far exceed the scope and focus of the study.

CBOs in the Northern Communal Areas

(1) OIKE, Uuvudhyia

In 1994, SARDEP started training on water and field management, on animal disease control, and organised exposure trips for Uuvudhyia. Three groups evolved out of this activities, of whom one calling itself OIKE (L´Okomitye Yelungameno Lomalundu - Responsible Committee for Agriculture and Livestock). The OIKE-group meets once a month and holds a planning workshop for their future activities once a year. The major achievements of OIKE are improvements in water management and availability, and basic animal medication as well as the establishment of an animal drug shop run co-operatively. Furthermore, the community´s awareness of resource related problems has grown substantially, and community members are able to develop own project proposals. Besides donor support, the group raised additional funds by selling animal drugs, offering services like dehorning and organising social events. The OIKE-group has its own office and is planning to build an own store room. For the future, it has the vision to improve the community´s organisation and enlarge activities to the provision of safe drinking water and animal health care. Furthermore, they want to introduce modern range and herd management practices and marketing of local products.

(2) Fuel-efficient stove project: “Tsotso Stoves”

The group was founded in August 2001. The main objective of the group is to produce and sell fuel-efficient stoves in the nearby area. This activity provides income and contributes to combating desertification by saving firewood. The group started with fourteen young people of which two were trained for three months by a Norwegian consultant. Today, seven members are left. Group planning meetings take place once a month, while production work is shared among the group members. Although people in the area are aware of the advantages of the stoves, they often can not afford them. Another major problem for the young people is the lack of transport to buy building material or to sell the stoves in nearby towns.

(3) “Omikanga Protection Programme Efo Etalala (fresh leaves)”

The group was founded in 1997 with seven members. Nowadays, these have also created their own sub-groups. The main objective of the committee is to protect special plant species and trees. Therefore, they fenced off an area as exposure garden. SARDEP provided exposure trips to afforestation

291 Listed in annex 8.

projects and the Department of Forestry also assisted the group. Additionally, group property rights of the compound were registered. The coverage of the soil and the increased diversity of trees, bushes, and perennial grasses in the demarcated area is clearly visible. For the future, the group plans to implement a vegetable garden in the same manner, but water availability is a major problem here. In the long run, the group wants to gain income from porcessing and sale of fruits.

(4) "Takonjo Project" in Onakabya

Twenty members of the community organised themselves in October 2000 and formed a group with restricted access. The main idea is to improve their livelihood and protect the environment. Until now, the female group members have started baking and selling bread. The group applied for support from the *Community Development Programme* of the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing, but has not received any answer as yet. People do not know whom to address for further assistance to procure for example building-material and fences.

(5) Youth group, catholic church, Uuvudhyia

The youth group was founded in 1993 to address problems of poverty and unemployment and especially raise awareness on the topic of HIV/AIDS. Over the years, it carried out several smaller projects and activities like for example tree planting. The young people try to meet every Sunday after church, but, due to the lack of transport facilities, people often fail to join. The only support to the group is provided by the church.

CBOs in the North-Western Communal Areas

(6) Grootberg Conservancy

The Grootberg Conservancy was established in 1994 and evolved out of the first proposal submitted to the MET for a conservancy on communal land. The conservancy was build upon an existing farmer`s association with substantial support of FIRM. Whereas SARDEP offered exposure trips to the conservancy members, NAPCOD is hardly known in the area. The conservancy started with 1200 members and counts about 1600 today. A management committee, consisting of seventeen members, heads the conservancy. The main objective of the conservancy is to conserve and protect wildlife and gain financial and physical benefits from tourism and hunting activities. Therefore, the Grootberg Conservancy put up demarcated zones for livestock farming and others for game. Besides selling hunting licenses to farmers, the conservancy promotes activities like a women's crafts desk, provides training for farmers and "environmental shepherds" as well as for the management of the conservancy. Today, the conservancy disposes of self-accumulated funds of approximately 150.000 N $ in total.

(7) Water Point Committee, Olifantputs

In 1995, with the support of the Directorate of Rural Water Supply, the farmers elected a local Water Point Committee to protect, manage and maintain water resources and water points. The committee consists of twenty members, who each have to pay an operation and maintenance-fee. Since the exclusion of outsiders by social sanctions and regulations is difficult, the committee wants to fence-off their water points. NAPCOD undertook awareness-raising projects regarding protection and management of natural resources and provided financial assistance, but has terminated its support.

(8) Youth Development Committee, Erwee

The Youth Development Committee was founded in February 2001 and aims at supporting unemployed young people and integrate them into development processes. The committee intends to get financial assistance and training. Up to now, they received training in environmental issues from the Grootberg Conservancy and further support from the DRWS.

CBOs in the Southern Communal Areas

(9) "Grundorner Co-operative Farmer's League", Gibeon

Different groups that undertook activities and projects since 1996 organised themselves and joined the Grundorners Co-operative Farmer´s League in 1999, which was registrated in October 2000. SARDEP provided strong organisational support for the establishment of the League. The farmers´ motivation for co-operation was to overcome co-ordination gaps between NGOs, donors and the different Community-Based Organisations. Furthermore, co-ordination of projects and activities aims at raising efficiency and capacity of the CBOs and achieve an optimal allocation of donor funds. In the annual general meeting, the nine members of the leading council and the members of the project co-ordination committee are elected. A monitoring committee supervises the different co-ordination committees and the council to ensure transparency and efficiency. Every member pays a monthly fee of 20N $ and access for new members is not restricted. It was stated that the League improved co-operation between Line Agencies, Ministries, NGOs, donors and the farmers in the region.

(10) Oskoop Conservancy Committee

In 1995, with the passing of the *Conservancy Act*, Oskoop planned to establish a conservancy. After a long planning phase, the Oskoop Conservancy was finally registered in 2000 with significant assistance of MET. SARDEP supported the initial phase, whereas NAPCOD was involved in awareness-raising activities. The main objectives of the conservancy are to bring back and conserve wildlife for future generations and in the long run to gain income from game farming and hunting. Thereby, the conservancy will focus on the more productive system – be it animal husbandry or game. After ist registration Oskoop have fenced in a conservancy area. Other activities are planned like maintenance of fences, establishment of water points for wildlife, construction of offices and other facilities, and mobilising support from donors. At present, the conservancy comprises about 160 members, but is still open to new participants. The conservancy holds an annual general meeting, while its management committee meets once a month.

(11) Tsub Water Point Committee

The committee was set up as a Water Point Committee in 1998 with the help of the Directorate of Rural Water Supply. The main objective of the group is to learn how to manage and maintain water points in order to take over these responsibilities by 2003. Incentives and reasons for the establishment of the group are to tackle the problem of youth unemployment, manage droughts and conserve the natural environment. The group has further started a tourism project in the area to diversify its members income. The WPC does not receive any financial support at present, but NAPCOD and the German embassy provided assistance in form of an electric generator. In addition to their tasks as a WPC, the community built a hall which serves as office and meeting place, but also for festivities and cultural events and is permanently used as a Kindergarten.

(12) Water Point Committee and livestock upgrading project Ubiams

The WPC exists since 1998 and includes all farmers living nearby the water points. The establishment was requested by the Directorate of Rural Water Supply with the objective to ensure that the responsibility for the water points can be taken over by the community. The group meets every two months to discuss and identify problems. The committee manages four water points which provide water for 80 persons of whom each has to pay an operation and maintenance-fee of 10N $ per month. All people using the water are members of the committee. The group stated, that they improved their management skills, their organisational and local infrastructure, as well as the use and quality of water. For the future, the community plans to build an office which could also serve as a Kindergarten and school. With the support of SARDEP and NAPCOD they are about to start a quality upgrading project for goat breeding.

9.2.2 General Findings and Facts About CBOs

Organisational Structures of CBOs

The Community-Based Organisations visited by the research team had similar internal structures with regard to three elected management positions: chairperson, secretary and treasurer. Normally, there are also deputies to these positions. This structure shows a certain institutionalisation of the groups, which can serve as a basis for development.

Not all of the CBOs visited have developed a constitution as yet. Often this is due to the fact that the groups have been established only recently and are still in their initial stages. Those CBOs basing their work on a written constitution have formally agreed to the group`s aims and objectives, and on organisational procedures for projects to be undertaken. The latter include the responsibilities and duties of members, the internal decision-making processes, financial aspects (e.g. membership-fees and auditing), and efforts to cooperate with donors. The legal backing of the CBOs visited differs and is very poor in many cases. For instance, Water Point Committees are recognised by the Directorate of Water Affairs, but have no legal basis. Similarly, the MET´s Directorate of Forestry recognised the forestry group in Efo-Etalala. A firmer legal status accrues to the Grundorner Farmer´s Co-operative League under the *Co-operatives Act* and the conservancies that have officially been gazetted according to the *Nature Conservation Amendment Act*.[292] In these cases, formalisation implies a better standing of CBOs towards other actors and improved possibilities to sanction non-members for breaking the CBO´s rules and regulations.

Community-Based Organisations meet regularly, usually every month. Only larger organisations, like the Grundorner Farmer´s Co-operative League and conservancies, additionally hold an Annual General Meeting, in which all members come together. Membership structures found in the CBOs also appear to be rather similar. Both men and women participate in the groups and the research team has encountered women as well as men in leading management positions. Women play an especially active role in many CBOs. They often encourage other women to participate and their husbands to agree to this. Female members of CBOs were expressly satisfied to participate without discrimination in the same way as men in communal organisations. They regarded this as an improvement of the communal social and political structures in terms of democratisation and participation.

Decisions are usually taken in the form of participative and democratic agreements of all CBO-members. In the case of conservancies and the Farmer´s Co-operative League, Annual General Meetings are the only occasion to pass decisions pertaining to future organisational developments. Nevertheless, in some CBOs traditional authorities play an important, although informal, role when it comes to decision-making, since they are still strongly respected by community and CBO-members.

The degree of openness of CBOs differs. The following approaches of CBOs regarding membership were observed: (a) an open approach where the CBO acts as "speaker" of the community, aiming to develop the general livelihood and environmental situation and, (b) a more closed approach where the CBO acts as an interest group that aims to generate benefits for group-members only. In the first case, membership is always open to registered members, whereas in the second case membership is restricted to a limited number of people. Most of the CBOs visited are based on the first approach. Some, however, especially those who sell their own products, or Water Point Committees restrict membership.

Regarding the age of members, mainly elder persons are involved in CBOs. This holds true especially for the pilot area in the north. Very often, the youth does not participate due to the variety of problems they are facing, especially unemployment, which pushes them to migrate to urban ar-

292 Cf. chapter eight.

eas. Nevertheless, there are some youth groups focussing on young people's problems like unemployment and HIV/AIDS-prevention. However, the linkages between these groups and other CBOs are not pronounced. In some cases, the CBOs interviewed expressed their wish to co-operate more closely, and to integrate young people if only they were interested to take part in the established groups.

To sum up, organisational development has been successful in all cases approached by the research team, regardless whether the organisation had been set up by the groups themselves or on initiative from Service Organisations.

Financing of CBOs

Community-Based Organisations draw funds from various sources, including their members and foreign donors. In many cases, members of a CBO pay membership-fees, especially in Water Point Committees. In addition, internal funds are mobilised by selling products (e.g. drugs to cure animals, home-baked bread) or by fund-raising activities, such as social events for the whole community. However, support from donors is usually of a non-financial nature. All in all, access to funds on the part of CBOs is scarce, which curtails their development potential.

Conservancies face a slightly different situation, since they have user rights of wildlife resources in their area[293] and thereby gain income from tourism and trophy hunting. Therefore, conservancies can dispose of a larger financial volume. In both conservancies visited (Grootberg, Oskoop), members expected to benefit from such activities, but expressed at the same time their uncertainty about how to share the benefits among all conservancy-members. People were aware that monetary benefits are small if distributed on a per head basis. Therefore, they expressed the intention to spend the CBO-income on community projects in order to upgrade the local physical and social infrastructure. Nevertheless, a number of conservancy-members were concerned about the indirect distribution effects of such activities.

Capacity and Development Potential of CBOs

One of the objectives of establishing a CBO is to raise the capacity of the group and its members to deal with CBO-specific matters and day-to-day problems. Inputs granted to CBOs by various Service Organisations decisively support capacity-building, especially by way of training. In fact, all CBOs interviewed received training from one or several Service Organisations.[294] The research team´s impression was that such training resulted in an increased understanding and knowledge of the following skills:

— water management, maintenance of water points;

— rangeland management;

— animal disease control;

— livestock quality upgrading, and

— management and organisational skills.

Organisational skills work towards improved guidance and organisation of the group, which in turn facilitates more effective work and performance in general. This includes the ability to agree on imminent decisions and the capability to enhance co-operation and communication within the group. Empowerment of CBO-members enables them to identify their needs and formulate demands by writing project proposals. In fact, many CBOs had worked out detailed project proposals which will be realised in the future, e.g. to build a store room for the CBO, or to grow and sell vegetables. Furthermore, some groups developed long-term visions, which aim at consolidating the environmental and economic progress in the region. By identifying visions, CBO-members underline their responsibility for the region and for future generations. As CBOs develop conceptual owner-

293 Cf. chapter six.

294 Cf. chapter 5.5.

ship to improve their livelihood conditions, they also tend to become more independent from outside support. In one case in Uuvudhiya constituency, this even lead to a change of the group's name: Today, instead of "SARDEP-group", they call themselves OIKE. Furthermore, successful CBO-projects strengthen communal identity.

CBO-Activities to Combat Desertification

Poor management of grazing areas and livestock, together with deforestation and bush encroachment, are major causes of land degradation and desertification processes in the areas visited. This is not only due to a lack of technical knowledge concerning grazing management, but also to insufficient co-operation between all actors involved. The open access to grazing, water, construction and firewood is an overriding problem at the communal level. At present, deficitary political and legal framework conditions aggravate these problems. The *National Land Policy* e.g. prohibits fencing-off in communal areas,[295] but clear rights of resource use and demarcations of certain areas are desperately needed to establish proper grazing management. The DRWS, for example, supports fencing of water points, but communities lack the legal backing necessary to exclude non-WPC-members from using their waterpoints and the surrounding grazing areas. Conservancies face similar problems as the *Conservancy Act* provides for fencing an area while the *National Land Policy* does not allow such measures.[296] In addition, the multi-functional role of livestock renders issues like destocking and appropriate management a difficult and sensitive subject. A rather skewed distribution of livestock-ownership and illegal off-fencing by rich and powerful communal farmers aggravates the delicate situation. This process might be interpreted as a creeping and unregulated de facto-privatisation. Hence, addressing these problems by legislation remains a complicated and thoroughly political matter and an untouched challenge as yet. One DEES extension technician expressed the view that the subject of illegal fencing is a private issue for the farmers involved and thus would not justify legal intervention. If this holds true, it may be an explanation as to why most of the activities undertaken by the CBOs are not addressing the overstocking problem itself, but are rather emphasising support measures as presented subsequently.

In its pilot areas, SARDEP put emphasis on organisational development by supporting CBOs and strengthening their capacity. This programme facilitated improvements in range management and animal husbandry, which could not be achieved before due to a lack of appropriate organisational structures. Furthermore, SARDEP endeavoured to prepare the ground for co-operation with other organisations. Nevertheless, CBO-members observed that instructions for grazing management could not solve the problems of non-exclusive access, because of "wild" fencing by wealthy and powerful farmers. Facing that deadlock, they asked what use it was to write project proposals and to hold meetings as long as the central issue remained unsolved.

All CBOs were aware of desertification and its causes. In fact, a major reason to be active within CBOs was to preserve the environment for future generations. Even if some of these statements might be interpreted as lip-service, the existence of vegetable gardens and afforestation projects remain convincing examples of awareness in the north as well as in the south. With the support of the MET´s Forestry Department, CBOs in the south have fenced-off a plot and reintroduced trees and perennial grasses that had vanished in that area. Besides the objective to harvest wood and fruits and eventually have grazing reserves in the case of drought. The fenced plots are monitored and serve as examples to other groups. Indeed, the apparent difference of the vegetation out- and inside the preserved area was striking.

SARDEP, DEES, and recently also NAPCOD implement small livestock upgrading programmes. These programmes aim at producing better meat quality through cross-breeding with

295 Cf. chapter eight.

296 Cf. chapter eight.

graded rams. Such quality improvement, is expected to improve farm gate prices and thereby raise income. However, in spite of all the initial effects, the programme will remain chancy as long as exclusive range utilisation and limits to livestock carrying capacity are not institutionalised by law and realised in practice.

Finally, it has to be kept in mind that combating desertification is closely linked to the livelihood improvement of rural people. In order to take utilisation pressure off resources, alternative income or investment opportunities have to be explored and developed. The marketing of plants such as Marula fruits or Devil´s Claws is a good example, as stated by a number of interviewees. In particular, in areas with low agricultural potential like Namibia´s southern part, people put a lot of emphasis on the development of tourism activities. However, such activities require an adequate natural environment (sightseeing spots, viewing and hunting of game, geological excursions). While suitable places can be identified in the south, tourism potential appears to be relatively limited in the north-central part of Namibia.

Water Point Committees

Water Point Committees contribute to capacity-building of communities, as well as to management of water points for livestock. The formation of Water Point Committees aims to ensure proper and sustainable management of water points, including maintenance activities and the exclusion of non-members. In a number of cases, multi-functional groups evolved, coming up with new ideas and projects. However, water point management is beset with similar problems as described with respect to grazing management. Exclusion of non-members can only be enforced by social sanctions, since an adequate legal framework does not exist.

Problems and Needs in Summary

CBO-members articulated their problems realistically and clearly and were aware of their respective needs. On the one hand, unemployment and lack of income opportunities are major problems in the areas visited. On the other hand, labour force is missing in animal husbandry and crop production. Transport is comparatively costly but needed for competitive marketing of products. One striking example to this effect was found in a project of fuel-efficient stove production in Uuvudhiya constituency. Additionally, low availability and high cost of prefabricated fencing and building materials caused problems for the CBOs, since members no longer want to cut wood for these purposes and thus have to rely on purchased materials. Besides asking for support of establishing fenced-off vegetation areas, the CBOs also requested training in technical skills such as business management, book-keeping, livestock management, gardening, tree planting, etc.

9.2.3 NAPCOD´s Activities at the Local Level

In the first component of phase III, NAPCOD aims to strengthen CBOs and Service Organisations, as well as to establish a monitoring system to measure resource degradation. Since 1999, first results have been achieved, but problems of implementation are persistent. Both aspects are dealt with subsequently.

Achievements

To raise the awareness of CBOs as to the land degradation processes has been an objective of NAPCOD´s phase II. Up to now, NAPCOD has achieved this goal. The knowledge of CBOs regarding degradation and desertification processes is established and their awareness of both environmental and economic impacts of resource degradation is high. To a degree, this is a result of NAPCOD´s successful awareness campaigns at the national level. Consequently, people are concerned about their environment and feel responsible to protect it from further destruction. They hope to preserve land and other natural resources and thus to provide a livelyhood for future generations.

For example, it has been a traditional practice of residents in the north to annually burn surrounding vegetation and trees. Over time the bushland has changed. Today, the bushland is burned at longer intervals in order to allow for an improved upgrowth. In order to conserve the soil surface, people try to improve livestock production, especially by introducing graded rams. Such programmes have been started with a limited number of participants, but others will follow soon.

To bring communities together by way of exposure trips has proved successful to raise awareness and knowledge of improved resource management. NAPCOD has and continues to facilitate such exposure trips, where farmers from different areas can share ideas on how to manage scarce resources.

NAPCOD focuses not only on the improvement of resource management skills, but also on strengthening the organisational capacity of CBOs. During the last years, training in business management skills has been provided to several pilot sites with the result that today, CBOs are able to independently organise themselves. They do so as participative, democratic groups identifying their own needs, formulating their demands and managing their projects jointly.

Such capacities have been built by both NAPCOD and SARDEP. In all of NAPCOD´s pilot areas, SARDEP has, and still does, exert a strong influence on organisational development and capacity-building. Both programmes try to combine their efforts to effectively strengthen Community-Based Organisations. For this reason, NAPCOD is seen by several of the CBOs visited – mostly those who have worked with NAPCOD closely – as a follow-up programme to SARDEP.

NAPCOD´s co-operation with the people at the local level appeared to be fairly good, although contacts are established through a NAPCOD facilitator on a permanent basis only in Uuvudhiya constituency. Nevertheless, CBO-members in all regions visited claimed that they personally knew their NAPCOD workers. Albeit the latter are based in Windhoek, CBOs appear to be able to contact them when needed. However, co-operation seems to vary according to the quality of personal contact between the NAPCOD field staff and CBO-members. The research team gained the impression, particularly in the South that close co-operation between NAPCOD and certain CBOs might induce envy on the part of other CBOs that are not closely linked with NAPCOD as of yet. This might lead to competition among various Community-Based Organisations for NAPCOD support. Such a situation would certainly not be desirable.

Shortcomings

As yet, NAPCOD´s impact at the local level has not been as strong as might have been expected when phase III began in 1999. Most CBOs stated that they were aware of the existence of NAPCOD, but complained that NAPCOD had not actively supported them or only on a few occasions. In general, NAPCOD´s geographical outreach is limited to its pilot sites.

As mentioned above, NAPCOD´s contacts with the local level differ between regions. Currently, a NAPCOD facilitator is permanently present only in Uuvudhiya constituency, whereas contact persons for the other regions are based in Windhoek and therefore can visit their CBOs only irregularly. This implies that those CBOs cannot co-operate closely with NAPCOD, for it is difficult to contact NAPCOD staff because of insufficient communication facilities (e.g. no telephones available). As a result, NAPCOD faces serious implementation problems. To employ former SARDEP facilitators might be a possibility to strengthen NAPCOD´s presence in the field. However, SARDEP cannot pass on its field staff as long as the programme is still running. Furthermore, such transfer of SARDEP staff seems unlikely because of prospective financial constraints and a number of other reasons NAPCOD has to face.

CBO-members knew their NAPCOD contact person, but they were mostly not informed about the programme itself, its objectives and measures.

Therefore, the interviewees felt insecure about when to ask NAPCOD for support, this was the case especially for those CBOs which had no close contact with a NAPCOD facilitator or the occasional contact person visiting from Windhoek. In the north, members of the forestry project in Efo-Etalala have only heard about NAPCOD from the facilitator herself, but do not work together with the programme. Uncertainty is high among them whether NAPCOD could be a possible partner in forestry projects. This uncertainty appears to be symptomatic for a number of CBOs which are willing to co-operate with NAPCOD, but have either not demanded support from NAPCOD so far (e.g. in one case of a new group in the north) or have not yet received an answer to their respective request (e.g. in the north-west).

All this underlines once more that co-operation between NAPCOD and CBOs depends crucially on personal contacts. Particularly remoter groups expressed their desire to establish closer links. Restrictions of time and transport hinder NAPCOD staff to meet these demands.

Difficulties of the programme at the national level bear on implementation difficulties, too. Major problems are co-operation deficits between and within ministries as well as, policies not conducive to solve local problems.[297] To mention again the forestry project in Efo-Etalala, support from NAPCOD could have contributed to the group's efforts to combat land degradation and would have fit into the programme´s objectives. However, co-operation has not been established until now. The same holds true for several other CBOs of different regions that plan to plant trees.

The local population is not well informed about NAPCOD support measures, and about the duration of NAPCOD as a programme, as well as the degree of possible financial support. Such uncertainty impedes long-term planning and prevents CBOs from making their project proposals known to NAPCOD. This situation complicates NAPCOD´s field work when it comes to project-planning in co-operation with communities and to ensure subsequent assistance.

CBOs interviewed referred to requests to NAPCOD, for example to provide technical training regarding prevention of land degradation, livestock quality upgrading as well as assistance for fencing projects to improve rangeland management, and transport and field office construction.

When it comes to the local monitoring system envisaged (component 1B of NAPCOD´s phase III), no results have been achieved so far. Baseline-studies of relevant indicators must be completed in all regions in order to record changes in the years to come. At the same time, local communities must be convinced to participate in regular monitoring activities in order to understand degradation processes and environmental changes.

As to component 3 of NAPCOD phase III – to strengthen Service Organisations – neither CBOs nor SOs in the field were aware of this objective. One might fairly presume that activities to strengthen Service Organisations in the field have not been executed so far.

9.2.4 Co-Operation Between CBOs and Other Stakeholders at the Local Level

Subsequently, various co-operation structures are explained, with respect to their potential to support or impede development processes at the local level.

Co-Operation Amongst Different CBOs

Community-Based Organisations rarely co-operate with each other, even within a region. In some cases, groups know about each other, but have not made efforts to co-operate. In other cases, contacts have been established because CBO-members know people engaged in other groups or when the same persons are involved in several CBOs. Exposure trips are another way to

297 Cf. chapter nine.

become acquainted with other CBOs. Although a fruitful exchange of ideas might be the result of these visits, a subsequent co-operation is difficult to maintain because of long distances between CBOs.

An example of well-organised co-operation and joined efforts between CBOs so far exists only in the south with the Grundorner Farmer´s Co-operative League. The Co-operative League is a very good example for the grouping of different projects that all aim at the objective to improve the environmental and livelihood situation in arid regions. The establishment of the Co-operative League had substantial impacts on all CBOs involved, by way of training all co-operative members simultaneously in order to improve their self-help capacity. In consequence, the League is in a better position to communicate with support organisations and the government than most CBOs working in isolation. The same applies to financial co-operation with donors.

Co-Operation of CBOs and Service Organisations

Empirical findings in this respect differ between regions, since co-operation depends on the motivation of actors involved as well as personal relationship among CBOs and SOs field staff.

CBOs judged the co-operation with the agricultural extension workers as ambiguous: in some cases fairly good, in others rather bad. Communities do not always contact the extension officers when they need support. It was also claimed that extension officers do not turn up when called by the communities in some cases. This does not contribute to a good relationship between CBOs and the MAWRD´s extension personnel. Furthermore, extension technicians were blamed to adopt a top down approach and therefore not to recognise the farmers' problems. Contacts appeared as even more difficult where extension officers need a translator to communicate with CBO-members. The agricultural extension technicians were aware of these problems but stated that manifold bureaucratic and financial constraints hampered their work.

The co-operation of CBOs with extension technicians from the Directorate of Rural Water Supply was generally regarded as good, particularly in the constituencies of Gibeon and Khorixas constituencies. It contributed to better water availability and quality in the communities. Interviewees stated that water extension technicians were available to render support when needed. Apparently, the DRWS has established a functioning network of extension services. One reason to that effect might be clear instructions water extension technicians receive from their department.

Regarding forestry extension technicians, CBO-members in the north of Namibia felt that co-operation is very good, since the extension technician visits the villages frequently and encourages people to start new projects. Nevertheless, another CBO in the north complained about not having received any response to various project proposals until now.

CBOs appear to have little experience with NGOs as yet, since co-operation is just about to start in most cases. CBOs in Khorixas and Grootberg have successfully co-operated with NGOs in the past. In contrast, CBOs of Gibeon constituency complained about bad experiences with some NGOs mainly with regard to doubtful financial practices.

Co-operation with SARDEP and its facilitators was regarded as very successful by all CBOs visited. The relationship between facilitators and communities was assessed as based on mutual trust. CBOs pointed out that SARDEP-facilitators had established close links with other SOs and traditional authorities.

Co-Operation of CBOs With Regional Government and Traditional Authorities

At the local and regional levels, government as well as traditional authorities exert a strong influence which can support or hamper development

processes. Therefore, their support is crucial for Community-Based Organisations in order to succeed with their projects. In Uuvudhiya and Gibeon constituencies, for example, CBOs regarded the co-operation with the regional governor as good and helpful for the development of local projects. Traditional leaders participate as members in most of the CBOs visited. All interviewees confirmed, on the one hand, that development was encouraged by the traditional authorities and that close co-operation resulted in positive outcomes. On the other hand, depending on the leader's individual interest, this may constitute support as well as hindrance for local projects.

10 Recommendations

Namibia's National Programme to Combat Desertification has achieved significant improvements in several regards. Since 1994, when the programme started, issues of desertification have continuously been put on the political agenda and awareness of policy-makers seems to have increased significantly. The achievements brought about by NAPCOD in setting up a forum for discussing issues of resource degradation and desertification and possible strategies for problem solution on the national level cannot be valued high enough.

However, there are several shortcomings of the programme, which largely relate to the effectiveness of NAPCOD as to national level co-ordination of policies and programmes relevant to processes of desertification as well as to their implementation. In the following, some ideas for possible improvements in these fields of activity will be presented.

10.1 General

Desertification constitutes a major challenge for realising long-term objectives of sustainable social and economic development in Namibia as is outlined in this report. Therefore, comprehensive and integrated efforts to combat the spread of land degradation on a nation-wide scale are crucial for the country's future and thus should remain among the leading development objectives. This holds true even more because issues of environmental degradation are likely to gain additional weight within the context of a land reform expected to be carried out in the medium run.[298]

10.2 Focusing NAPCOD's Approach

Desertification is caused by interaction of natural and man-made determinants. The latter are largely influenced by the social, political and regulatory framework conditions prevalent in the country. Therefore, combating the spread of land degradation calls for a multi-dimensional and intersectoral approach. In consequence, NAPCOD adopted a very broad approach to pursue its objectives. In practice, however, the broad nature of this approach produces major operational problems, thereby effectively constituting barriers for NAPCOD`s current and prospective performance. As pointed out above, these operational difficulties mainly relate to three interlinked aspects:

— Firstly, the multi-dimensionality of NAPCOD's approach amounts to a major

298 Pressure to carry out land reform and redistribution is especially likely to further rise in face of widespread unemployment and growing frustration of the rural youth. With regard to these developments it seems especially important to ensure that land reform be carried out in a manner consistent with the objectives of sustainable development. Combined land reform and resettlement policies – as they are currently envisaged in Namibia – require careful assessment of the ecological and economic carrying capacities of resettlement areas and prospective environmental impacts. They must be supported by a package of well-coordinated agricultural services. In addition, it is necessary to ensure that the resettled population is equipped with the necessary farm management skills to ensure sustainability of natural resource use in the resettlement areas. Unfortunately, recent experiences from Namibia`s Resettlement Programme indicate that these factors have often not been taken into account sufficiently, resulting in negative environmental effects of resettlement activities. Cf. GON (2000), p. 167 f.

need for inter-sectoral and inter-organisational co-ordination and co-operation – a task by which the programme`s institutions are currently overburdened.

— Secondly, NAPCOD`s "identity" remains vague and so does understanding of the programme on the part of many national level decision-makers.

— Thirdly, implementation of NAPCOD on the local level remains insufficient due to the problems mentioned above.

In view of these findings it seems advisable, that NAPCOD – while keeping in mind the multi-dimensional nature of land degradation processes – concentrates on a few areas of strategic importance, namely strengthening co-ordination of policies and programmes and co-operation between actors involved in policy-making, and implementation at the national level. Improvement of both aspects would simultaneously contribute to a more pronounced profile, and raised efficiency and effectiveness of the programme.

10.3 Co-Operation and Co-Ordination at the National Level

Bringing about co-operation of different actors involved in NAPCOD and co-ordinating their activities will require a long-term and continuous process of communication and establishing priorities and roles of different organisations. NAPCOD`s Steering Committee serves as a forum for such processes, but should play a bigger role in this regard.

Improving intra-organisational communication and co-operation: Ensuring information flows between different units of an organisation is a prerequisite for a consistent co-ordination of its activities. As outlined above, information exchange between different departments within two of the major ministries involved in NAPCOD, namely MAWRD and MET, often remains sporadic and on an *ad hoc* basis.[299] In consequence, not only co-ordination of projects and programmes within these organisations is at times unsystematic and insufficient. Additionally, such lack of information exchange tends to reduce the quality of inter-organisational communication within the NAPCOD Steering Committee. Establishing mechanisms for communication and information exchange should therefore be given a high priority within the ministries mentioned. Such mechanisms could *inter alia* take the form of inter-departmental meetings but there are many other possible ways, which can be thought of. Especially important is the development of databases on research results and publications with relevance to environmental degradation, which should be made freely accessible also to other organisations as well as the public.

Strengthening the position of the Steering Committee: Co-operation between members of the NAPCOD Steering Committee is at present also beset with several shortcomings, which are mainly rooted in two factors: Insufficient personnel capacity of the organisations involved to regularly participate in the SC-meetings and lacking legitimisation of NAPCOD in the view of some actors to carry out a national programme on sustainable natural resource management. Parallel to improving communication within organisations, it is therefore imperative to strengthen the capacity of the SC to increase the level and quality of co-operation between its members. To achieve this objective, several approaches could be adopted, some of which are complementary to each other:

Informal networking between the Steering Committee members should be continued and expanded. However, bringing about co-operation through informal channels has several inherent limitations and therefore is not sufficient if pursued in isolation.

299 Lack of intra-organisational communication is not limited to the two mentioned organisations alone. Nevertheless, the research team found it to be most pronounced there.

In order to take into account the limited personnel capacity and time budget of organisations and actors involved in the SC, the role of the existing Technical Working Groups should be strengthened. These groups serve as interdisciplinary bodies of experts, who advise the Steering Committee on issues of programme strategies and policy harmonisation and thereby take over some of the regular SC-members obligations. However, to ensure, that these groups can fulfil their tasks effectively and on a continuous basis, it appears advisable to establish framework conditions that provide additional incentives for participation like e.g. formal employment and remuneration. Parallel to this, informal networking between SC-members should be expanded.

A third approach would be to formalise and reform the role and structure of the NAPCOD Steering Committee. This approach would include mandating the SC to co-ordinate policies and law-making efforts at a technical level and clearly defining its role and responsibilities within Namibia`s political landscape. To improve legitimisation of such a national body, representation of all major stakeholders as well as independence of the organisation would have to be ensured.[300] In this regard, it is important that organisations currently not represented in the SC (like the MTI and a number of NGOs) and those represented but currently not very active (like the MLRR and MRLGH) are integrated.[301] Again, there is no single "right" way to follow such an approach. Ideally, i.e. disregarding current capacity problems, one way could be to place the SC under the auspices of the National Planning Commission – an organisation already mandated for the mentioned tasks and with sufficient political standing and legitimisation to harmonise policies and legislation planned by different ministries.[302] Obviously, high political priority and support for issues of desertification would be a necessary precondition to put this idea to realisation.

10.4 Improving Implementation of NAPCOD at the Local Level

In view of the team's findings,[303] it is essential to further build up the capacities of CBOs if collective frustration is to be prevented and lasting achievements are to be ensured. In addition, several areas for possible improvements of the programme`s performance on the local level have been identified, namely:

**Extending NAPCOD`s geographical scope:** The impact of NAPCOD is limited to few pilot areas. Whereas this might be a prudent approach during a programme`s initial stages because it allows for learning processes, being present on a broader scale is obviously desirable at later stages. However, because of limited personnel and financial capacities of the organisations currently responsible for local level implementation, this will only be feasible by realising synergy effects from close co-operation with Service Organisations operating at this level. Many of these SOs carry out programmes and projects related to issues of sustainable natural resource management and improvement of rural livelihoods in Namibia`s communal areas. However, NAPCOD is not or only to a minor extent integrated into the majority of these activities. Hence, instead of implementing own projects at the local level and thus creating parallel structures, it seems desirable that NAPCOD

300 Inclusion of all major stakeholders would also require participation of organisations like NACSO or the MTI, which are currently not represented in NAPCOD`s Steering Committee as well as increasing the involvement of those which at present have a seat in the SC but reduced participation like the MLRR or the MRLGH.

301 However, while integration of all major stakeholders appears desirable, it is important to keep the total number of participants in NAPCOD`s Steering Committee at a level which ensures that the SC stays operational in decision-making.

302 Although the National Planning Commission has a formal mandate to coordinate national policies, it currently lacks personnel capacity to effectively fulfil this task – a bottleneck that will have to be eliminated before the NPC could serve as a co-ordinative body responsible for policies with relevance for processes of desertification.

303 Cf. summary.

puts a stronger focus than at current on *building upon the activities of SOs and their implementation structures* already present there. In addition to better organisational co-operation and co-ordination on the local level, following this approach would also allow NAPCOD to become active on a broader scale than the current pilot regions. Extending the geographical scope of Namibia's National Programme to Combat Desertification will require careful planning and preparation and the identification of suitable project areas according to rational and transparent criteria.[304]

Strengthening organisational co-operation and co-ordination: The personnel capacity of NAPCOD at the local level is presently too low to implement and monitor own projects or establish co-ordination and co-operation linkages between CBOs, CBOs and SOs as well as between different Service Organisations. Improving organisational co-operation and co-ordination at the local level appears to be crucial to achieve broad scale and lasting impacts in combating land degradation – and should constitute the main role of NAPCOD on the field level.[305] In some cases, organisational co-operation at the local level appears to be problematic, however. This is often true regarding the integration of extension services provided by the MAWRD's DEES. Here, even co-operation with programmes implemented by the same ministry is so far beset with many difficulties. Under such circumstances, it might be advisable to concentrate on co-operation with more promising partners while at the same time not excluding the DEES altogether. Adequately skilled local facilitators or co-ordinators can play an important role in bringing about local level co-ordination and co-operation and should be employed by NAPCOD in an increased number and in more of Namibia's communal areas than at present. In this regard, it appears desirable that attempts to take over experienced facilitators currently employed by SARDEP are enforced and take a more concrete shape. Nevertheless, while SARDEP is still in place, other ways will have to be found.

Systematically monitoring achievements: Activities which are implemented by NAPCOD at the local level are until now not being monitored regularly and systematically. It is difficult to see how project outputs and achievements – even if they are of a solely qualitative nature – are to be assessed and communicated to resource users at the local level and national level decision-makers under such circumstances. Establishing local level monitoring systems and linking them to monitoring systems at the national level thus remains an objective which should continue to rank high on NAPCOD's agenda. Again, related efforts of different organisations at both levels should be integrated to reduce overlapping of activities and doubling of efforts.

10.5 Establishing Linkages Between the National and Local Level

In a country where processes of desertification are manifest in varying degrees and are caused by diverse factors, it is especially important to ensure that regional specifics of environmental degradation and thus varying applicability of strategies to tackle these problems are given due consideration. Centralised planning and implementation of programmes and policies dealing with sustainable natural resource management are therefore likely to fail if mechanisms for adequate communication, information exchange and interaction between the national and local level are not in place. Institutions which provide such interlinkages are therefore of high relevance to bring about lasting improvements in sustainable natural resource management in Namibia. Such "regional interlinkage institutions" could serve as platforms for information exchange, co-operation and co-ordination of activities between SOs, CBOs and formal and traditional authorities. Obviously, to ensure that regional issues and specifics discussed

304 New project areas would not necessarily have to be restricted to those areas already heavily affected by processes of land degradation. Instead, several less affected regions should be selected additionally in order to identify "best practices" sustainable natural resource management at the local level.

305 This idea corresponds clearly to the recommendation of focusing NAPCOD's national level activities to co-ordination of programmes and policies.

at this level are made visible to national level policy-makers, they have to be communicated to the latter and vice versa. Again, *NAPCOD-facilitators* could play an important role in this regard. At present, however, such institutions are hardly visible at the regional level and if they are, their composition often lacks transparency and does not include all relevant stakeholders and therefore might lack the acceptance necessary to fulfil the described tasks. In some respects, this seems to be of particular importance regarding the role of *Constituency and Regional Development Committees*. The envisaged decentralisation policy of the Namibian government might offer some significant new perspectives in this regard as soon as implementation will gain momentum in the future.

References

Adams, M. (2000): Land Reform in Namibia, Windhoek (not published)

Ashley, C. / J. Barnes / T. Healy (1994): Profits, equity, growth and sustainability: the potential role of wildlife enterprises in Caprivi and other communal areas of Namibia, DEA Research Discussion Paper, No. 2

– / H. Müller / M. Harris (1995): Population dynamics, the environment, and demand for water and energy in Namibia, DEA Research Discussion Paper, No. 7

– (1998): Intangibles matter: non-financial dividends of Community Based Natural Resource Management in Namibia, for World Wildlife Fund Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE) Program, Windhoek

– / C. Boyd / H. Goodwin (2000): Pro-poor tourism: putting poverty at the heart of the tourism agenda, in: *ODI Natural Resource perspectives* No. 51, in: *www.oneworld.org/odi/nrp/51.html*, 3.1.2001

Baland, J.M. / J.P. Platteau (1996): Halting degradation of natural resources. Is there a role for rural communities?, Oxford

Barnard, P. (ed.) (1998): Biological diversity in Namibia, Windhoek

Barnes, J. (1998): Wildlife conservation and utilisation as complements to agriculture in southern African development, DEA Research Discussion Paper, No. 27

– / D. Schier / G. van Rooy (1997): Tourists' willingness to pay for wildlife viewing and wildlife conservation in Namibia, DEA Research Discussion Paper, No. 15

Berry, S. (1993): No condition is permanent. the social dynamics of agrarian change in sub–Saharan Africa, Madison, WI

Blackie, R. (1999): Communities and natural resources: Trends in equitable and efficient use, DEA Research Discussion Paper, No. 29

Boyd, C. / T. Slaymaker (2000): Re-examining the `More People less Erosion´ Hypothesis: Special Case or Wider Trend?, in: *ODI Natural Resource perspectives,* No. 63

Brandt, H. (2000): The role of resource user organizations in the implementation of the National Program to Combat Desertification in Namibia (Second draft), Berlin, unpublished

Brown, C.J. / M.K. Seely / A.S. Kruger / H. Woehl (1999): Namibia's program to combat desertification: a dynamic approach to people and rangelands, in VIth International Rangeland Congress Proceedings, Vol. 1, p. 85 - 87

Brown, S. (2000): Implementation, achievements and impact: tourism sector support projects, VII & VIII EDF, Windhoek

Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (1999): BMZ Konzepte. Übersektorales Konzept. Partizipative Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Partizipationskonzept, Berlin/Bonn

Byers, B.A. (1997): Environmental threats and opportunities in Namibia: A comprehensive assessment, DEA Research Discussion Paper, No. 21

Chambers (1992): Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concept for the 21st Century, Conway

Day, J.A. (1997): The status of freshwater resources in Namibia, DEA Research Discussion Paper, No. 22

Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (2001): Herausforderungen und Ansätze für eine strategische Entwicklungspolitik in Subsahara-Afrika. Impulspapier zur Fachtagung des Bundesministeriums für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung und des Deutschen Instituts für Entwicklungspolitik am 3. Mai 2001 in Bonn, Bonn

Diescho, J. (1996): Government and Opposition in Post-independence Namibia: Perceptions and Performance, in: Building Democracy Perceptions and Performance of Government and Opposition in Namibia, Conference Proceedings of 30th November 1996, Windhoek

DRFN / NEPRU (1999): Proposal of Namibia's Programme to Combat Desertification, Phase III, Windhoek

Dwedney, R. (1996): Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification. Policy Factors & Desertification - Analysis & Proposals

Eger, H. / H. Lang (1998): Report on the project Support Mission to NAPCOD, October 20 to November 5, Calw/ Eschborn

Elkan, W. / P. Amutenya / J. Andima / E. van der Linden / R. Sherbourne (1992): Namibian Agriculture: Policies and Prospects, NEPRU Research Report No. 5, Windhoek

FAO (2000): What do we mean by participation in development?, in: *www.fao.org/participation/ourvision.html*, 30.1.2001

Forum for Integrated Natural Resource Management (2000): Update on FIRM to NAPCOD Steering Committee on 29th May 2000

Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (no date): Beteiligungs- und Selbsthilfeansätze im Ressourcenmanagement. Ein Positionspapier, Eschborn

– (no date): Finanzbedarfsschätzung NAPCOD 1995-1999, Eschborn

– (1999): Projektbeschreibung des GTZ Projektes zur Unterstützung des Nationalen Programms zur Desertifikationsbekämpfung, Eschborn

Government of Germany (Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development) (1998): Country Report Namibia, Bonn

Government of Namibia (1956): Water Act No. 54 of 1956, Windhoek

– (1969): Soil Conservation Act No. 76 of 1969, Windhoek

– (1975): Nature Conservation Act No. 4 of 1975,Windhoek

– (1991): Constitution of the Republic of Namibia, Windhoek

– (1992): Regional Councils Act No. 22 of 1992, Windhoek

– (1992a): National Forestry Policy, MET, Windhoek

– (1992b): National Forestry Policy, MET, Windhoek

– (1992c): Draft Conservation and Utilization of Agricultural Resources Bill, MAWRD, Windhoek

– (1993): A Digest of the Water Supply and Sanitation Sector Policy, MAWRD/ Department of Water Affairs, Windhoek

– (1995): Agricultural Land Reform Act, MAWRD/MLRR, Windhoek

– (1995a): National Agricultural Policy, MAWRD, Windhoek

– (1995b): Traditional Authorities Act No. 17 of 1995, Windhoek

– (1995c): Environmental Assessment Policy, MET, Windhoek

– (1996): National Development Plan 1997-2001, National Planning Comission, Windhoek

– (1996a): Nature Conservation Amendment Act No. 5 of 1996, Windhoek

– (1996b): National Resettlement Policy, MLRR, Windhoek

– (1997): Policy and Programme on Small Business Development, MTI, Windhoek

– (1997a): Guidelines for Community Based Management (Draft), MAWRD/DWA, Windhoek

– (1998): National Land Policy, Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, Windhoek

– (1998a): National Accounts 1982-1997, Windhoek

– (1998b): Poverty Reduction Strategy for Namibia, Windhoek

– (1999): Communal Land Reform Bill, MLRR, Windhoek

– **/NEPRU/DRFN** (1999): Namibia`s Programme to Combat Desertification (NAPCOD III), Windhoek

– **/DANCED** (2000): Inclusion of Environmental and Sustainable Development Issues into NDP II. Vision, Issues and Options for NDP II: The Results of a Participatory Process, Windhoek

– (2000): State of the Environment Report on Agriculture and Land Resources, MET/DEA, Windhoek

Halbach, A.J. (2000): Namibia – Economy, Politics, Society ten years after independence, Windhoek, Munich

Horn-Haacke, L. (1999): A Provisional Catalogue of Soundness Criteria for User-Oriented Approaches to Natural Resources Management. (Appendix to the 1999` GFA-Publication on Natural Resources Management), 18 pages

Hueser, K. / W.D. Bluemel / B. Eitel (1998): Landschafts- und Klimageschichte des südwestlichen Afrika, in: *Geographische Rundschau* 50, No 4, pp. 238 - 244

International Monetary Fund (1997): Namibia – Recent Economic Developments, IMF Staff Country Report, No. 97/119, Washington D.C.

Jacobson, P.J. / K.M. Jacobson / M.K. Seely (1995): Ephemeral rivers and their catchments: Sustaining people and development in western Namibia, DRFN, Windhoek

Jones, B. (1997): Parks and Resident Peoples. Linking Namibian Protected Areas with local communities, Research Discussion Paper, No. 24, Windhoek

– **/ R. Hagen / B. Wyckoff-Baird / D. Oyler / J. Barnes** (1998): Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM). Sector Assessment for Namibia

– (1999): Policy arena: policy lessons from the evolution of a community-based approach to wildlife management, Kunene Region, Namibia, in: *Journal of International Development*, 11, pp. 295 – 304

Kamminga, E. (1999): Namibia's Programme to Combat Desertification: an Overview of NAPCOD Phase II, January 1995 / July 1999

Kamp, C. (1999): Position paper of the German NGO Forum on Environment & Development on the environmental and social responsibility of tourism in the context of sustainable development, presented in New York, in: *www.eco-tour.org/info/w_10198_de.html*, 3.1.2001

Karl, M. (2000): Monitoring and evaluating stakeholder participation in agriculture and rural development projects: a literature review, in: *www.fao.org/WAICENT/FAOINFO/SUSTDEV/PPdirect/PPre0074.html*, 30.1.2001

Klerk, N. de (no date): Bush Encroachment research, Monitoring and Management Project, Terms of Reference, Windhoek

Kroll, T. / A.S. Kruger (1998): Closing the gap: bringing communal farmers and service institutions together for livestock and rangeland development, in: *Journal of Arid Environments*, 39, p. 315 - 323

Kruger, A.S. (ed.) (2001): Coping in a fragile environment – the SARDEP experience, Windhoek

Kürzinger, E. (1998): Act not (only) negotiate?! – The three environment conventions six years after Rio, in: *Agriculture and rural development,* No.1, pp. 56 - 60

Leach, M. / R. Mearns (1992): Poverty and the Environment in Developing Countries: An Overview Study, Final Report to the Economic and Social Research Council. Official Development Assistance (ODA), IDS, Brighton

Leach, M. / R. Mearns / I. Scoones (1997): Challenges to Community-Based Sustainable Development Dynamics, Entitlements, Institutions, in: *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp. 4 - 12

Leffler, U. (1992): Auswirkungen des Tourismus in Entwicklungsländern – eine Beurteilung auf der Basis neuerer Analysen des Ferntourismus, Berlin

Le Roy, E. / A. Karsenty / A. Bertrand (1996): La sécurisation foncière en Afrique: Pour une gestion viable des ressources renouvables, Paris

Lewis, J. (1997): Community-based natural resource management in West Africa, in: Serageldin, I. / D. Steeds (eds.): Rural well-being: From vision to action. Proceedings of the Fourth Annual World Bank Conference on Environmentally Sustainable Development. Series No. 15, Washington D.C.

Mäscher, M. (1996): Nachhaltige Entwicklung durch "community-based tourism"?, Münster

Maurer, U. (1996): Nutzungspotential und Landdegradation im semi-ariden Namibia, Witzenhausen

Melber, H. (1999): Quo vadis Namibia?, in: *Namibia Magazin,* No. 2

Merwe, J.H. van der (1983): National Atlas of South West Africa, Cape Town

Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (NOLIDEP) (no date): brochure

– **(Department of Engineering and Extension Services)** (1999): National Extension Strategy

– **(Directorate of Rural Water Supply)** (2001): Community-based Management Guidelines

Ministry of Environment and Tourism (1994): Land-use Planning: Towards Sustainable Development, Policy Document. Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Windhoek

– **(Directorate of Environmental Affairs)** (1999): Namibias Socio-Economic Environment (Summary and Indicators), Windhoek

– (1999): Agreement between the Ministry of Environment and Tourism and DRFN/NEPRU (Consortium) for implementation of certain components of NAPCOD Phase III, Windhoek

– **(–)** (2000a): State of environment report on Agriculture and Land Resource. Final report, Windhoek

– **(–)** (2000b): State of environment report on parks, tourism and biodiversity. Final report, Windhoek

– (2000c): Tourism Policy for Namibia, in: *www.met.gov.na/nampol.html*, 3.1.2001

– **(DEA)** (2001): A simple Guide to Namibia's Communal Area Conservancies, in: *www.dea.met.gov.na / Programmes/CBNRM/smplgde.html*, 31.1.2001

Moyo, T. (1999): Quality over quantity is maxim for tourism, in: *The Namibian*, 4.1.1999

Mufita, V. / M. Hashipala / F. Olivier (2000): Regional Awareness Project – Dustbins, Stoves and Saving Wood, in: *DRFN Namib Bulletin,* No. 15

NAPCOD (1995): Desertification Working Group on Objective 7: The social, economic, legal and political background. Summary record of the first meeting, Friday, 3rd March 1995, unpublished

– (1996): Policy Factors & Desertification – Analysis and Proposals, Windhoek

– (1999): First National Report on Implementation of the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification

– (2000): Namibia's Programme to combat Desertification (NAPCOD III), Windhoek

Nelson, N. / S. Wright (1995): Power and Participatory Development. Theory and Practice, London

NEPRU (2001): www.nepru.org.na, 2.4.2001

Øgard, R. / T. Vedeld / J. Aune (1999): Good Practices in Drylands Management, World Bank, Washington D.C.

Ostrom, E. / R. Gardner / J. Walker (1993): Rules, Games & Common-Pool Resources, The University of Michigan Press

Pratt, D. / F. Le Gall / C. de Haan (1997): Investing in Pastoralism. Sustainable Natural Resource Use in Arid Africa and the Middle East, World Bank Technical Paper, No. 365, Washington D.C.

Quan, J. / D. Barton / C. Conroy (1994): A preliminary assessment of the economic impact of desertification in Namibia, DEA Research Discussion Paper, No. 3, Windhoek

Ryden, P. (1999): Understanding the Global Mechanism: A Partnership Agreement to Implement the CCD, in: *Drylands, Poverty and Development*: Proceedings of the June 15 and 16, 1999 World Bank Round Table, Washington D.C., pp. 28 - 30

Schade / Kalili / Simson (2000): A Survey of subsistence farmers in the Ohangwhena region, Windhoek

Schumann, C. (2000): Regional Resource Management and Land Use Planning. Background Information, Windhoek, unpublished

Schwedersky, T. (1996): Sustainable Village Development in West Africa. Participatory Resources Management in Project Practice, in: *Development and Cooperation,* No. 3, pp. 15 - 16

– / **O. Karkoschka / W. Fischer** (1997): Förderung von Beteiligung und Selbsthilfe im Ressourcenmanagement. Ein Leitfaden für Projektmitarbeiterinnen und Projektmitarbeiter, Welkersheim

Seely, M. Dr. (1991): Namibia – Drought and Desertification, Windhoek

Shanmugaratnam, N. / T. Vedeld / A. Mossige / M. Bovin (1992): Resource Management and pastoral institution building in the West African Sahel, World Bank Discussion Paper, No. 175, Washington D.C.

Sweet, J. / A. Burke (no date): Country Pasture/Forage Resource Profiles: Namibia, in: *www.fao.org/ag/AGP/AGPC/doc/Counprof/namibia.html*, 3.1.2001

Tapscott, C. (1997): The Autocratic Temptation. Policies in Namibia now, in: *Southern Africa Report*, June 1997, pp. 3 - 6

Toulmin, C. (1996): A successful method to combat desertification: Gestion de terroirs, in: *Development and Cooperation,* No. 3, pp. 17 - 18

UNCCD (1994): Text of the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification as of September 1994, in: *www.unccd.int/convention/text/convention.php*, 29.1.2001

– (1995): Down to Earth. A simplified guide to the Convention to Combat Desertification, why it is necessary and what is important and different about it, Geneva

– (2000a): COP 4, Summaries of Reports Submitted By Selected African Country Parties, www.unccd.org, 16.01.01

– (2000b): Fact Sheets on the Convention to Combat Desertification, in: *www.unccd.int/publicinfo/ factsheets/ menu.php*, 29.1.2001

UNCED (1992): The Earth Summit. Agenda 21: The United Nations Programme of Action from Rio, New York

UNDP (1998): Namibia Human Development Report 1998 – Environment and Human Development in Namibia

– (1999): Development Cooperation Report Namibia, New York

UNEP (1991): Status of Desertification and Implementation of the United Nations Plan of Action to Combat Desertification. Report of the Executive Director to the Governing Council of the third Special Session, Nairobi

– (1997): World atlas of desertification (2nd Edition), London

Ulenga, B. (2000): Namibia ist auf einem totalitären Weg wie Simbabwe (Interview), in: *Afrika Süd. Zeitschrift zum südlichen Afrika*, No. 5, pp. 8 - 9

Uphoff, N. (1998): Community-based natural resource management: Connecting micro and macro processes, and people with their environments. International Workshop on Community-Based Natural Resource Management, May 10-14, World Bank, Washington D.C.

Vedder, H. (1997): Das alte Südwestafrika, Windhoek

Wasser- und Energieversorgung (2001): Wasserverbrauch in Deutschland, in: *www.wnd.shuttle.de/wnd/ wendalinum/wasserverbrauch-BRD.html,* 8.1.2001

Water & Environment Team (1999): State of the Environment Report on Water in Namibia – Prepared for the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Windhoek

Weiland, H. (1996): External Democratization? The Case of Namibia, in: Hanisch, R. (ed.): Export of Democracy into the South?, Hamburg

Wolf, T. (2000): Untersuchung der Eigentumsverfassung und der daraus entstehenden Fragestellung für die gemeindeorientierte Landnutzung in den Communal Lands Zimbabwes, Cologne

Wolfensohn, J.D. (1999): Drylands, Poverty and Development: Why the World Bank is involved, in: Esikuri, E.E. et al. (eds.): Drylands, Poverty and Development. Proceedings of the June 15 and 16, 1999 World Bank Round Table, Washington D.C., pp. 3 - 5

Wolters, S. (ed.) (1994): Proceedings of Namibia's National Workshop to Combat Desertification. Report from a workshop, Windhoek, Namibia, 4th – 7th July 1994, Windhoek

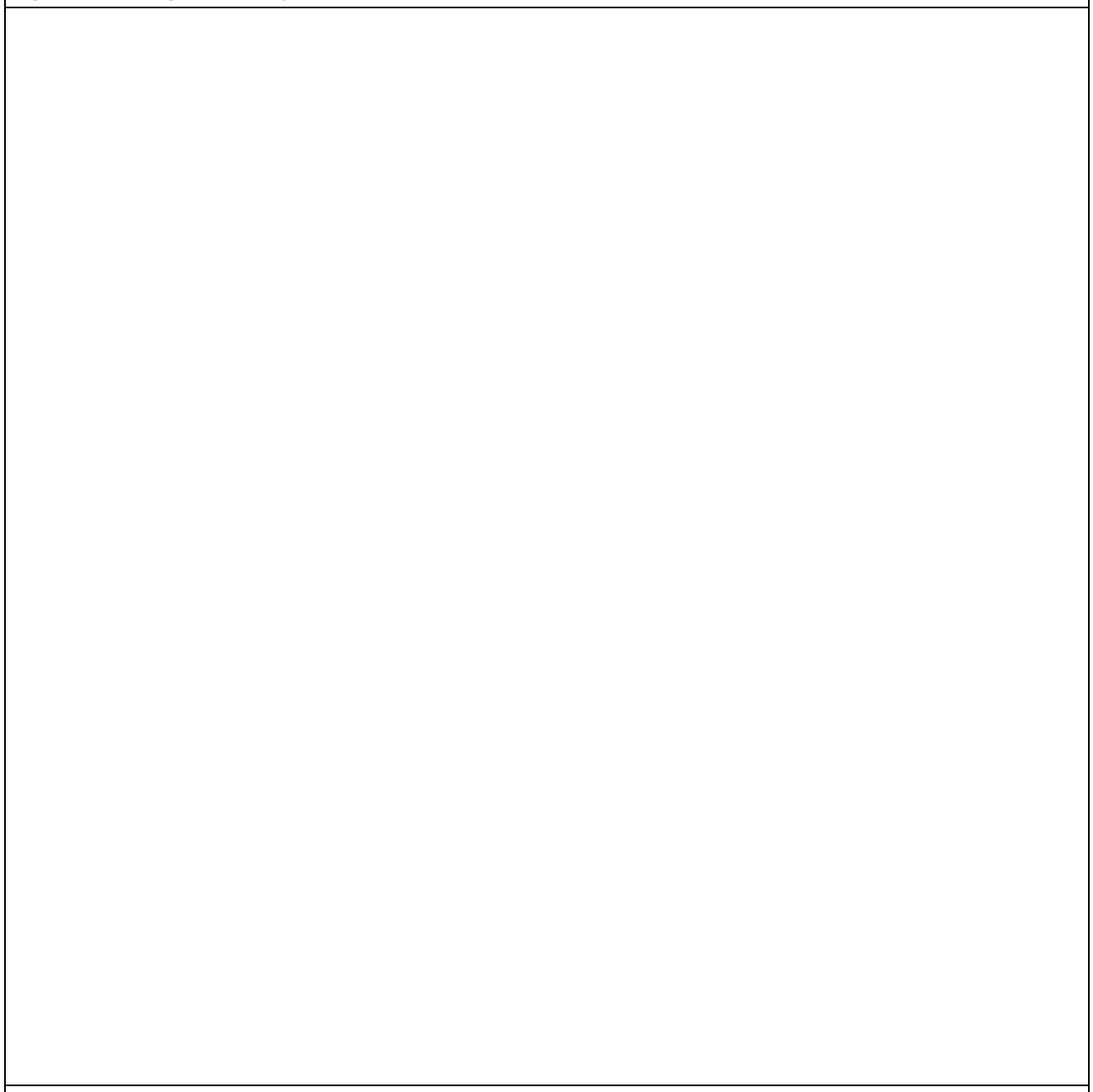
World Bank (Operation and Evaluation Department) (1998): Mauritania Second Livestock Project (credit 1658 - MAU), Impact Evaluation Report, Washington D.C.

– (1999): Namibia – Recent Economic Developments and Prospects, Washington D.C.

Zeidler, J. (2000): Communities take the lead. Monitoring and management of natural resources in communal farming areas. A case study from Namibia, in: *People managing resources*, p. 27 - 29 (Draft prepared for COP 4 to the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification, not published)

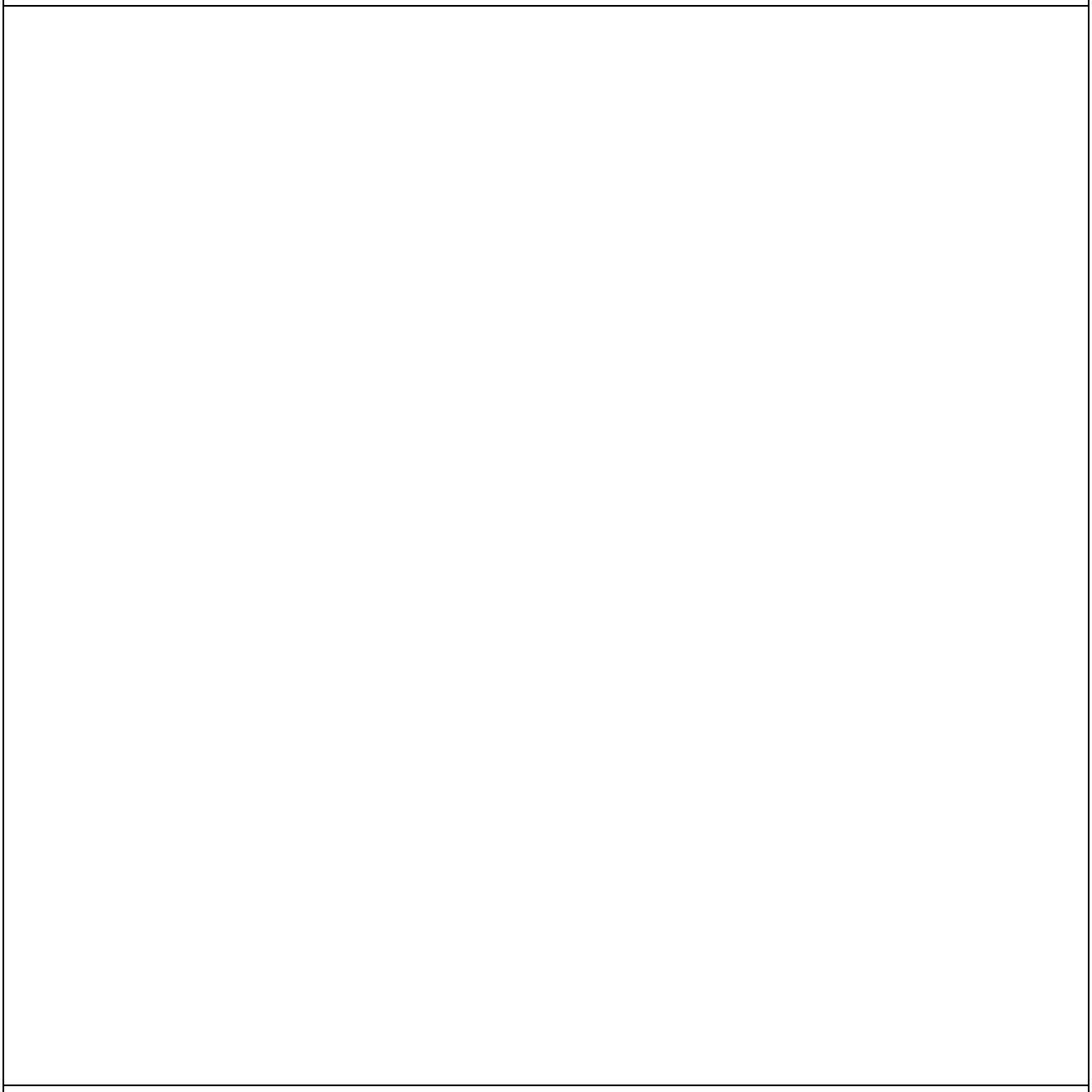
Annex

Figure A 1: Regions and Major Towns of Namibia



Source: Barnard (1998), p. 49.

Figure A 2: Napcod Pilot Areas

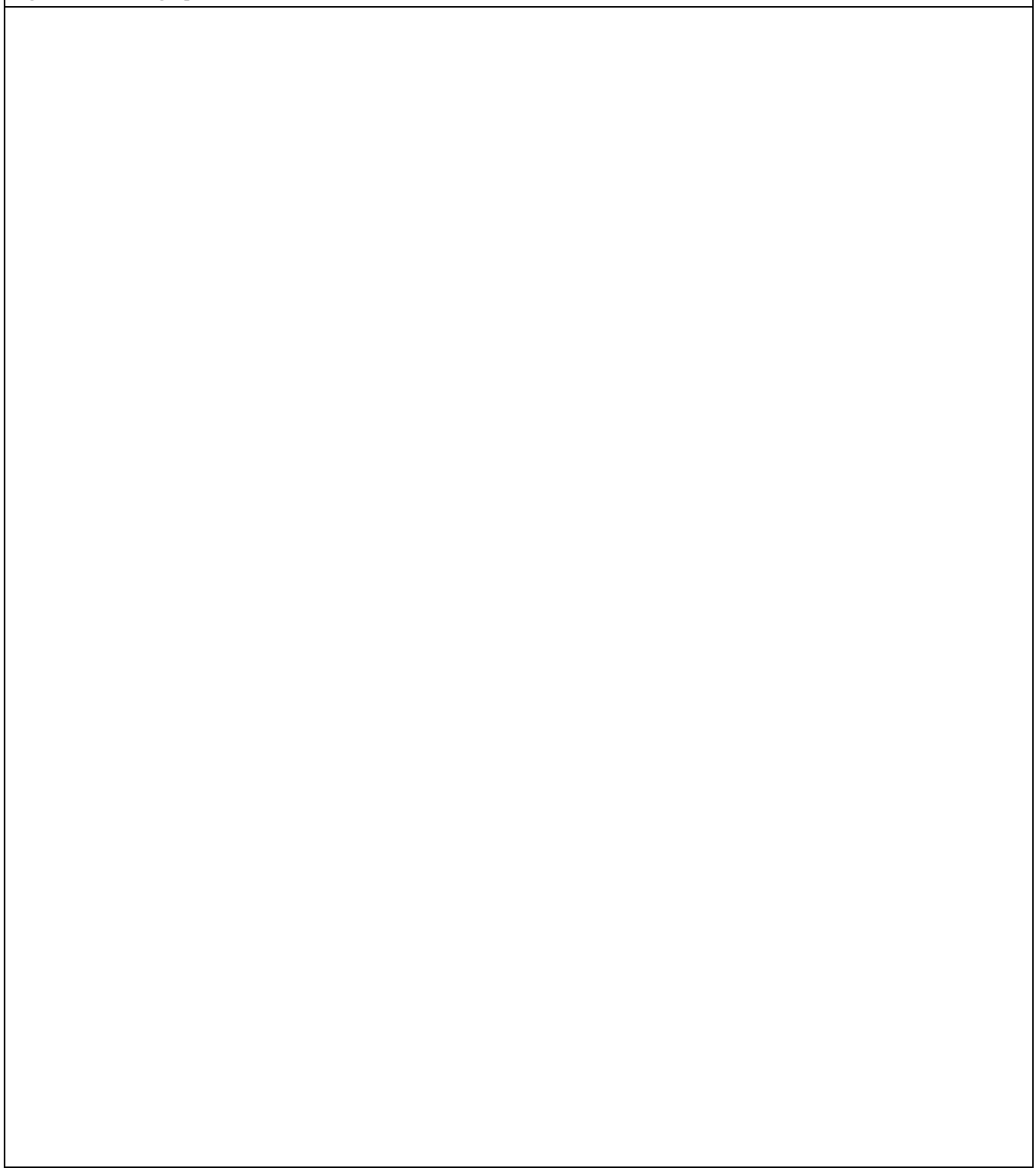


Source: Napcod (2000), p 4.

Figure A 3: Vegetation Types of Namibia

Source: Barnard (1998), p. 27.

Figure A 4: Geographical Distribution of Communal Areas



Source: Elkan et al. (1992), p.3.

Figure A 5: Rangeland Grazing Capacity

Source: Merwe (1983), map 54

Figure A 6: NAPCOD – Organisational Structure of Phase III

Figure A 7: Terms of Reference NAPCOD Steering Committee

TERMS OF REFERENCE

NAPCOD III STEERING COMMITTEE

The Napcod Steering Committee represents the Ministries and NGO´s implementing agencies and donor agencies actively involved in activities to combat desertification in Namibia. Ist primary objective is to promote cross-sectoral participation, where stakeholders have ample opportunity to participate in and guide this natural programme.

The duties of the Steering Committee are as follows:

1. To provide stratetic guidance to the Napcod Programme, consisting of the National umbrella programme and ist associated projects.
2. To be actively involved in finding solutions for problems identified
3. To disseminate information through the members respective organizations or institutes
4. To appoint a smaller Project Support Team (PST) to perform day-to-day Napcod management
5. To review progress, give written comment on, and approve reports submitted to the Steering Committee for endorsement and recommend payments as appropriate
6. To review and approve the budget and review and accept financial reports

The general duties of Steering Committee Members are:

1. To attend Steering Committee meetings, 3-4 times per year as agreed, as well as any emergency meeting, adressing a specific issue, that might be convened at short notice
2. To notify the secretary in advance if unable to attend meetings

Additional duties of Steering Committee Members who chair Technical Working Groups:

1. To convene all regular Technical Working Group meetings
2. To keep up to date on progress in the thematic component pertinent to the particular working group i.e. liaise with those responsible for the specific Napcod activities
3. To report back at Napcod Steering Committee Meetings, both verbally and in writing on Napcod progress pertinent to the thematic Technical Working Group
4. To prepare and submit an annual written report on the acitivities of the Technical Working Group and activities pertinent to that component of Napcod

Source: MinutesNapcod22Aug2000

Figure A 8: List of Interviewees			
I. Interviewees at the local level			
NAME	**INSTITUTION/ FUNCTION**	**DATE**	**PLACE**
Aebeb, I.	MAWRD - Extension Technician	13.03.01	Grootberg / Khorixas
Amaambo, Ottilie	Sardep/ NAPCOD – Local Facilitator	Several times	Uuvudhiya Constituency; Windhoek
Benicki, Mr.	MAWRD - Extension Technician	09.03.01	Uuvudhiya Constituency
Bock, S.	Chairwoman of the Grundorner Farmer´s Cooperative League	19.03.01	Gibeon
Boois, S.	SARDEP - Local Facilitator	21.03.01	Gibeon
Hoaeb, I.	Treasurer of the Grootberg Conservancy	15.03.01	Grootberg/ Khorixas
Munyala, F.	Leader of the Youth Group Roman, Catholic Church Sanct Cornelius	10.03.01	Uuvudhiya Constitutency
Ndahafa, Amutenya	Regional Councillor of the Uuvudhyia Constituency	05.03.01	Uuvuduhiya Constituency
Nendongo, J.	Regional Head of the Directorate of Rural Water Supply in Oshakati	05.03.01	Uuvudhiya Constituency
OIKE-committee (L´Okomitye Yelungameno Lomalundu - Responsible Committee for Agriculture and Livestock)	CBO – Onkani	06.03.01	Uuvudhiya Constituency
Omikanga Protection Program, Combatting Desertification and Live Fences Committee, Efo-Etalala	CBO – Onkani	08.03.01	Uuvudhiya Constituency
Oskoop Conservancy Committee	CBO	20.03.01	Gibeon
Takonjo Project	CBO – Onakabya	09.03.01	Uuvudhiya Constituency
Tsotso Stoves Project	CBO – Onkani	07.03.01	Uuvudhiya Constituency
Tsub Water Point Committee, Tierkloof Tourism Project	CBO – Gibeon	20.03.01	Gibeon
Water point Committee, farmers in Ubiams	CBO	22.03.01	Gibeon
Water Point Committee, Olifantputs	CBO	13.03.01	Grootberg/ Khorixas
Youth Development Committee, Erwee	CBO	15.03.01	Grootberg/ Khorixas

II. Interviewees at the national level			
Abraham, Ottilie	NANGOF	22.02.01	All Interviews at the national level took place in Windhoek
Aribib, Carl	NACSO – Coordinator	23.02.01	
Bethune, Shirley	MET/ DEA – National Coordinator NAPCOD	11.04.01	
Brock, Christof	MAWRD – Cooperative Section	26.02.01	
Brown, Chris	NNF	01.03.01	
Bruhns, Peik	Joint Consultative Committee (JCC)	01.03.01	
Collair, Paul	Rössing Foundation	22.02.01	
De Klerk, Nico	MET/ DEA – Bush Encroachment	26.03.01	
Dempers, Ronnie	NDT	27.03.01	
Du Pisani, Mr.	MAWRD – Research Section, Metereologue	26.02.01	
Fitter, Joern	GTZ – Director of GTZ-office in Windhoek	16.02.01	
Gaseb, Nickey	DRFN – personal staff	13.02.01	
Hamp, Michael	MTI – GTZ	19.02.01	
Hill, Greg Stewart	LIFE	19.02.01	
Jensen, Sara	DRFN	28.02.01	
Kroll, Thomas	MAWRD – SARDEP	20.02.01	
Kruger, Berthus	DRFN – Programme Manager NAPCOD	23.02.01	
Louis, Maxi	NACOBTA	22.02.01	
Muhugirwa, Louis	FAO – Programme Assistant	22.02.01	
Munjanu, Olof	NNFU	27.02.01	
Nott, Collin	IRDNC	26.02.01	
Negussi, Mr.	MAWRD – NOLIDEP	23.02.01	
Seely, Mary	DRFN – Director	26.02.01	
Sibulele, Mr.	MAWRD – Agricultural Extension Services, Deputy Director, Division South	27.02.01	
Steenkamp	MAWRD – Agricultural Extension Services, Deputy Director, Division North West	26.02.01	
Tarr, Peter	MET/ DEA – Director	10.04.01	
Tshikeshi, Mr.	MAWRD – Coordinator of NAPCOD within MAWRD	26.03.01	
Van der Colf, Johann Hermanns, Ria	MAWRD – Directorate of Rural Water Supply	27.02.01	
Vleermuis, Paul	NFFU	28.02.01	
Wöhl, Helmut	DEA – GTZ advisor for NAPCOD	22.02.01	
Wöhl / Seely / Tarr		02.03.01: Feedback/ Discussion	

Figure A 9: Interview Guidelines for CBOs, SOs and Governmental Organisations

A. CBOs

1. History of the CBO

- Can you tell us how your organisation was founded? Who initiated the establishment of the CBO?
- How is your CBO organised?
- How did it develop since its foundation?
- What are the objectives?
- Do you co-operate with other CBOs?

2. Achievements

- What has been achieved since the organisation was founded?

3. Felt needs and support

- What kind of support did you get?
- What kind of support would you need?

4. Napcod (Sardep)

- Is land degradation a problem in your area?
- Did you hear about Napcod (Sardep) or other programmes?
- Do you get any support by Napcod (Sardep)? If yes, of what kind?
- What are your expectations towards the programme?
- Are you content with the co-operation with Napcod (Sardep)?

5. Plans and expectations for the future

- What activities do you plan for the future?
- What could you achieve yourselves?
- Do you see any need for outside support?
- How do you plan to mobilise support?

B. SOs

1. History of the SO

- How was your CBO founded and by whom?

- How did it develop since its foundation?
- How is your SO organised (organisational set-up, personnel and financial capacities, field staff)?

2. Objectives / activities
- What are the objectives of your SO?
- Which activities do you undertake to achieve these objectives?

3. Co-operation with other actors
- With whom do you co-operate?
- How does this co-operation look like?
- What are the benefits and problems of co-operation?

4. Influence on framework conditions
- What framework conditions do you regard as relevant for desertification? Why?
- What changes are needed with regard to these framework conditions?
- How would you assess your influence on those framework conditions (within and outside of Napcod / Sardep)?

5. Involvement in Napcod (Sardep)
- Are you actively involved in Napcod (Sardep)?
- If yes, in which way and how did the co-operation start? If not, why not?
- Which role do you play?
- How do you benefit from co-operation and what do you regard as the main problems?
- What should be improved to make Napcod (Sardep) more attractive to you?

6. Improvements for the future
- What needs to be improved to make your work more effective?
- What would you like to be improved? What could be done to improve co-operation with Napcod (Sardep)?

C. Governmental organisations

1. Activities
- How is your organisation structured?
- What are the objectives of your organisation?

- What is your personal task?
- What are the activities of your organisation related to the combat of desertification?
- Which objectives do you pursue by these activities?
- Are those activities successful? Why (not)?

2. Involvement in Napcod (Sardep)

- What is your involvement in Napcod (Sardep) like (theoretical and practical)?
- Why do you (not) co-operate with Napcod (Sardep)?
- What do you expect from / by Napcod (Sardep)?

3. Co-operation with other organisations / actors

- With which department / actors do you co-operate (within and outside your organisation)?
- How do you assess this co-operation?
- Where should co-operation be strengthened? How?

4. Influence on framework conditions

- What framework conditions do you regard as relevant for desertification? Why?
- What changes are needed with regard to these framework conditions?
- How would you assess your influence on those framework conditions (within and outside of Napcod / Sardep)?

5. Improvements for the future

- Which role do you expect Napcod (Sardep) to play in the future?
- What should be done to achieve this?
- What role could you play in this regard?