

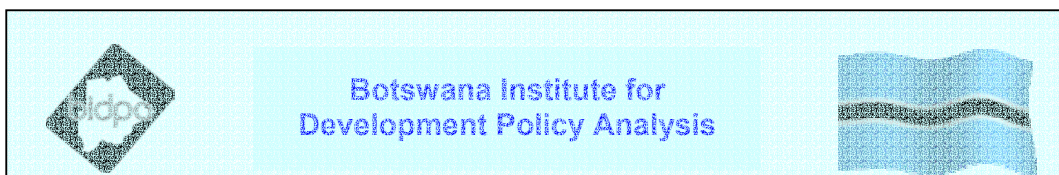


Republic of Botswana

Report on the Review of the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP)

Prepared for the Ministry of Local Government

By



19 December 2003

Table of Contents

<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>Abbreviations and Acronyms</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Tables, Figure and Map</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Executive Summary</i>	<i>ix</i>
A. Introduction	ix
B. Overall Theme of the Review	x
C. The International Perspective	xi
D. The Objectives and Target Group of the RADP	xii
E. Land Use and Land Rights	xiii
F. The Central Kalahari Game Reserve	xiv
G. Promoting Sustainable Livelihoods	xvi
H. The Economic Promotion Fund (EPF)	xvii
I. Education	xviii
J. Health and HIV/AIDS	xix
K. Structure, Coordination and Implementation	xix
L. Effectiveness of Extension Services	xxi
M. Community Organisations and Leadership	xxi
1 Introduction	1
A. Purpose of the Review	1
B. Comments on the Terms of Reference	1
C. Objectives of the Review	4
D. Approach and Methodology	4
i. National Level.....	5
ii. District level	5
iii. Community Level	5
iv. Data Collection Methods	6
v. Sample Areas	6
E. Organisation of the report	6
2 Background to the RADP	7
A. History of the RADP	7
B. Previous Reviews of the RADP	8
i. Evaluation of the RADP (Egner, 1981).....	8
ii. Review of NORAD's Support of the RADP (1991).....	9
iii. Internal Draft Review of the Remote Area Dweller Development Programme (1997).....	11
3 International Perspectives	12
A. Overview	12
B. The Issues	13
C. Measures for Supporting Sustainable Development	14

D.	The Malaysian Experience	14
i.	Background.....	14
ii.	Land Issues	15
iii.	Culture	15
iv.	Livelihoods.....	15
v.	Education.....	16
E.	The Australian Experience.....	16
i.	Background.....	16
ii.	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission.....	17
iii.	Economic independence and livelihoods.....	17
iv.	Culture	18
v.	Law and Justice	18
vi.	Land.....	18
F.	Relevance of the International Experiences to Botswana’s RADP.....	19
4	<i>Implications of Existing Policies to the RADP.....</i>	21
A.	Introduction – Poverty in Remote Areas	21
i.	Spatial dimension	21
ii.	Undeveloped markets and Market failure.....	21
iii.	Social infrastructure	22
iv.	Limited access to land and natural resources	22
v.	Institutional representation.....	23
vi.	The role of migration.....	23
B.	Botswana National Settlement Policy (NSP), 1998.....	24
C.	Implications of the NSP for the RADP.....	26
D.	Revised National Policy for Rural Development (2002)	40
i.	Livelihoods	40
ii.	Land and Natural Resources	40
iii.	Social Protection.....	41
iv.	Capacity Building.....	41
E.	National Poverty Reduction Strategy (Draft).....	42
i.	Overview	42
ii.	Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM).....	42
iii.	The Remote Area Development Programme.....	42
iv.	Strengthening extension services to support the community based strategy.....	43
5	<i>Objectives of the RADP</i>	44
A.	Current Objectives.....	44
B.	Stakeholder Understanding of Objectives	44
i.	Community level perspectives	44
ii.	District level perspectives	45
iii.	Central level perspectives	47
C.	Conclusions and Recommendations	48
i.	Overall Objectives.....	48
ii.	The level of development of remote settlements.....	48
iii.	Community led development.....	49
iv.	Access to land and natural resources	50
v.	Education.....	51
vi.	Social, cultural and economic advancement.....	51
vii.	Ethnic discrimination and cultural diversity	52
viii.	Rephrased objectives	52
ix.	Guiding policy for the RADP	53
6	<i>RADP Targeting</i>	54

A.	Introduction	54
B.	Targeting Options for the RADP	55
C.	Perceptions of Location Based Targeting	56
i.	Community level perspectives	56
ii.	District level perspectives	56
iii.	Central level perspectives	57
D.	Perceptions of Ethnic Based Targeting	58
i.	Community level perspectives	58
ii.	District level perspectives	58
iii.	Central level perspectives	59
E.	Perceptions of Poverty Based Targeting	59
F.	Problems Caused by Lack of Definition	59
G.	The Issues of Culture and Ethnic Discrimination	60
i.	Community level perspectives	60
ii.	District level perspectives	60
iii.	Central level perspectives	61
H.	The Need for Community Consultation	61
i.	Community level perspectives	61
ii.	District level perspectives	61
iii.	Central level perspectives	62
I.	Conclusions and Recommendations	62
i.	Defining the target group	62
ii.	The case for affirmative action	63
iii.	Graduating from the RADP	64
7	<i>Land Rights, Access and Use</i>	<i>66</i>
A.	Introduction	66
B.	Land and Land use Rights in Communal Areas	66
C.	Implications of Botswana Government Policies	67
i.	National Policy on Tribal Grazing Land (TGLP), 1975	67
ii.	National Policy on Land Tenure, 1985	68
iii.	National Policy on Natural Resources Conservation and Development, 1990	68
iv.	Tribal Land (Amendment) Act, 1993	69
vi.	Botswana Land Policy – Issues Report (2002)	70
D.	Attempts by Government to Increase and Safeguard Access to Land	71
E.	Land Access in Remote Area Communities	71
F.	The Issue of Land Rights	77
G.	The Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) Management Plan Process	78
i.	Background and Relevance of to the RADP	78
ii.	Stakeholder Perspectives on relocation	80
iii.	Land Use Planning and Management	81
iii.	81
iv.	Discussion of Issues Relating to Land Management Planning	82
H.	Conclusions and Recommendations	83
i.	Introduction	83
ii.	Affirmative Action in Land Allocation	84
iii.	Enhanced Representation	84
iv.	Extending access through purchasing of land for Remote Communities	85
v.	Dialogue with Remote Communities and NGOs	86
8	<i>Promoting Sustainable Livelihoods</i>	<i>87</i>

A.	Overview	87
B.	Current Livelihood Systems in Remote Areas.....	88
i.	Formal and Informal Employment.....	88
ii.	Livestock	89
iii.	Arable Agriculture.....	90
iv.	Management of Natural Resources.....	91
C.	Community-Based Strategy for Rural Development – February, 1997	93
D.	The Economic Promotion Fund (EPF).....	94
i.	History and Objectives of the EPF.....	94
ii.	Eligibility for the EPF	94
iii.	Administration of EPF Projects	95
iv.	Effectiveness of the EPF	95
v.	Alternative Financing Mechanisms	99
E.	Community Based Natural Resource Management.....	100
i.	Current Situation	100
ii.	How CBNRM Works in Botswana.....	101
iii.	Issues	103
iv.	NGO and CBO Intervention	105
v.	The National Ecotourism Strategy.....	106
F.	Recommendations	107
i.	Livestock	107
ii.	EPF	108
iii.	CBNRM.....	108
9	<i>Social Infrastructure in Remote Area Settlements.....</i>	<i>110</i>
A.	Social Welfare.....	110
i.	Current Situation	110
ii.	The Revised National Policy on Destitutes (2002)	110
iii.	Issues	112
B.	Education and Training.....	112
i.	Introduction	112
ii.	The Revised National Policy on Education (April 1994).....	113
iii.	Education in Remote Areas.....	113
iv.	School Infrastructure.....	114
v.	Education Issues.....	115
vi.	Conclusions	118
C.	Health and HIV/AIDS.....	119
i.	Introduction	119
ii.	HIV/AIDS in remote areas.....	120
iii.	Issues	120
D.	Recommendations	121
i.	Social Welfare	121
ii.	Education and Training	121
iii.	Health and HIV/AIDS.....	122
10	<i>Structure, Coordination and Implementation of the RADP.....</i>	<i>123</i>
A.	Central Government Coordination of the RADP.....	123
i.	Structure.....	123
ii.	Central level policy and coordination issues	124
B.	Local Government (District Council) Level.....	126
i.	Structure.....	126
ii.	Effectiveness of Extension Services	128
iii.	Issues at the district level	131

C. Community Level Organisation.....	136
i. Structure	136
ii. The importance of the Village Development Committee	136
iii. Issues at the community level.....	137
11 Summary of Recommendations for a Revised RADP and Implementation Strategy.....	139
A. RADP Principles.....	139
B. RADP Goals and Objectives.....	139
C. RADP Policy Framework	140
D. RADP Target Group.....	141
i. Means Related Criteria	141
ii. Affirmative Action	141
iii. Graduation from the RADP	142
E. Land Use and Access.....	142
i. Preferential Allocation	142
ii. Land Board Membership	142
iii. Land Acquisition and Community Use Zones	143
iv. Participatory Processes	143
F. Promoting Sustainable Livelihoods	144
i. Participatory Techniques	144
ii. Livestock	144
iii. Supporting Projects under the EPF	144
iv. Natural resources and CBNRM	145
v. Social welfare.....	146
G. Education	146
i. Participatory processes.....	146
ii. National public education	146
iii. Educational progression.....	146
iv. Use of local languages	147
H. Health and HIV/AIDS.....	147
I. Structure, Coordination and Implementation.....	148
12 Bibliography	151
13 Members of the Review Team.....	157
A. Consultancy Team.....	157
B. Reference Group	157
14 List of Officials Consulted during the Review	159

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ALDEP	Arable Land Development Programme
ARB	Agricultural Resources Board
BIDPA	Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management
CBO	Community based organisation
CEDA	Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency
CKGR	Central Kalahari Game Reserve
CSO	Central Statistical Office
CUZ	Community Use Zone
DDC	District Development Committee
DDPC	District Development plans Committee
DET	District extension Team
DOD	District Officer (Development)
DPCS	Development Planning Coordination Section
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National parks
EPF	Economic Promotion Fund
FAP	Financial assistance Policy
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
MFDP	Ministry of Finance and Development Planning
MLG	Ministry of Local Government
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NPAD	National Policy on Agricultural Development
NPRS	National poverty Reduction strategy
NSP	National Settlement Policy
RAD	Remote Area Dweller
RADO	Remote Area Development Officer
RADP	Remote Area Development programme
RDC	Rural Development Council
RECC	Rural Extension Coordinating Committee
S&CD	Social and Community Development

TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
VDC	Village Development Committee
VET	Village Extension Team
WMA	Wildlife Management Area

List of Tables, Figure and Map

Table 4-1	Services to be provided under the National Settlement Policy	25
Table 4-2	Population of settlements Serviced by the RADP (2001)	27
Table 8-1	Ranking of Livelihood activities by contribution to Household income/consumption, by region	88
Table 8-2	EPF expenditure, 1997-2003	96
Figure 8-1	Trends in EPF expenditure, 1997-2003	96
Map 8-1	Community-based resources management in Botswana (July 1999)	102

Executive Summary

A. Introduction

1. The Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis (BIDPA) has pleasure in submitting this Final Draft Report for the Review of Government's Remote Area Development Programme (RADP). The current review was guided by the aim to "*formulate a revised Remote Area Development Programme and develop comprehensive strategies for its implementation*" (MLG, 2002: 4). In determining the objectives and strategy for implementation, it is important to adhere to the National Guiding Principles of Democracy, Development, Self-Reliance and Unity, which have guided Botswana's social and economic development since independence, and are still valid and relevant to contemporary Botswana. Added to these is the principle of Botho, which is contained in the Long Term Vision for Botswana (Vision 2016).
2. The Team has extensively reviewed relevant policies and programmes, and surveyed the international literature. In addition, it conducted comprehensive participatory consultation with stakeholders at community, district, central government and international agency level.
3. The intention of this consultative process was to seek consensus over the issues concerning the aims, orientation and conduct of the RADP. The next stage involved solicitation of broad feedback, through two regional workshops and a national conference, on the contents and recommendations of the draft report, aimed at producing a final set of recommendations that would command broad support within Botswana, and internationally. The team has not sought to re-state in detail the already documented successes of the RADP, since these do not lead to specific policy or strategy recommendations.
4. The main recommendations are presented together with a set of suggested implementation strategies. These strategy recommendations are aimed at translating the revised RADP objectives and the policy recommendations into specific actions that would lead to the attainment of the desired outcomes. Thus each strategy recommendation is linked to a relevant policy recommendation and should be read in conjunction with it.
5. There are two crucial points that characterise the framework of this review. The first is that problems of remote area development are not isolated, but occur within the context of the overall implementation of rural development in Botswana. The implementation of rural development has historically been problematic due to well documented organisational constraints, such as poor administrative coordination, ineffectiveness of the extension services, shortage of qualified and skilled personnel, and the lack of clearly defined goals and targets. Government's recognition of these constraints has motivated this and many other reviews in the past.
6. Previous reviews have recommended reform of the extension services (1984), improvement of coordination of inter-ministerial committees for rural

development (1988), promotion of decentralization (1993) and review of the terms of reference of the Rural Development Council (1999). Further recommendations were contained in the review of Rural Development Policy (2001) and Presidential Commissions that reviewed the organisational structure of local government (1981; 2001). Most of the recommendations have not been implemented. Thus, the problems relating to the implementation of rural development that were evident more than two decades ago remain, and severely affect the implementation of the RADP.

7. A second point is that the Review has been undertaken during a period when there has been considerable domestic and international attention, focused on the movement of people from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) to new settlements outside the reserve, and the consequent termination of Government services within the reserve. Although the RADP was not involved in this process, the relocated people now form a part of its target group in new settlements outside the reserve, and as a result, some of the attention has focused upon the RADP itself. It is important, however, to note that even though the timing of the review coincided with increased attention on the CKGR, the review was not motivated by the relocation issue.
8. The RADP is part of the overall effort to combat poverty in Botswana. It is intended to target citizens of Botswana who live in settlements located far from centres of basic services and facilities, where there is severe poverty, low levels of education and literacy, and a deteriorating ecological resource base. The relocated people have therefore been an integral part of this overall target group, both before and after their relocation.
9. It is important to understand that the relocation issue is only one of many faced by the RADP, and there are many other pressing concerns that deserve equal attention. Although less than 8% of the programme's target population has been affected by the relocations, the national and international focus elevates the issue to one that deserves careful consideration in this Review. The RADP is now responsible for assisting former residents of the CKGR to develop sustainable livelihoods, and their fate is intricately linked to the programme.

B. Overall Theme of the Review

10. The recurring themes recommended by this Review fall into four broad categories. These are as follows:
 - **Rural development and poverty reduction:** The general conclusion from the consultations is that the RADP should be perceived as a special programme that is also a specific aspect of the Government's rural development efforts, which also aims to address the extreme poverty situation of the remote areas. However, in its current form, its objectives are very broad; its target group identification, goals, expected outcomes and timeframe for completion are also not clearly defined. It is, therefore necessary to clearly define the RADP policy objectives, specifically identify the programme's target group, determine the

expected outcomes of programme activities and indicate the duration for completion of each stage of its implementation.

- **Community Led Development:** A common finding during the process of consultation was that people at community level perceived the initiatives of the RADP as being “top down.” That is, the programmes were planned and conceived at central level, with the intention that communities be persuaded to participate in them. Many of the recommendations in this draft advocate a profound shift of the programme towards participatory processes, involving the community in issues affecting their own development. This will require many changes in the way that projects are designed and implemented, and in the allocation of resources to them.
- **Creation of Sustainable Livelihood Systems:** The long-term objective of the RADP should be creation of sustainable livelihoods for communities and individuals residing in the remote areas. Thus, the aim of the programme should be the reduction of dependence on Government hand-outs, the promotion of self-reliance and sustainable utilisation of the environment and natural resources.
- **Affirmative Action for Disadvantaged Groups:** The consultation also revealed a widespread reality that people in remote areas face particular and intractable disadvantages, either for logistical reasons, or because of long standing historical prejudice and subjugation by dominant ethnic groups. Many of the recommendations advocate the adoption of affirmative action across a variety of sectors, aimed in the longer term at equalising the access to entitlements for all citizens of Botswana.

C. The International Perspective

11. The Team reviewed the experience of other countries in dealing with the problems of remote areas. The problems faced by people in remote areas of Botswana have many parallels around the world. They are typically faced by indigenous peoples who find themselves in a cultural or ethnic minority.
12. The Review Team recognises that the Botswana Government’s approach is to avoid ethnic targeting and isolation of “indigenous” peoples. The approach has been to treat everyone equally, by providing access to development to all the people living within the country. Nevertheless, the international perspectives expose the commonality of problems of remote area development, and the similarity of the aspirations of remote area dwellers, irrespective of where they come from in the world. It also reveals that many of the principles to which the Botswana Government subscribes to, such as *Botho* and cultural tolerance (Vision 2016); participation and autonomy (decentralization initiatives) are reflected in the aspirations of the remote area dwellers.

13. A useful overview of experiences is provided by a recent IFAD¹ discussion paper on indigenous peoples (IFAD, 2003). This discussion paper summarises IFAD's experience of working with the rural poor in Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific over the past 25 years. It discusses the problems and challenges faced by "indigenous" peoples, and summarises their aspirations as wanting the following:
- Recognition and respect for their rights to land and natural resources.
 - Respect for their culture, languages, and value and knowledge systems.
 - Meaningful participation in their countries' development.
 - Autonomy in the management of own affairs, and full participation in decision-making processes.
14. The Team also reviewed the experiences in Australia, and in Malaysia. In Australia, after a history of suppression and attempted assimilation, the Government has now taken sweeping actions to recognise land rights, to support indigenous people in accessing their rights, and in supporting cultural development. Malaysian support for indigenous people has not gone this far, but there are vocal domestic lobbying groups calling for very similar actions to those being implemented in Australia.
15. The issues identified by the IFAD discussion document, and in the structure of Australian Government programmes, resonated strongly with many of the views expressed during the consultative phase of this Review. The principal findings of the consultations are summarised below.

D. The Objectives and Target Group of the RADP

16. Stakeholders generally understood the objectives of the RADP to be linked to the economic "upliftment" of people in remote areas. However, despite the stated geographical focus of the RADP, many people felt that the true focus of the programme was on one ethnic group - the Basarwa.
17. In addition to this confusion over the intended target group, there was also very little clarity about the detailed objectives of the programme. The RADP appears to have no clear strategy, and no exit mechanism. Many of the people interviewed felt that the RADP had reached a point of crisis, where the level of expenditure had become unsustainable, and there was no obvious mechanism for excluding unintended beneficiaries, or for rejecting projects.
18. The Team concluded that the RADP needs greater clarity with regard to what it seeks to achieve, and particularly with regard to the target group it is trying to reach. It also needs the objectives to be stated in a way that makes it possible to define specific time bound targets for the development of remote areas. Meeting these targets will provide a mechanism for graduating

¹ International Fund for Agricultural Development

settlements out of the RADP, and into normal village status, as defined under the National Settlement Policy.

19. The Team felt that the RADP's current focus on remoteness should be retained, and that a return to the earlier ethnic focus would be an error. The targeting of the programme does however need to be refined, to retain the intention of servicing the needs of the poorest members of remote communities. This may require some form of poverty assessment or means testing at an operational level in order to exclude unintended beneficiaries (who do not require the assistance).
20. However, there are ethnic groups in remote areas, notably the Basarwa, who are historically disadvantaged, and who cannot easily take advantage of their entitlements under the constitution and legal framework without special assistance. The Team felt that the RADP objectives should be modified in order to provide disadvantaged people with assistance in accessing their rights, with particular regard to health, education and land.
21. Many respondents consulted during the Review called for the development of a Remote Area Development Policy, as an official statement to guide the Programme. A counter view is that certain existing policies and strategies were sufficient to guide the objectives of the RADP. Specifically, these include the revised Rural Development Policy, the National Poverty Reduction Strategy, the National Settlement Policy, health policies and the Revised Education Policy. A policy on remote area development should be guided by all these.
22. On reflection, the Team came to the view that an additional policy to address the needs of one particular target groups would complicate the formulation and review of the many other overlapping policies, and lead to confusion in the long term. The concerns that have been raised should rather be addressed by developing a comprehensive implementation strategy for the RADP, and the recommendations of this Review are linked to strategy recommendations for this purpose.

E. Land Use and Land Rights

23. The traditional form of land use in remote areas followed a system of common property rights, where land and resources did not belong to individuals. This system is easily eroded when it is exposed to modern systems of marketing and property ownership, because there is a collective incentive to deplete the resources – the so-called “tragedy of the commons.” The traditional practice of common property rights has also meant that people in remote areas have been slow to react to the commercialisation of land in rural Botswana.
24. There is a variety of views over the question of land access for people in remote areas. Some people maintain that all citizens have equal access to land under law, so that remote area people are as free to apply to Land Boards for land allocation as anyone else is.

25. Others point out that traditional land uses, such as hunting and gathering, have not been recognised in the establishment of new policies such as the National Agricultural Development Policy (NPAD), and the Tribal Land Act. As a result, traditional land uses are not eligible when land is being allocated, and much of it has passed into the hands of people from outside the remote areas, and belonging to different ethnic groups.
26. In practice, therefore, remote area people have had very restricted access to land for grazing, either because they did not understand the procedures necessary to obtain it, or because all of the land in their vicinity has already been allocated for cattle posts, ranches or wildlife management areas. The fencing of land under the NPAD has permanently cut people in remote areas off from land formerly used for gathering or hunting.
27. Remote area communities typically suffer from an insufficiency of land to pursue sustainable livelihood options. Even the 20 km. designated zones around the settlements suffer encroachment from the surrounding cattle posts, whose owners regard the land as communal. The remote communities lack control over the land that they do have.
28. Many remote area people feel these actions have dispossessed them of the land on which they have lived for generations. Unlike other groups in Botswana, they do not have an area which they can name as being theirs, (such as the tribal territories like gakaNgwato). This issue impinges upon the issue of relocation from the CKGR, and has attracted the attention of international lobbying groups. The Review Team thus recommends public education to sensitise remote area dwellers about their constitutional and land rights. The programme should also provide assistance to the remote area dwellers in claiming access to land and other natural resources so that they may gain direct benefits from their exploitation.
29. With regard to remote area land rights throughout Botswana, the Review Team is of the view that there should be affirmative action in favour of people in remote areas in two respects. First, Land Boards should give priority to land applications from residents of the recognised remote area communities for land near the settlements. The RADP officers should also be trained to assist people from remote areas in submitting the applications.
30. Second, Government should consider buying back substantial tracts of land near the settlements in order to establish community use zones for the remote communities. The land use in these zones should be determined through a comprehensive participatory process involving the communities themselves. This measure could go a long way towards relieving the current land shortage around remote area settlements.

F. The Central Kalahari Game Reserve

31. Government decided in 1986 to relocate all people still resident within the CKGR into settlements outside the reserve. One reason advanced for this was that the provision of services such as water, health and education within the

reserve was very expensive, because of the enormity of the area to be covered, and the nomadic nature of the communities themselves. A second reason was that the serviced communities were growing rapidly, and were beginning to deplete the natural resources around them.

32. The relocation issue is relevant to the RADP because many of the people who receive RADP services in the communities near the CKGR have been relocated within the last 1-5 years. Many of those interviewed during this Review were uncertain about their means of survival and expressed concern over their future livelihood opportunities in the new locations, especially if they were to be denied all access to the land in which they had previously lived. This poses a challenge to the RADP; for it to succeed, it has to be reoriented to emphasise the creation of sustainable livelihood systems (as recommended in this review).
33. Perceptions at community level indicate that there is a difference between the views of older and younger people. The elders are typically bitter at the relocation, and express the desire to return to the reserve to continue their traditional lives. Younger people are typically more resigned to the status quo, and more optimistic about the future offered by the developing settlements.
34. The consultations with stakeholders prior to the relocation included the drafting of a management plan for the CKGR (this reached the stage of a third draft). This plan had been produced in a highly participatory manner, involving all relevant stakeholders, including the communities within the CKGR. It had succeeded in defining a number of areas within the reserve that were to form Community Use Zones (CUZ). The detail of the types of activities to be conducted within these areas, and how they would be regulated, had not been finalised. Nevertheless, the plan had wide support among the communities, and many people in the remote settlements are still expecting a return to the discussions to finalise it. There are valuable lessons that may be learnt from the consultative process utilised in the production of the management plan, as well as from the conduct of similar participatory ventures under the Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM), notably the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust. These lessons could inform the future design and implementation of the RADP.
35. Although this third draft plan has now been abandoned by Government, which has proceeded to a fourth draft, it contained two positive attributes that are relevant to this Review, and worth highlighting – first, the premise that conservation and community welfare can co-exist and second, the participatory methodology employed in the process of drawing up the plan. Both of these are relevant to the RADP in all areas of Botswana, particularly if the CBNRM model is widely applied.
36. There has been considerable controversy surrounding the relocations (which were decided upon in 1986 but whose implementation only intensified in 1997). Although they were preceded by consultation, the manner in which they were implemented has been widely perceived to have involved a degree of coercion. The RADP was not directly involved in this process, but the

programme has been impacted by the relocation issue, because it is expected to service the new settlements outside the reserve.

37. There are few livelihood options in the new RADP settlements where most of the relocated people are now living, and resources around them are currently being depleted. For this reason, it would greatly facilitate the objectives of the RADP if community use zones within the reserve could be made available to the people living in the adjacent settlements, in the spirit of the Third Draft Management Plan. It would seem that this could be made compatible with the conservation of resources within the CKGR as well as assisting with the goal of sustainable livelihoods.

G. Promoting Sustainable Livelihoods

38. The most important elements of Botswana's rural economy are formal and informal employment, livestock, Government transfers and arable agriculture (in the eastern part of the country). However, in the remote areas, these opportunities for sustainable livelihoods are very limited.
39. Employment opportunities are scarce in remote settlements, since they are far from suppliers, and from markets where the produce of local enterprises can be sold. The market within the settlements is very small, consisting mainly of a small number of Government workers. It will be important to conduct more thorough market assessments before funding small-scale manufacturing projects. It may also be possible to increase the size of the local market by preferential tendering to local producers for such items as school supplies, provided there are regulations to ensure adequate quality. It is also vital to support and encourage the development of entrepreneurial skills, which are currently in short supply.
40. Livestock rearing is an important activity and livelihood source in rural Botswana. However, the livestock component of the RADP has had mixed results, partly because cattle rearing is not a traditional activity for many of the people living in remote areas. There is also a general lack of grazing land near the settlements, and many respondents reported problems with wild predators, or clashes over the use of land and water resources with the owners of cattle posts surrounding the settlements.
41. Although the problems reported above are not universal to the remote areas, it would seem important that the introduction of livestock schemes should be preceded by a more thorough needs assessment. This should include participatory consultations to determine what kind of scheme is most likely to succeed within a particular community.
42. Arable agriculture is unlikely to become a major source of livelihood in the remote settlements, because of the low rainfall and poor soils. Where crops have been grown, they are frequently of a type that remote area communities do not consume, and there have been problems over selling the produce. As with livestock, it is important to conduct participatory needs assessment exercises before embarking on future schemes.

43. Natural resources, in the form of veldt products and wildlife, were the traditional livelihood source for many people in remote areas. However, access to natural resources has been steadily reduced in recent years, through the implementation of policies such as those arising from the Tribal Land (amendment) Act. This did not recognise hunting and gathering as a land use, and it allows the allocation of land to people from outside the remote areas, for the purposes of establishing cattle posts.
44. Nevertheless, if sufficient and appropriate land could be made available, the exploitation of natural resources could become a significant livelihood source for remote area people, in keeping with their traditional skills. The most appropriate mechanism for achieving this is through Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) schemes, which require communities to establish a trust, and to observe regulated management practices with the aim of creating a sustainable income.
45. CBNRM has a mixed history in Botswana. One of its objectives is to preserve the natural resources in remote areas for the benefit of those who live there, and to establish mechanisms for the equitable distribution of any profits. At its best, it establishes a strong incentive for the local community to preserve the natural resources around them, since they stand to benefit directly from them.
46. CBNRM still lacks a guiding policy, although one has existed in draft form for three years. The RADP would benefit if this policy were finalised and endorsed. This would make it easier to extend CBNRM projects to all of the remote communities within the RADP. It will be essential that modalities exist to ensure the full involvement of all members in the decision-making processes of the CBNRM trusts, and to ensure that the revenues are equitably distributed.
47. Social Welfare, together with the old age pension scheme, is the dominant source of income for most people in the remote settlements. This is clearly neither desirable nor sustainable. It is clear, however, that the benefits payable under the destitute allowance will have to continue in the medium term, until sustainable alternatives can be developed. The RADP could assist in the effective implementation of the destitute allowance by helping to identify the eligible recipients, and to monitor its distribution. The Review Team recommends that in the long term, the RADP should aim at creating sustainable livelihood systems aimed at self-sufficiency. Emphasis should be on developing communities, to reduce dependence on Government.

H. The Economic Promotion Fund (EPF)

48. The Economic Promotion Fund (EPF) is the mechanism used by the RADP to support income generation and employment projects. The EPF provides investment funding and infrastructure for a range of different project activities, including tanneries, livestock, handicrafts and poultry. It also funds training activities for people to upgrade their skills, and assists them to access other enterprise development funds (such as CEDA).

49. Although the people in remote areas are supposed to be involved in initiating the EPF projects, the fund has been criticised for replicating the same project activities across all of the communities, regardless of different local circumstances. Due to insufficient consultation, the EPF has tended to disregard local circumstances, and its projects are not always appropriate. The EPF projects are characterised by a lack of commitment from the beneficiaries and a culture of dependence; hence many of them fail.
50. The EPF is also constrained by the lack of markets for the produce. The quality of the goods produced is also generally low. Some of the produce depends upon veldt products, which are seasonal in nature, and whose sustainability is poorly understood. In addition, many people (including the RADP officers themselves) indicated that the level of training of the officers running the programme was not sufficient to allow them to effectively support the projects. The quality of extension support from other departments has also been poor (See L below).
51. The Review Team's conclusion is that the EPF, in its current form, is unsustainable. The effectiveness of the EPF would be greatly enhanced by a more comprehensive and meaningful process of community consultation prior to the initiation of projects. Communities should be actively involved in the conception, planning and implementation of projects for their own economic benefit. In this way, it would be easier to ensure that there is a real demand for products, and EPF projects would enjoy greater community support and participation. It is also important that appropriate training and extension support is provided to ensure the success of the projects.

I. Education

52. Education and training is recognised as a critical component of the RADP, as it is the key to the long-term goals of self-reliance and equal opportunity. The RADP provides schools and educational materials, including school uniforms, to remote area children, and transports children over long distances (even from within the CKGR). This can be expected to have a long-term positive impact on the livelihoods of remote area people. With a few exceptions, the academic performance of remote area schools is poor, and the dropout rate is high.
53. Education in remote areas faces unique problems. Although recognised settlements are now all provided with primary schools, not many areas have sufficient population to justify having their own secondary schools. Many school children are therefore forced to live away from home, and it is necessary to provide boarding facilities. This is perceived to be a serious problem by people in remote areas, who feel that it is against their culture to be parted from their children.
54. A second problem is that education is not perceived as being sensitive to divergent cultures, traditions and languages. There are also allegations of maltreatment, attributed to ethnic intolerance in the boarding hostels. Respondents expressed the desire that their children should be taught in their own language, rather than in Setswana, particularly at primary level. The

RADP could help to develop educational materials in the local languages. It would also seem desirable that the RADP should attempt to accelerate the employment in schools of people from the remote areas, so that the children would feel less alienated.

55. The national school calendar is also said to cause problems for children, who are unable to take part in cultural rituals such as those associated with puberty, or in seasonal livelihood activities such as hunting or gathering. The RADP could undertake a participatory discussion with communities in order to discuss possible changes in the school timetables in order to accommodate these social and cultural practices where appropriate.
56. There is also a case for affirmative action, such as allowing lower entry requirements for remote area children to progress to secondary and tertiary level, in recognition of their disadvantages at lower levels.

J. Health and HIV/AIDS

57. All of the recognised settlements are now equipped with a health post and nurse. Although health outcomes are not reported in a way that is specific to remote areas, there is evidence that malnutrition and infectious disease are likely to be worse than the rural average. Despite this expectation, health issues were not reported to be a major problem during the consultative phase of this Review, either by Government officials or by community members.
58. Nevertheless, HIV/AIDS is known to be a major development and public health concern in Botswana. Although rural infection rates are generally lower than the urban rates, they are nevertheless a threat to the remote dwellers. The current environment in remote settlements, with high unemployment, low education levels and high alcohol consumption provides an environment where HIV infection might spread very rapidly. The impact of the epidemic will hamper efforts to establish sustainable livelihoods.
59. For the time being, the RADP could assist people in remote areas with access to the testing facilities currently available in the Tebelopele centres, and assist with access to anti-retroviral treatments where these are required. The RADP should also cooperate fully with the District level efforts to provide education and awareness about HIV/AIDS, as well as issues concerned with reproductive health and other sexually transmitted diseases.

K. Structure, Coordination and Implementation

60. The success of the RADP depends significantly on the management of the programme. The RADP currently falls within the Ministry of Local Government, and is administered by the District Councils. The RADP operates as a special programme, which was approved through a presidential directive. As is usually the case, this directive does not spell out the objectives and strategy for implementation of the programme. The fact that the RADP was adopted as a presidential directive makes the programme appear as if it was centrally imposed, since neither the implementers nor beneficiaries (or their

Parliamentary representatives) were involved in its conception and design. As a result, the RADP objectives are not widely understood by the public, or even by some civil servants responsible for its implementation. The general observation from the consultations is that the absence of a RADP policy document implies there is no specific policy framework to guide the implementation of the programme.

61. The RADP has evolved as a stand-alone programme. It provides services that cut across other ministerial service and extension provisions, albeit without a central coordinating mechanism with those other ministries. Thus, the relationship of the RADP Coordinating Division and the other ministries that provide district and lower level extension services is not elaborated. This may also be partly due to the weakness of linkages between the Rural Extension Coordinating Committee (RECC) of the Rural Development Council (RDC) and the District Development Committees. The RADP is therefore not well integrated and coordinated with other rural development programmes. Additionally, the RADP Coordinating Division is understaffed and lacks adequate clout within the ministry.
62. The RADP has no elaborate monitoring system, or objective measures for determining levels of achievement, and it lacks an “exit mechanism” – or timetable for completion of the programme and its different components. It is clearly important to establish a structured monitoring system for RADP.
63. At District level, the RAD officers do not have centrally defined policy guidelines or strategy for programme implementation. Day to day activities and practices are subject to the interpretation of individual officers. For this reason, there is a lack of uniformity amongst different field offices. It is clear that they need clarification of their goals and targets.
64. As at central level, the District Councils have difficulties in integrating and coordinating RADP activities with other ministerial development and extension activities. As a result, the RADP activities are not effectively integrated with “normal” development activities. There is a case for Government to consider either changing the Local Government (District Councils) Act to give overall development coordinating functions and authority to the councils, or relocating the RADP to District Administration (DOD), which has overall development coordinating functions. However, the review team sees the strengthening the district councils’ implementation capacities to be most urgent. This would require enhancing the status and manpower capacities of the RADP departments in the councils.
65. The Team felt that the RADP units in the districts need to be given the same status as other departments. The training of officers needs to be upgraded, and made compatible with their community development function.

L. Effectiveness of Extension Services

66. Although the RADP has had some success so far in the provision of infrastructure, effective extension services are essential to its future success and sustainability.
67. Many past reviews have highlighted the level, adequacy and appropriateness of training given to the officers responsible for implementing the RADP as a problem. These include the Remote Area Development Officers (RADO) in the District headquarters, and the Assistant Project Officers (APOs) in the settlements.
68. As indicated elsewhere (50), the level of training of the APOs is not adequate for the responsibilities they are expected to carry. The RADOs are also usually trained in social work, rather than in community development – which is the primary focus of the RADP. They are therefore not properly equipped to offer the most appropriate advice to community members.
69. The APOs are not always resident in the communities they serve. Communities which did not have a resident APO were very critical of this fact, because they perceived that the APOs were distant and could not appreciate their needs and requirements. It would seem essential to staff the RADP sufficiently to allow resident, properly trained APOs in all of the settlements.
70. There were also allegations that some of the APOs and RADOs displayed negative attitudes towards the communities they were meant to assist. It would seem clear that the training of RADP officers should include an element of cultural sensitivity, and understanding of the situation of people in remote areas.

M. Community Organisations and Leadership

71. Participants in the Review stressed the importance of local institutions existing within the settlements, such as the Kgotla, the Village Development Committee (VDC) and the Parent Teacher Association (PTA). However, although the Kgotla was perceived as having symbolic importance, community development projects are primarily coordinated by the VDC. That elevated the importance of VDCs.
72. Community organisations and leadership were perceived to be generally weak. Many of the institutions were reported to be inactive, or dormant. The degree of participation in them is generally low, most especially among marginalised groups such as the Basarwa. The VDCs therefore lack effective leadership and delivery capacity, and Village Extension Teams (VETs) urgently require strengthening.
73. Therefore, there is a pressing need to build up the capacity of local institutions such as the VDC, possibly by working through the District Development Committees (DDC). The district and village extension services are in need of clearer goals, and closer monitoring. In general, it is important that the

institutions are familiar with the processes of participatory consultation and project development, and their members will require training in these areas.

74. Finally, steps need to be taken to ensure that the planning and implementation of the RADP reverts to a “bottom up” approach, where the remote area communities themselves are intimately involved in issues affecting their own development. The implementing officers need to be given the skills to accomplish this function.
75. To this end, it should be noted that there are many Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and community based organisations (CBOs) operating in the remote areas. NGOs often possess the skills and experience to conduct community led development projects. Government should seek a contractual relationship with NGOs where they exist, in order to maximise local capacity, and incorporate expertise that does not currently exist in the public sector.

1 Introduction

A. **Purpose of the Review**

- 1.1 This review of the RADP was guided by the aim to “*formulate a revised Remote Area Development Programme and develop comprehensive strategies for its implementation*” (MLG, 2002: 4). In this, it was thought imperative to adhere to the National Guiding Principles of Democracy, Development, Self-Reliance, Unity (as reiterated in the various National Development Plans), and Botho, which is contained in the Vision 2016.
- 1.2 These principles suggest a re-direction of Government programmes to activities that go beyond the provision of infrastructure and services. They emphasise the importance of social and cultural development, environmental conservation and fostering of political participation. However, Government has also recognised that the critical problem that requires redress is extreme poverty. Poverty may be combated by developing sustainable livelihoods, creating economic opportunities, building local capacity, improving the levels of security, and supporting the social and political development of people in the remote areas.

B. **Comments on the Terms of Reference**

- 1.3 The Terms of Reference for the Review of the Remote Area Development Programme (Article 2.5) state the overall goal of the programme thus:
To achieve sustainable social and economic development of the remote area dwellers, through a co-coordinated and integrated approach of sectoral developments, so that they can equally benefit from the rapid growth of the country. (P.2)
- 1.4 The proposed review is justified in view of perceived weaknesses and failures of the current RADP. These are (3.1 a to 3.1 e): lack of economic development in the remote areas; poor housing, poverty, unemployment, and lack of income generation; weak institutional and leadership structures that constrain internal consultation and dialogue with local authorities; high illiteracy and lack of appreciation of educational goals; and the lack of commitment and involvement by other Ministries and organisations in the development of remote settlements.
- 1.5 The interpretation of the Terms of Reference is as follows:
TOR4.1 (a) *To review the objectives, target group and strategies of the RADP and align them with Vision 2016 and national principles.*
- 1.6 This TOR requires critical assessment of the RADP in terms of how it identifies the problems, its objectives, assumptions, selection of target group, and choice of implementation strategy. It also directs us to determine whether the programme's features are in line with Botswana's national principles and the Vision 2016.

- (b) *To assess the relevance and impact of the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF) and recommend suitable funding mechanisms as well as alternative viable and sustainable income generating and employment activities in RAD settlements.*
- 1.7 This TOR calls for examination of the impact of the EPF on the remote area communities. It suggests that the EPF is somewhat deficient, and calls for identification of an appropriate funding scheme that would promote viable income generation activities, create employment opportunities, and reduce the remote area communities' dependency on the Government.
- (c) *Review the effectiveness of the structure and organisation of the RADP co-ordination units/divisions at both the local and central Government and community levels with a view to promoting co-ordination and efficient service delivery to the RADs communities.*
- 1.8 This TOR directs us to a critical assessment of the performance of existing organisational structures, interactions and relationships. It aims at proposing structural arrangements and practices that would enhance administrative coordination at the national, district, and local community levels and improve effectiveness and efficiency in service delivery.
- (d) *To review the current extension services provided to RADs and recommend strategies [to enhance their] effectiveness in the improvement of the livelihoods of RAD communities.*
- 1.9 This TOR relates to RADP implementation. It calls for an examination of the extension services, to determine ways in which they could be made more effective in improving livelihoods. Extension services are pivotal to the implementation of the RADP, as they are the lynchpin at which policy is translated into projects that affect the communities. It is crucial to determine the extent to which extension officers understand the dynamics of the communities they serve; the adequacy, appropriateness and availability of the extension services; the extent to which they complement livelihoods and the communities' attitudes towards these services.
- (e) *To examine the impact of the provided social infrastructure such as schools, health facilities, etc. and recommend ways of further improving access, retention, and performance, especially in RADs schools.*
- 1.10 This TOR directs us to determine the utilisation (or non-utilisation) of the social services provided to targeted remote communities, their effects on the lives of remote area dwellers, and propose ways of promoting increased utilisation and acceptance of the amenities and facilities.
- (f) *To assess access to land and management practices by RADs communities and recommend any improvements.*
- 1.11 This TOR calls for examination of obstacles to access to land, which is a primary economic resource. It is aimed at addressing the issue of land rights. It directs us to make proposals for improving access to this natural resource, which is central in attempts at creating sustainable livelihoods. It

is crucial to understand the sources of livelihoods in remote areas, the existing or recognised land use patterns and competition for alternative land uses (e.g. with wildlife management, game reserves, grazing). It is also important to recognise that any changes in land utilisation will demand alterations in management practices.

(g) *To identify indigenous knowledge, talent and practices amongst RADs with the view to promote socio-economic development of their settlements.*

1.12 This TOR calls for investigation and assessment of the potential contribution of indigenous knowledge to socio-economic development in the RAD settlements.

(h) *To assess the characteristics and levels of developments in RAD settlements and suggest mechanisms for their graduation to village status.*

1.13 This TOR directs the review team to examine, in the context of the National Settlement Policy, whether RAD settlements have developed to a level at which they could be re-classification into villages.

(i) *Based on findings from (a) - (h), above, formulate a revised Remote Area Development Programme and develop comprehensive strategies for implementation thereof.*

1.14 This forms the most critical aspect of the consultancy. It suggests generation of recommendations and proposals for a new Remote Area Development Programme. The proposals would thus aim at resolution of current RADP problems, and adoption of a sustainable approach to remote area development.

(j) *To dovetail the recommendations at (i) with those of the Rural Development Policy, Poverty Alleviation Study, and other relevant policies and programmes.*

1.15 This TOR directs the review team to examine the connections amongst existing policies with the RADP and suggest ways of harmonising them for the furtherance of remote area development.

(k) *Based on (i) and (j) above, to develop an implementation Action Plan with in-built reviews, monitoring and evaluation.*

1.16 The TOR calls for the design of a comprehensive strategy, a plan for implementation and a system for monitoring and review of the programme. Whereas recommendations for an implementation strategy may be given at this juncture, an Action Plan can only be reasonably formulated after the approval of the policy and strategy recommendations. That means that once a formal decision has been made to implement the accepted recommendations, an appraisal of what is feasible to implement has to be done. Thus, the formulation of an Action Plan is not realistic at this stage.

C. Objectives of the Review

- 1.17 The BIDPA Team's Review appraised existing assumptions, strategies, and delivery framework in relation to the extent to which these contribute to the attainment of the stated objectives. The review had the following objectives:
1. To investigate the major causes of severe and chronic poverty among remote area communities through a study of the current and historical economic activities that have sustained remote area livelihoods, and the extent to which they are sustainable in the contemporary situation.
 2. To identify social, cultural, economic, and institutional obstacles to sustainable development of remote settlements and their inhabitants.
 3. To assess the effectiveness of RADP organisation, management, and inter-sectoral collaborative efforts in the development of remote settlements and inhabitants.
 4. To provide conclusions and recommendations about interventions to improve the livelihoods of the people living in remote areas, and to raise the level of sustainable development in those areas in accordance with the national principles, and aspirations of Vision 2016.

D. Approach and Methodology

- 1.12 The BIDPA team based its analysis on three main activities: consultation, desk-based research, and a feedback process. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with policymakers, public officers involved in implementing the RADP and other concerned groups. Participatory and approaches were used in discussions held with community members.
- 1.13 The Review aims to examine and evaluate the attainment of RADP objectives, and assess the effectiveness of programme implementation. It analyses the relationships between the competing needs of preserving culture and improving the standards of living of the remote area communities, including issues of land use and planning.
- 1.14 The consultations have had the following objectives:
- To identify the primary sources of livelihoods for remote area dwellers, as well as the constraints they face in terms of raising the incomes they earn from these activities or shifting to other, more lucrative, activities.
 - To understand better the multi-dimensional nature of remote area poverty, including problems associated with weaker social networks, marginalisation and loss of cultural identity.
 - To examine the effectiveness and impacts of institutions that deliver goods and services to the remote area communities - Government agents, donors, NGOs and community-based organisations such as church groups - from the perspective of all stakeholders.
- 1.15 The Team has based its Review on the following general questions:

- What are the major types of and causes of poverty in remote areas?
 - Who does poverty affect most?
 - What are the main effects of poverty?
 - What are the problems that the RADP is supposed to resolve?
 - What are the assumptions behind the programme?
 - What are the impacts of the RADP; to what extent has the programme attained its objectives?
 - What is the way forward?
- 1.16 The approach to data collection entailed various participatory methods. The combination of these methods provided insights and understanding of stakeholders' perceptions, the impact of current policies, and ideas on organisational arrangements, practices, and alternative strategies.
- 1.17 The consultative and data gathering elements involved the following activities:
- i. National Level**
 - Consultation with policymakers at central Government level, particularly the Ministry of Local Government (including the RADP coordinating Division); Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (Rural Development Coordinating Division); Office of the President.
 - Consultation with other Ministries and departments involved in the RADP e.g. Education, Health, Agriculture, etc.
 - Consultations with other agencies, interested parties or stakeholders, civil society organisations and NGOs with an interest in remote area communities, e.g. Ditshwanelo, WIMSA (Botswana), Conservation International, etc.
 - Members of Parliament
 - Bilateral and Multilateral Donor Agencies, e.g. DFID, etc.
 - ii. District level**
 - Consultation with planners and policy implementers in the districts, i.e. District Administration and the Local Authorities, and various Council Departments, i.e. S&CD, Housing, Sanitation and Health
 - Councillors
 - NGOs operating projects in remote areas, e.g. Kuru Development Trust, the Agency for Cooperation in Research and Development (ACORD).
 - iii. Community Level**
- 1.18 The consultation with remote area communities involved participatory techniques, which enabled the researchers to solicit the views and ideas of

- on a number of key issues. This process concentrated on community focus groups, community leaders, and Community Based Organisations (CBOs)
- 1.19 Desk-based research aimed at assessing international best practice, in order to identify and describe experiences and practice elsewhere in the world, where similar problems have been encountered.

iv. Data Collection Methods

- 1.20 Stakeholder participatory workshops – this method brings together a group of relevant stakeholders involved in policy formulation, planning, designing, monitoring and implementation of RAD programmes or projects.
- 1.21 Key informant interviews – Interviews with key stakeholders, to solicit their views, perceptions and ideas on the major issues. The emphasis of the interviews was particularly on the programme gaps, constraints and alternative ideas for remote area development, as well as effective instruments for implementation, coordination and monitoring.
- 1.22 Focus group discussions (FGDs) – These bring together groups of people representing the communities for an in-depth 2-4 hour consultation process. These were specific groups stratified according to age, gender, social class and status, education and ethnicity. Issues included gender, health, environment, programme approaches, effective local structures, and the need for alternative strategies, empowerment and skills development.

v. Sample Areas

- 1.23 The RADP currently provides services to 65 remote settlements in different parts of Botswana. The Team conducted a full participatory assessment in six of these settlements, namely Qangwa, Zoroga, Malatswai, Robelela, Monong and Kgo'esakeni (New Xade). Additional one-day meetings were held in a further six settlements, namely Dobe, Tshokatshaa, Xere, Tshokwe, Zutshwa and West Hanahai.

E. Organisation of the report

- 1.24 This report consists of an Executive Summary and eleven other chapters. Chapter one is the Introduction; two, Background to the RADP; three, International Perspectives; four, Implications of Existing Policies to the RADP; five, Objectives of the RADP; six, RADP Targeting; seven, Land Rights, Access and Use; eight, Promoting Sustainable Livelihoods; nine, Social Infrastructure in the Remote Rural Settlements; ten, Structure, Coordination and Implementation of the RADP and eleven, Summary of the recommendations for a Revised RADP and Implementation Strategy. The last chapter lists thirty-three policy and forty-one strategy recommendations.

2 Background to the RADP

A. History of the RADP

- 2.1 The Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) is supposed to target citizens of Botswana who live in settlements located far from centres of basic services and facilities. As described above, the targeted people are characterised by severe poverty, lack of incomes and education, have low literacy levels, and depend on a deteriorating ecological resource base. The areas most affected are the western districts of Ghanzi and Kgalagadi, western Kweneng and Southern districts.
- 2.2 The origins of the RADP are in the colonial era. After independence, in the 1970s, the Botswana Government launched the Bushmen Training and Settlement Project, which piloted a resettlement scheme, and expanded support for primary education of Basarwa, an initiative pioneered by the Reformed Church of Botswana mission at D'Kar (Cukuri et.al., 2000)) to prepare their children for more positive and productive roles in society.
- 2.3 These initiatives were advanced in the 1970-75 National Development Plan, which had a specific objective of helping Basarwa adapt to the fast evolving economy of Botswana, under a project (LG04) in Ministry of Local Government and Lands. In 1975, Government launched the Basarwa Development Project (LG 32), which recognised the cultural, social and the spatial constraints that were thought to be impediments to Basarwa obtaining benefit from national economic development.
- 2.4 The 1974/75 Rural Incomes Distribution Survey (RIDS) showed that severe poverty was not only confined to Basarwa as an ethnic group, but affected many people in geographical locations outside organised villages. This led in 1978 to the replacement of the Basarwa Development Programme with the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP). The new programme's emphasis was characterised by a change from ethnic identification of beneficiaries, to geographic targeting of all people that lived in remote areas. Thus the new targets became all marginalised communities in the remote areas of Botswana.
- 2.5 The basic assumption of the programme was that the primary constraint to remote area development and poverty reduction was geographic location and inadequate access to basic social services. This meant that people living in these areas did not benefit from national development programmes.
- 2.6 The RADP evaluation of 1985 led to the initiation of the Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme in 1987. Hence a special rural development programme was launched in 1989, covering seven areas that were most affected: the North-West, Kweneng, Central, Ghanzi, Kgalagadi, Southern, and Kgatleng districts. The new initiative was aimed at establishing permanent settlements, promoting productive economic activities, and provision of public services, as a means to improve living conditions of the

people inhabiting these remote areas. This would be the basis for integration of marginalised communities into “the mainstream of society.”

- 2.7 It was suggested at that time that the RADP should shift emphasis from the settlement strategy and infrastructure development, to issues such as land rights, employment opportunities, institution building, leadership training, and changing the prevailing (negative) public attitudes toward the target population. The National Development Plan (NDP) 7 suggested a reorientation of RADP, to incorporate processes of political, social, and economic empowerment. Thus, the current focus of the RADP evolved.

B. Previous Reviews of the RADP

i. Evaluation of the RADP (Egner, 1981)

- 2.8 This assessment of the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) identified problems of implementation and suggested ways of solving them. It attempted to clarify the issues that bear upon the attainment of programme goals; with particular emphasis on presenting choices open to the Government with regard to the future of the RADP.
- 2.9 The report concluded that the RADP had remained largely unchanged since its inception. It was the latest of various Government interventions on behalf of the remote area dwellers. The interventions started with colonial administrators in 1885, they were revised in the 1930s, reformulated from 1959 to 1966, and then re-orientated by the independent Government from 1973 onwards. During colonial times, the district administration implemented the policy of “*giving extra assistance to the backward elements of the population.*” After independence it continues to deal with the special needs of Basarwa and those who share a similar lifestyle, in what Egner referred to as “mixed cattle post communities.” In 1973, “*more financial resources became available for project implementation aimed at meeting basic needs and extending the network of social services,*” and in 1978 the target group was defined in geographical rather than ethnic terms to cover “*all people living outside organised village settlements.*”
- 2.10 The report critically examined the 1978 RADP objectives, which were presented as follows:
- Social services: extension of basic services (education, health, drinking water, vulnerable group feeding schemes) to remote areas.
 - Economic: access to land; water rights; income generating opportunities for remote area dwellers.
 - Political/Legal: self reliance; reducing dependency; social integration; awareness of rights.
- 2.11 It concluded by stating that extension of social services, and the economic objectives, were both feasible though not particularly different from general national policy that sought to bring services to all the citizens of Botswana.

- 2.12 However, the political/legal objective (which was narrowly focused on the Basarwa) was not as feasible, due to lack of political and legislative backing. In addition, the remote area peoples' rights to land, water and wages (gained in 1974) were not entrenched and "*could well prove ephemeral in the absence of the firm political support,*" since the political objectives had never been adopted as national policy.
- 2.13 The report recommended that the RADP objectives be submitted to Cabinet for approval. Should the objectives be approved, that the Ministry of Local Government and lands be authorised to "*call upon other ministries to make vigorous use of existing laws and to introduce new legislation where necessary to secure widespread compliance with the objectives of the RADP.*" In addition, attention should be paid to the June 1979 remote area dweller Workshop resolution that the RADP be re-launched from the highest level with the same measure of publicity accorded to major programmes such as the TGLP and ALDEP.

ii. Review of NORAD's Support of the RADP (1991)

- 2.14 This report (Chr. Michelsen Institute, 1996) evaluated the successes and problems of the RADP during the period 1988-1996, when it was supported by NORAD. The report addressed similar issues to the TOR of the present review, and contained six main chapters, described below.
- 2.15 The first chapter discussed resources and land use. It concluded that the changing land use patterns brought about by changing technology (e.g. boreholes) and the concentration of population under the RADP has led to an unsustainable use of natural resources in the vicinity of settlements. It contended that future alternatives must be based upon sustainable natural resource use, and stressed the need for an ecological perspective.
- 2.16 The second chapter described the history and role of NORAD in the RADP. It discussed the question of definition of the purpose of the RADP - i.e. is it targeted towards the San as an ethnic group, or is the targeting correctly described as being related to location? It concluded that ethnic targeting is important in order to address the true underlying problems of Basarwa land rights and negative social attitudes towards them.
- 2.17 The third chapter discussed the RADP as rural development, as it related to the 1972 Rural Development Policy in force at the time. It concluded that the performance of the RADP has been satisfactory with regard to the objectives of infrastructural development, water and health services. It discussed the controversies over the provision of education, particularly as regards the issue of hostels (see section 9B.v below).
- 2.18 In a discussion of the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF), the report concluded that it has been successful in promoting activities related to raising small stock, but somewhat less so when applied to arable agriculture, crafts or commercial ventures (including wildlife and veldt product harvesting). The judgment of the report was that the expenditure

- on the EPF has not been matched by positive results, and that the RADP “seems to a large degree to have lost its sense of direction and purpose.”
- 2.19 Chapter four discussed the organisation and administration of the RADP, which it characterised as a “decentralised project which is only loosely coordinated by a one-person unit in MLGLH...” Most of the project initiative is left to the Districts. The report called for a “more vigorous and active promotion of policy goals and a more active coordination of the effort.” It concluded that the monitoring and evaluation efforts have had little impact on the operations of the RADP.
- 2.20 Chapter five discussed legal aspects of access to land and other resources by Basarwa, and asserted that the Basarwa were being denied their rights to their native land, in a continuation of colonial practice by the present Government. The report called for the granting of such rights through affirmative action, and for some restitution of land lost to the Basarwa in the past. It saw land rights as the cornerstone for developing sustainable livelihoods in the remote areas. The lack of access by Basarwa to adequate legal services was identified as an obstacle to progress in this area.
- 2.21 The final chapter presented the main recommendations for future cooperation between Botswana and Norway, following the termination of Norwegian funding for the RADP. It outlined four main areas of interest within the perspective of an “empowerment strategy:”
- Norwegian support for Basarwa interest and advocacy groups in pursuing land rights and access to resources.
 - Support for the re-launching of the RADP on the basis of an improved structure for policy formulation and coordination (including training of staff).
 - Support for a renewed education initiative to overcome the controversial issues related to education in remote areas.
 - Cooperation in research, and in training and staff development for RADP employees.
- 2.22 In conclusion, the evaluation of NORAD support took a decidedly negative view of the direction and coordination of the current RADP. The most significant conclusion was probably that the RADP has been reasonably successful in addressing the physical and infrastructural needs of remote areas, but has failed to address the political and legal problems that have undermined the development of ethnic Basarwa.

iii. Internal Draft Review of the Remote Area Dweller Development Programme (1997)

- 2.23 This review (internal to the Ministry of Local Government) noted the RADP objectives as follows:
- To integrate Basarwa into mainstream society.
 - To provide basic development to Basarwa that is comparable to other rural villages
 - To promote productive activities and establish permanent settlements
 - To achieve sustainable social and economic development of remote area dwellers through a coordinated approach
- 2.24 The review also observed the following constraints that characterise remote areas
- Lack of economic development
 - Lack of access to adequate land and knowledge of their protection by Law
 - Existence of weak institutions and leadership structures
 - High illiteracy rates
 - Lack of coordinated inter-ministerial commitment to the RADP
- 2.25 Key strategies suggested for achieving the objectives of the RADP are listed as follows:
- Selection and development of catchment areas into a settlement in accordance with the National Settlement Policy
 - Locate the catchment area close to a wildlife management area whenever possible
 - Drill and equip a borehole to provide portable water and a back-up borehole provided where possible
 - Provide basic social services of education, health, social welfare etc near to remote settlements
 - Compensate remote area dwellers for relocation purposes
 - Promote productive economic activities
 - Exploit participatory rural appraisal methodologies for project initiation and development
 - Ensure that all Government stakeholders are involved.

3 International Perspectives

A. Overview

- 3.1 The problems faced by people in remote areas of Botswana have many parallels around the world. They are typically faced by indigenous peoples who are in a cultural or ethnic minority, and who face problems arising from loss of access to land and resources, or a culture of common property rights as described above. A useful overview of experiences is provided by a recent IFAD² discussion paper on indigenous peoples (IFAD, 2003).
- 3.2 This discussion paper summarises IFAD's experience of working with the rural poor in Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific over the past 25 years. It discusses the problems and challenges faced by what it refers to as "indigenous" peoples, the majority of whom are poor. The indigenous peoples are defined as having *"a historical continuity...consider themselves distinct from other sectors of societies now prevailing in those territories...form at present non-dominant sectors of society...with a social and cultural identity distinct from the dominant or mainstream society, which makes them vulnerable to being disadvantaged in development processes"* (IFAD, 2003: 21).
- 3.3 The Government of Botswana takes the position that all of its peoples are "indigenous," and are guaranteed equal rights under the constitution. However, the definition quoted above by IFAD has strong parallels with the situation of remote area communities in Botswana. Whatever the understanding of the term "indigenous," the central issue is the aspect of historical marginalisation of some communities within any country. The IFAD report is directly pertinent to the target groups of the RADP, as elaborated in section 3F below.
- 3.4 The paper summarises the aspirations of "indigenous" peoples:
- First, that they want recognition and respect for their rights to the land they have occupied for generations, and the natural resources they have utilised for livelihood security and continued existence.
 - Second that their culture, languages, value and knowledge systems be respected in determining development initiatives. This implies they want a say in what is done to their lives, utilisation of their lands and resources, as well as a fair share of the benefits generated through the exploitation of their knowledge systems.
 - Third, that they want meaningful participation as contributors to and beneficiaries of their countries' development.
 - Fourth, that they want autonomy in the management of own affairs, through working in local institutions, in organisations and leadership

² International Fund for Agricultural Development

structures in which they participate in decision making processes (IFAD, 2003: 14).

- 3.5 Although it specifically excludes Africa, the study is applicable to the African continent because it has similar rural poor, who are marginalised and vulnerable, have similar aspirations, and face particular “*material, institutional and policy obstacles*” that prevent them from seizing opportunities for improved livelihoods.
- 3.6 The underlying conclusion from IFAD’s experience is that the “*rural poor people are fully capable both of integrating themselves into the mainstream of social and economic development, and of actively contributing to improved economic performance at the national level – provided that the causes of their poverty are understood and conditions are created that are conducive to their efforts.*” (IFAD, 2003). In addition, the paper states: “*It is the Fund’s perception that the majority of indigenous peoples do not want to be insulated from development interventions but seek to benefit from them while safeguarding their cultures, values and institutions*” (IFAD, 2003: 5).

B. The Issues

- 3.7 IFAD identifies three main issues drawn from its experience and lessons:

a) Security of rights over land and resources

- 3.8 Positive lessons have been learnt from interventions aimed at securing indigenous people’s rights over land and natural resources (including land, water, forests and minerals), through a variety of means:

- Initiation and promotion of dialogue with Governments.
- Participatory mapping of territorial boundaries.
- Promotion of legal recognition of demarcated land, ownership of land and production resources, and participatory preparation and implementation of land management plans incorporating indigenous knowledge systems.
- Raising awareness over rights and empowerment.

b) Integration of indigenous knowledge and cultural systems in the development effort.

- 3.9 It is crucial to utilise indigenous knowledge and cultural systems, which involves revitalizing traditional knowledge systems, and blending them with modern technology to boost productivity, sustainability, and enhance local self-esteem. IFAD sees the building of indigenous people’s cultural strengths as a basis for increased social integration of indigenous peoples into the mainstream of society.

c) Cultivation of social harmony.

- 3.10 IFAD’s experience is that peace may be consolidated through allowing communities to control how their livelihoods will be improved. Conflict

prevention and peace building are achievable through decentralisation, participatory community development, and control over the improvement of their own living conditions.

C. Measures for Supporting Sustainable Development

3.11 IFAD reports particularly positive results from utilising the following measures for promoting development:

- Provision of small scale local development funds managed directly by local communities and common interest groups. Accompanied by capacity building efforts, this enhances local ownership, managerial capabilities, and skills that may be applied to other activities.
- Strengthening indigenous organisations and governance systems that reinforce local participation in decision making processes, and in negotiations with external (national, international, and non-Governmental) parties that they interact with.
- Genuine inclusion, aimed at adequate representation of all, and promotion of egalitarian values (especially as regards women) in governance and economic development institutions.

3.12 Considering the issues outlined above, the following elements of a programme approach are deemed crucial:

- **Appropriateness:** programmes are more likely to be appropriate if they take an integrated view of indigenous people's livelihood systems.
- **Indigenous identity and social esteem:** these are crucial to locally meaningful development; hence developmental promotion should be sensitive to local culture and the use of local languages. These require production of training materials in local languages, support for multicultural education, and sensitivity training for non-indigenous stakeholders.
- **Capacity building** and training, including activities to strengthen collective action capabilities.
- **Grant financing** for innovative activities as useful complements to loans.

D. The Malaysian Experience

i. Background

3.13 The ethnic groups in Malaysia are diverse, speak their own languages and practice their own religions. However, Government reforms have helped overcome ethnic divisions and aim to provide indigenous people with the same opportunities as other members of Malaysian society.

ii. Land Issues

- 3.14 As elsewhere, the most pressing issue for the indigenous people of Malaysia is land. For example, amendments have been passed to the Land Code in Sarawak that makes it more difficult for indigenous communities to retain or protect their land. Such amendments empower the Minister to extinguish National Customary Rights to any state land. Some protests in the form of blockades have ensued as a reaction to this dispossession of land and these have been countered with fines (Suara, 1988:135, cited in web site: www.malaysia.net/aliran/hr/js7.htm).
- 3.15 The National Indigenous People's Forum of Malaysia (NIPFM) maintains that logging has invaded the ancestral lands of some of the country's indigenous groups. Land development schemes have resulted in many communities losing control over ancestral lands which were once under their guardianship. They suffered first from displacement from their lands, and then as exploited labour in large agricultural schemes. Indigenous people are also often not compensated adequately as promised prior to large re-settlement schemes.

iii. Culture

- 3.16 In terms of culture, there is a gradual but sure decline of indigenous languages, cultures and traditions and an imposition of education, law and order, values, religion structured on the system of the dominant society (NIPFM, 1993).
- 3.17 Some action was taken at the 1997 international conference of indigenous-tribal peoples of tropical forests to request the Government of Malaysia to redress the situation by considering the following:
- To recognize the right of the indigenous peoples over their Native Customary Right Land and Reserved land including: the immediate gazetting of land and granting of land title to the indigenous people; the immediate halt to de-gazetting of indigenous people's territories and; the immediate drafting of legislation to ensure fair land compensation for indigenous people.
 - To recognize the rights of the indigenous people's representatives to participate at international forums, conferences and workshops on matters affecting their interests.
 - To be fully accountable and fully responsible to the indigenous people affected by the Bakum Dam Hydro Project.

iv. Livelihoods

- 3.18 Regarding sources of livelihoods, there is the concern that indigenous people are forced to work as labourers on plantation schemes as a result of displacement from ancestral lands. Furthermore, their choice of crops and traditional methods of cultivation are influenced by the need for cash rather than for food first (NIPFM, Malaysia, 1993).

v. Education

- 3.19 On education, the NIPFM posits that an inappropriate education system exacerbates the erosion of the culture and identity of indigenous people. Additional factors include the effects of mainstream development as well as policy such as that for the integration and assimilation specifically targeting the Orang Asli (who are the lowest in the social hierarchy). This policy imposition, without consultation with affected peoples, contains values that run counter to their worldviews, lifestyles cultural and spiritual traditions (Conference Report on indigenous peoples and their plight, 1998, p152).

E. The Australian Experience

i. Background

- 3.20 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are the most disadvantaged group in Australia by almost every measure: of health, housing, employment and education (ATSIC³, 1997). Their disadvantage was acknowledged, through the constitutional referendum of 1967, to be a direct result of a legacy of two centuries of dispossession and marginalisation. Modern development in Australia was pursued through taking settled Aboriginal land across Australia without compensation, and the destruction of the indigenous peoples' land-centred culture.
- 3.21 The Aboriginal and Torres Strait people, who survived the dispossession and marginalisation by white Australia policies, were subjected to policies that variously attempted to relocate, convert, segregate or assimilate them. In remote areas of Australia, some groups may have remained in contact with their traditional land, but communities were impoverished and lacked the services that were abundant to other Australians.
- 3.22 Despite the introduction of special programmes to make Government services more accessible to indigenous Australians, these people continued to be disadvantaged by the failure of Government to provide equally for them. Although all Australian citizens were entitled to services at all levels, in practice this has not happened, either in the past or present.

³ The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission

- 3.23 As a result, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, in relation to the general population:
- Die on average 20 years earlier than other Australians.
 - Have higher maternal and infant mortality rates.
 - Suffer more from infectious and chronic diseases.
 - Experience an unemployment rate of 39% as against about 8.5% for the general community in 1997.
 - Are more likely to drop out of school – about 33% were finishing secondary school, compared with the national retention rate of more than 77%.

ii. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission

- 3.24 The Australian Government passed the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) Act in 1989, to advance self-determination for indigenous people. The aim of the Commission was to decentralise the administration of Aboriginal affairs through the different regions of Australia, and involve the participants at all levels of decision making.
- 3.25 ATSIC is headed by a Minister who represents it in Parliament, Cabinet and the Expenditure Review Committee of the Federal budget. ATSIC formulates and implements programmes, develops policy proposals, provides advice to the Minister and monitors the effectiveness of programmes for indigenous Australians. This representation is at a much higher level than in Botswana, where the RADP is headed by a Coordinator under the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government.
- 3.26 ATSIC also put in place separate arrangements for Torres Strait Islanders in acknowledgement of their minority status within the indigenous population. There is a Torres Strait Islander Advisory Board that provides advice to the Minister and ATSIC on social, economic and cultural advancement of Torres Strait Islanders living outside the Torres Strait area.
- 3.27 The majority of ATSIC's budget is given in grants to self-managing indigenous service delivery organisations such as housing cooperatives, legal services, land councils, and social, cultural; and sporting bodies. These organisations are an important instrument of self-management, and a major source of employment and training for indigenous peoples.

iii. Economic independence and livelihoods

- 3.28 The Community Development Employment Projects Scheme (CDEP) of ATSIC offers indigenous Australians the opportunity to work in a wide range of community development projects and enterprises. Members of the community are required to give up their entitlements to unemployment benefits in order to participate in the scheme.

- 3.29 ATSIIC provides a grant to the community to enable it to undertake community managed activities and pay wages to participants. In addition, community organisations managing projects receive funding to cover the costs of administration and capital items. The Scheme began in 1976 and an evaluation in the mid-1990s found that CDEP was an important source of training opportunities and that improved skills and qualifications prepared CDEP participants for employment in the mainstream labour market.
- 3.30 The Community Housing and Infrastructure Programme (CHIP) provides funding for building, purchasing and maintaining housing and other infrastructure in Aboriginal and Torres Strait communities. The aim of the programme is to enable Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities to enjoy infrastructure services of comparable standard to those enjoyed by mainstream Australian society.

iv. Culture

- 3.31 ATSIIC's Arts and Crafts Industry Support Strategy is targeted to remote areas of Australia where cultural production can be one of the few sources of outside income. ATSIIC provides funding for the maintenance of a network of art and craft centres, to assist artists with materials, marketing, documentation and advice on copyright. There are also regional language centres under the indigenous Languages Initiatives Programmes that promote language teaching, broadcasting, recording and researching. These centres are the main funding recipients.

v. Law and Justice

- 3.32 In Australia, the 1990s Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody found out that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander were more likely to be in custody by a factor of at least 15. These people were massively over-represented in cases across all stages in the justice system. A separate Legal Aid Service for these most disadvantaged communities was set up to improve outcomes of criminal matters, and also provide advice in other areas of the law. The service could undertake critical test cases that involved indigenous rights. The funds are provided to self-governing organisations with their own boards.

vi. Land

- 3.33 ATSIIC administers the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984, which preserves and protects places, areas and objects of particular significance to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. This legislation complements existing State and Territory laws, and is intended to be used only as a last resort where these laws are considered not to provide effective protection.
- 3.34 This approach contrasts with the Revised Monuments and Relics Act 2001 in Botswana, which protects all historical, archaeological, natural and cultural sites, and gives the Department National Museum the mandate to

protect these sites. In addition, this Act protection covers living traditions of the local communities, including religious ones. However, in Botswana, cultural sites are considered to be national assets, and there has been no encouragement to develop separate acts for different tribal rights to these sites. The aim was to promote continued sustainable use of the cultural sites for diversified uses in terms of social, cultural and economic benefits.

- 3.35 The Australian Commonwealth and State legislation has restored some land to indigenous owners and, in some cases, set up processes since the 1960s by which land can be claimed by indigenous groups. The Government and State Governments have also funded land acquisition claims programmes.
- 3.36 In 1992, in *Mabo vs. Queensland*, the High Court of Australia determined that indigenous ownership of land survived the colonisation of Australia, and recognised a form of property title, called "native title" in common law. This judgement was later confirmed by the 1996 *Wik* judgement that native title rights survive on land held under pastoral lease. These rights and other land rights cases in Australia could provide lessons of similarities and contrasts with Botswana's implementation of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy and the Fencing component of the National Agricultural Development Policy of 1991, which are reviewed in section 7C below.

F. *Relevance of the International Experiences to Botswana's RADP*

- 3.37 The IFAD paper points out a number of recent initiatives indicating that international political and technical support for indigenous peoples and their development has accelerated over the past decade. For example, the paper points out that the United Nations Secretary-General's report to the General Assembly in September 2001 (on follow-up to the Millennium Summit) mentions the need to pay special attention to the rights of minorities and indigenous peoples.
- 3.38 Since 1990, the Organisation for Economic cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank, the European Union, the Asian Development Bank, the Netherlands, Denmark, Germany and Spain have all formulated specific policies and guidelines in support of indigenous peoples. Notably, the European Commission has recommended that indigenous people's concerns be included in country and thematic strategies, and that their representatives participate in national assessments in support of indigenous peoples (IFAD, 2003 12-13).
- 3.39 The Botswana government considers all Botswana as indigenous to the country; thus the country has not signed the ILO Convention on indigenous and tribal peoples. The constitution protects the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals; every Botswana, irrespective of race, colour, religion, gender, political opinion or place of origin is protected by the constitution and guaranteed these rights and freedoms. The constitution

- further ensures that the enjoyment of these rights and freedoms by any individual does not prejudice the rights and freedoms of others or the public interest. The Government of Botswana is committed to building a nation of equals and every Motswana must have an unimpeded access to the benefits of independence and development.
- 3.40 Despite not having signed the above-mentioned Convention, Botswana supports its general principles and the objectives, in so far as they relate to the economically disadvantaged sections of the population. By the government's definition, these include groups of similar socio-economic status. It has therefore been the goal of the Government of Botswana to create an enabling environment for such groups to realize their full socio-economic potential and contribute to building a unified nation. In that regard, the Government of Botswana has initiated several programmes for the benefit of such groups, including the RADP.
- 3.41 Botswana has been at the forefront of efforts to specifically target poor and marginalised rural communities. The formulation of the RADP in the 1970s was due to the realisation that the remote rural communities (a majority of who are from the indigenous populations) were a special category who needed assistance, to fully participate and share in the social and economic development of the country. The Government has thus recognised that special attention must be placed on uplifting the poor and marginalised in the remote rural areas of the country. Whereas it is averse to "separate development," in which case it does not support territorial demarcation and recognition of ownership according to ethnic identity, the Government seeks to promote consultative and participatory development approaches of specific communities. This is shown in the preparation of the CKGR land management plan (see section 7G.iii below), as well as its support for the CBNRM strategy.
- 3.42 The consultative and participatory aspects are in line with IFAD's successful measures for promoting rural peoples' development. Additionally, Botswana's decentralised planning process through DDCs and VDCs can potentially support the people-based participatory approach to development at the grassroots levels.
- 3.43 The aspirations of remote area dwellers are quite similar to those summarised for the areas in which IFAD has been active. The measures for supporting sustainable development are directly relevant and applicable to Botswana. Direct management of development funds by local communities would be worth attempting. Local capacity building, the strengthening of local organisations and inclusive representation are all ideals that are incorporated in the National Principles and the Vision 2016.

4 Implications of Existing Policies to the RADP

A. Introduction – Poverty in Remote Areas

i. Spatial dimension

- 4.1 During the consultation exercise of Vision 2016 (Selolwane et al. 1997), an assessment was made of the remote and small settlements. The consultation reported that lack of employment and cash income was a major problem. As a result, poverty was deeper and more widespread than in larger settlements. Thus was manifested in poor shelter, inadequate food supplies, poor nutrition, inadequate clothing, susceptibility to diseases etc.
- 4.2 A major cause of poverty in remote areas of Botswana is the spatial dimension of these areas far away from more developed centres and markets (Moepeng, 1997). Remote area settlements have greater vulnerability to natural disasters (like drought) than larger villages, because they are located in marginal lands, and are by their nature not favourable locations for investment.
- 4.3 Remote areas suffer from disparities of regional and local economic growth as a direct consequence of a market economy (Jensen, 1996). The economic environment of settlements is determined by their distance from other centres, and the strength of trade linkages with the centre. For example, a settlement like Malatswai in the Central District will be disadvantaged in comparison to Oodi near Gaborone. Oodi residents enjoy the benefits of employment generated by the growth of Gaborone, while Malatswai residents have no such benefit.
- 4.4 In this sense a spatial logic will tend to chart the destiny of a remote area in the absence of affirmative action that can be used to raise the level of this community. The driving forces for addressing issues of spatial location are equity in access to services and the development of supportive policy.

ii. Undeveloped markets and Market failure

- 4.5 Remote areas are also characterised by underdeveloped and highly imperfect markets, and limited livelihood opportunities. According to the Review of Rural Development Policy 2001, natural resources are potentially important to marginal groups in remote areas. The decline in natural resource utilisation has eroded peoples' productive capacity and made them dependent on Government transfers.
- 4.6 Market failure is more pronounced in remote areas because of under-provision of goods and services. This arises because of poor transport links, long travelling times, and under-investment by both the Government and the private sector, partly because of low levels of political maturity, and also as a result of historical stigma. Households in remote areas are less likely to be able to access formal insurance services or income smoothing credit, and face greater vulnerability to risk (Bird, Hulme et al, 2002).

4.7 It might be assumed that with the development of infrastructure such as roads, electricity and telecommunications, market development will occur in remote areas. This might not be the case, even though the travelling time to and from the remote area settlement would be reduced, because markets, like all institutions with actors are subject to incentive systems. For instance, market incentives in remote areas are affected by population density, disposable incomes and traders' willingness to settle in an area. Thus, investments in communication infrastructure might facilitate access to labour markets and services, but have little effect on commodity markets in the short run. Any development programme should adopt the view that support for the remote area settlement will be required for some time before it can exit from assistance.

iii. Social infrastructure

4.8 The infrastructure in the rural areas of Botswana is varied. Although roads have improved markedly in recent years, many remote area settlements of Botswana are characterised by isolation and poor access. But, as shown in Table 4.2, RADP settlements have significant physical infrastructure. However, the remote settlements are characterised by weak social and political institutions. As a result, the institutions may be "overpowered" by outside systems involving people from "mainstream society." This domination is perceived as one of the main sources of their poverty status. For example, representatives of the new Xere settlement expressed the need to be allowed an exemption period to exclude other Botswana from settling in their settlement. Their argument is that, while they were aware of constitutional rights that allow any Botswana to settle anywhere in the country that is of his or her choice, integration was invariably followed by domination and increased poverty.

iv. Limited access to land and natural resources

4.9 Remote area settlements have limited access to the land. According to the RDPR, 2001, most of the land they inhabited and relied on for natural resources had been reduced significantly by the Tribal Grazing Land Policy, and introduction of borehole drilling technology. These resulted in much of the land previously used for natural resource harvesting being transformed into livestock ranches and cattle posts.

4.10 There is increasing pressure on access to natural resources and veldt products in remote areas. Although game meat is still important for marginal groups, this source of food has increasingly become a scarce commodity. With increasing income, hunting and gathering has tended to lose importance as a livelihood activity, being looked down upon as "primitive." These problems have contributed to dependency in remote areas.

v. Institutional representation

- 4.11 Remote areas are characterised by very low population density. In a political dispensation system where representation is based on population, these areas often find themselves politically marginalised. For instance, most remote communities have poor representation in the Land Boards.
- 4.12 Remote areas are also characterised by low literacy rates. During the consultation exercise, one of the major reasons the communities cited as a reason for their poverty is limited participation in the decision making of development processes that affect them. They do not have enough educated members to equally compete for membership in the representative policy making bodies. This issue will be discussed in more detail in section 7H.iii below).

vi. The role of migration

- 4.13 Jensen (1996) argued that neo-classical theory suggests that people will migrate between regions in response to spatial differences in rewards, and tend to reduce income disparities between locations or settlements. This suggests that an unfettered market will eventually remove income disparities between regions. Labour migration away from low-wage regions reduces the labour supply, leading to a higher labour price in that region. A free market with free labour mobility will therefore tend to achieve labour parity between regions.
- 4.14 However, the free movement of people in search of economic betterment is constrained by traditional attachment to land, and cultural considerations. Disparities between regions continue to exist. The most critical concern in addressing poverty as a location issue for remote settlements is whether citizens of remote areas have the same access to Government services as those located in larger settlements.
- 4.15 Migration can play an important role in regional economic relations between the poorer, labour exporting regions and labour scarce regions (Brown, 1997). On an international scale, migration of Batswana men to South African mines formed a significant contribution to GDP and a source of foreign exchange in the early years of independence. Brown (1997) found that remittances represented anything from 25 to 60% of total remittances in Tonga. The case for migration and its associated remittances may also be pursued as an option to address poverty in remote areas.
- 4.16 However, this strategy will not bring about the rapid emancipation of the poor in remote areas. This is because, at present, labour in remote areas is not competitive and cannot easily be exported, except to cattle posts where wages are very low. Nevertheless, as more children from remote areas become educated, they can be expected to migrate to regions where they will find better opportunities, and valuable employment in line with their educational attainment. Some of these might be expected to remit income back to the remote areas.

- 4.17 There are many Government policies and strategies that are relevant to the RADP. The three most notable examples are the National Settlement Policy of 1998, the revised Rural Development Policy of 2002, and the forthcoming Poverty Reduction Strategy. These are briefly described below, in relation to the RADP.

B. Botswana National Settlement Policy (NSP), 1998.

- 4.18 The National Settlement Policy arose from the perception articulated in the National Development Plan 5 (1979-1985) that spatially balanced development should be facilitated throughout Botswana in the interests of social harmony. The policy proposed a National Physical Development Plan, and a set of Regional Master Plans to guide the process of ensuring that infrastructure and services will be prioritised and located to reflect the distribution of natural and human resources.
- 4.19 The policy identifies four 'Planning Regions' and three 'Ecological Zones,' being ordered to guide planning and management of population growth and distribution, urbanisation, regional settlement distribution, land use and tenure, social and physical infrastructure, cost recovery, natural resources. Arable land is protected, communal land fenced, all villages are to have development plans and extended planning areas are to provide for control of surrounding agricultural land. Regions are to comprise production zones and a settlement hierarchy is to identify urban villages for high development priority.
- 4.20 For each Planning Region, a physical planning information system and a regional master plan are to provide a resource inventory and the means for their utilisation with specific reference to agriculture, water, wildlife/tourism, minerals, and energy. The Town and Country Planning Act is to be changed to accommodate village development plan implementation. District land use plans are to be prepared; grazing of cattle from ranches in communal areas is to be controlled; carrying capacities are to be established; and conflicting legislation is to be reviewed.
- 4.21 The identification of zones having some kind of competitive advantage, and the concentration of resources in those areas, if successful, should result in opportunities for new forms of livelihood. The NSP established a settlement hierarchy, based on the population, and the size of the "catchment area" which it serves. The categories of relevance to the RADP are the tertiary centres, namely:
- Tertiary II: - population range 1,000 - 4,999, serving a catchment area of 15 km. radius. This covers about 5% of existing RADP settlements.
 - Tertiary III: - population range 500 - 999, serving a catchment area of 5 km. radius. This covers about 20% of existing RADP settlements.
 - Tertiary IV: - population range 250-499, serving a catchment area of 5 km. radius. This covers about 55% of existing RADP settlements (but was originally intended to represent all of them).

- Other Settlements: - population range 150-249. These cover about 10% of existing RADP settlements, while a further 10% have populations less than 150.

4.22 The NSP aimed for equitable distribution of trained manpower, services and financial resources to settlements. The service entitlements of the settlement categories relevant to the RADP are shown in Table 4-1 below.

Table 4-1: Services to be provided under the National Settlement Policy

Settlement Type:	Tertiary II 1000-4999	Tertiary III 500-999	Tertiary IV 250-499
Health	Clinic without maternity	Health post	Health post
Education	Primary school	Primary school	2 teacher primary school Nursery school
Water	Council water supply	Council water supply	Council water supply
Tribal Administration	Headman of records Tribal police	Headman of records Tribal police	Headman of arbitration
Police	Police station	Police station based on need	Police station based on need
Agriculture	Crop production & forestry office Animal health & production office	Crop production & forestry office Animal health & production office	Agriculture extension services
Road	Secondary (if pop.>2000)	Tertiary	Tertiary
Power	Full service	Service where feasible	Service where feasible
Tele-communication	Full service	Public telephone where feasible	Two-way radio
Postal	Mini post office	Postal agency	Postal agency
Industrial Development	Serviced industrial site on demand	Serviced industrial site on demand	Serviced industrial site on demand
Radio	Radio transmitter	Radio transmitter	Radio transmission coverage
Community Development	Assistant community development officer	Mobile or subject to need assessment	Mobile community services

- 4.23 The NSP is a key instrument through which services have been made available to remote areas, and is very clear and progressive in addressing the concerns of development. Note however that the review of the NSP in 2002 has recommended that infrastructure and services should be provided only to settlements with a minimum population of 500 people and "Remote Area Dweller" settlements with a population range of 250 - 499 people. This would imply that services to the category "Other" in the table will be discontinued.

C. *Implications of the NSP for the RADP*

- 4.24 The RADP currently provides services to 64 settlements. All but one of these (Xere) was enumerated by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) in the 2001 population census. The populations of the remote settlements serviced by RADP are shown in Table 4-2 below, ordered by administrative district:
- 4.25 As shown, the RADP serves a population of about 38,000 people at present. The average settlement size is therefore about 600 persons. Note that 36 of the settlements (about 56%) contain more than 500 people. This means that they would normally qualify as "villages," or tertiary III settlements under the NSP, and could in principle "graduate" out of the tertiary IV status that was originally reserved for the RADP. In fact, 6 of these settlements contain more than 1,000 people, and could potentially be classified as tertiary II settlements.

Table 4-2: Population of Settlements Serviced by the RADP (2001)

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
Kgalagadi	Khawa	301	322	623	Primary School Health Post 1 borehole operational + bousing Tribal Admin Offices RADP Office Day Care Centre	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Local Police Court Clerk Teachers Nurse Family Welfare Educator RADA (Remote Area Dev. Assistant)
	Kokotsha	656	677	1,333	Primary School Health Post 2 boreholes Operational Cooperative Shop (Consumer) Tribal Offices RADP Office Day Care Centre	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Project Officer Teachers Nurse Family Welfare Educator Local Police Technical Assistant (VET) Borehole Operator
	Inalegolo	287	271	558	Primary School Health post RADP Office Tribal Offices 4 boreholes operational + 2 new boreholes Consumer Cooperative Shop	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Nurse Family Welfare Educator Assistant Project Officer Borehole Operator Local Police Court Clerk
	Phuduhudu	252	369	621	Primary School Health Post 1 borehole operational	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Nurse Family Welfare Educator

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
					+ 2 new boreholes RADP Office Tribal Offices Cooperative Shop		Local Police Assistant Project Officer Borehole Operator Court Clerk
	Make	172	194	366	Primary School Health Post RADP Office Day Care Center Water Reticulated from Lehututu Consumer Cooperative Shop	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Senior Remote Dev. Assistant Teachers Family Welfare Educator
	Ncaang	86	89	175	Health post under construction 1 borehole operational + 1 new + bousing Consumer Cooperative Shop Primary School Day Care Center	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Family Welfare Educator Assistant Project Officer Teachers
	Monong	77	95	172	Health Post Primary School Day Care Center 1 borehole 1 new borehole to Hunhukwe	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse, Family Welfare Educator Teachers Assistant Project Officer
	Zutshwa	263	262	525	Primary School Health Post RADP Office Trust Offices	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	RADA Family Welfare Educator Teachers Borehole Operator

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
					Day Care Center 1 borehole operational 1 borehole new + bowsing Consumer Cooperative Shop		
	Ukhwi	255	199	454	Primary School Health Post 1 borehole 1 consumer cooperative Shop Tribal Offices Trust Offices Day Care Centre	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Project Officer Teachers Local Police Nurse Family Welfare Educator Vet Inoculators Court Clerk
Mahalapye	Otse	643	651	1,294	Health Post Primary School 1 Borehole Hostels	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Teachers Matron Local Police Court Clerk Assistant Project officer Family Welfare Educator
	Mokgenene	246	287	533	Health Post Primary School 1 Borehole Hostels	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Teachers Local Police Assistant Project Officer Water Supply Operator Family Welfare Educator
	Moralane	250	264	514	1 Borehole Primary School	Headman of Arbitration	Water Pumper Nurse

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
					Health post	Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Family Welfare Educator
Bobirwa	Robelela	255	216	471	Health Post 2 boreholes Primary School Kgotla	Headman of Arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Borehole Operator Teachers Family Welfare Educator Assistant Project Officer
	Tshokwe	539	411	950	Kgotla Health post Primary School 1 borehole	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Court Clerk Local Police Nurse Family Welfare Educator General Duty Assistant Teachers SRADA Borehole Operator
	Lepokole	292	289	581	Health Post Primary School Kgotla 1 borehole Desalination Treatment Plant	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse General Duty Assistant Teachers Local Police Court Clerk Assistant Project Officer Plant Operators
	Damuchujenaa	431	351	782	Health Post Primary School 1 Borehole	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse General Duty Assistant Teachers

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
					Kgotla		Local Police Borehole Operator Assistant Project Officer Court Clerk
Boteti	Kedia	451	354	805	Kgotla Primary School Library RADs Hostels Water Available Reticulated from Mokoboxane 25 km Health Post	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Nurse Family Welfare Educator Court Clerk Local Police Librarian Veterinary Assistant Matron
	Khwee	246	231	477	Kgotla Health Post Primary School RADs Hostels Borehole with salty water	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Nurse Family Welfare Educator Local Police Veterinary Assistant Court Clerk
	Mmeya	330	364	694	Connected to Nthane water system Primary School Health post	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Nurse
	Xere (New)	0	0	236			
Serowe / Palapye	Gojwane	586	455	1,041	Tribal Administration Offices Health Post	Headman of record Village Development Committee	Nurse Teachers

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
					Primary School Agricultural Offices	Councillor	Veterinary Assistant Agricultural Demonstrator Local Police Family Welfare Educator Assistant Project Officer
	Dimajwe	540	512	1,052	Tribal Administration Offices Primary School Health Post Agricultural Offices Veterinary Offices	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Teachers Veterinary Assistant Local Police Family Welfare Educator Assistant Project Officer
	Malatswae	478	449	927	Tribal Administration Offices Primary School Health Post Agricultural Offices Veterinary Offices 2 boreholes	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Teachers Veterinary Assistant Agricultural Demonstrator Local Police/Court Clerk Family Welfare Educator SRADA
	Majwanaadipitse	213	213	427	Health Post Primary School 2 boreholes	Head of Record Village Development Committee Councillor	Family Welfare Educator Nurse Teachers APO
	Sehunong	-	-	-	Remote Area Dwellers Hostel		RADs Hostel Care Takers, General Duties Assistant, Matron
Tutume	Mabesekwa	901	1,041	1,942	Primary School Health post	Headman of record Village Development Committee	Teachers Nurse/Nurse Orderly

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
					Kgotla 2 Boreholes	Councillor	Local Police Court Clerk Water Supply Operator Agric Demonstrator FEW, Veterinary Assistant
	Lepashe	185	218	403	Primary School Health post 1 Borehole Kgotla	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Nurse Water Supply Operator Court Clerk Local Policeman FWE
	Tshokatshaa	220	238	458	Primary School Health Post 1 Borehole	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Family Welfare Educator Borehole – Pumper Local Police A/D SRADA
	Manxotae	243	228	471	Primary School Health post Kgotla Connected to Dukwi water system	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Nurse Local Policeman, Water Supply Operator Family Welfare Educator Veterinary Assistant
	Kutamogore	441	346	787	Primary School Kgotla	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee	Teachers Nurse

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
					Health post Borehole	Councillor	Family Welfare Educator Water Supply Operator SRADA
	Zoroga	421	566	987	Primary School Health post 1 Borehole	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers A/D Family Welfare Educator Borehole – Pumper Police (Local)
Ghanzi	West Hanahai	344	398	742	Health Post 2 Boreholes Primary School	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Project Officer Assistant Comm. Development Officer Family Welfare Educator Nurse VET Technical Assistant Agricultural Demonstrator
	East Hanahai	216	209	425	Health Post Primary School 2 Boreholes	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Project Officer Family Welfare Educator Nurse
	Bere	304	394	698	Health Post Primary School 2 Boreholes	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Project Officer Assistant Community Development Officer Family Welfare Educator Nurse
	Kacgae	228	238	466	Health Post Primary School 3 Boreholes	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Project officer Family Welfare Educator Nurse
	Groote-laagte	308	304	612	Health Post	Late	Assistant Project Officer

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
					Primary School 2 Boreholes	Village Development Committee Councillor	Family Welfare Educator Nurse
	Qabo	209	401	710	Health Post Primary School 2 Boreholes	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Commu. Development Officer Family Welfare Educator Nurse Agricultural Demonstrator
	Kgoisakeni (New Xade)	746	696	1,442	Health Post Primary School 2 Boreholes Hostel under construction	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Project Officer Assistant Comm. Development Officer Family Welfare Educator Nurse Agricultural Demonstrator Court Clerk
	N/Kanagas	364	418	782	Health post Primary School 2 Boreholes	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Commu. Development Officer Family Welfare Educator Nurse
	Chobokwane	345	416	961	Health post Primary School 1 Borehole	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Project Officer Assistant Commu. Development Officer Family Welfare Educator Nurse
North West	Mababe	87	70	157	Health Post Primary School 1 Borehole	Headman of Arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Teachers Assistant Project officer Family Welfare Educator

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
	Phuduhudu	219	236	455	Health Post Primary School 1 Borehole	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Teachers Assistant Project Officer Family Welfare Educator Court Clerk
	Somelo	235	246	481	Health Post Primary School Water interconnected to Komana.	New Settlement	Teachers Family Welfare Educator
	Qangwa	414	448	862	Clinic Primary School 1 Borehole	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Teachers Family Welfare Educator Assistant Project Officer Court Clerk
	Xaixai	178	194	372	Health Post Primary School 1 Borehole	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Nurse Family Welfare Educator Court Clerk
	Dobe	68	65	133	Pre-schools 1 Borehole	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	
	Nxauxau	289	422	711	Health Post Primary School Currently bowshed Hostels under construction	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Family Welfare Educator Court Clerk
	Chukumuchu	130	140	270	Health Post	Headman of record	Assistant Project Officer

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
					Primary School 1 Borehole	Village Development Committee Councillor	Family Welfare Educator Teachers Court clerk
	Gani	255	255	510	Health Post Primary School 1 Borehole	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Teachers Family Welfare Educator Agricultural Technician Assistant Project Officer
	Gudigwa	347	385	732	Health Post School under construction 1 Borehole	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Project Officer Nurse Family Welfare Educator
Southern	Thankane	253	250	503	Connected to Water System of Samane Primary School Tribal Offices Health post V.D.C. house	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Project Officer Veterinary Assistant Nurses Family Welfare Educator Teachers Police Officers (Local) Tribal Secretary
	Sekhutlane	373	423	796	1 Borehole Primary school Health post V.D.C. houses	Headman of Arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Project Officer Nurse Teachers Family Welfare Educator
	Mahotshwane	397	378	775	1 Borehole – saline water and potable water bowsed	Headman of arbitration	Assistant Project officer

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
					Primary school Health post	Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Teachers Family Welfare Educator
	Itholoke	181	162	343	Water pipelined from Khakhea Primary School Health post V.D.C. houses	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Assistant Project Officer Family Welfare Educator Teachers
	Kanaku	68	81	149	Water reticulation from Mabutsane RADP Private School V.D.C. houses	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Assistant Project Officer
	Kutuku	111	110	221	1 Borehole		Assistant Project Officer
Kgatleng	Kgomodiatshaba	202	306	508	Primary School Health post 1 Borehole Tribal Administration office, Cooperative shop Hostels	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Matron Nurse Family Welfare Education Court Clerk, Local Police Officers, Borehole Operator Shop Attendants Veterinary Assistant
Kweneng	Kweneng	232	258	490	Health post Primary School 1 Borehole	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Teachers Family Welfare Educator
	Diphuduhudu	285	274	559	Health post Primary School	Headman of record Village Development Committee	Nurse Teachers

District	Settlement	Population			Facilities Provided	Leadership Structures	Extension/Operations Staff
		Female	Male	Total			
					2 Boreholes	Councillor	Family Welfare Educator
	Kaudwane	379	359	738	Health post Primary School 1 Borehole	Headman of record Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Teachers Assistant Project Officer Family Welfare Educator
	Tshwaane	200	149	349	Health post Primary School 1 Borehole	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers Assistant Project Officer
	Sorilatholo	260	212	472	Health post Primary School 1 Borehole	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Nurse Teachers
	Loologane (New)	-	-	-	Mobile visits from Lephephe Equipping & reticulation water	To be decided later.	-
	Khekhenye	170	169	339	Mobile visits from Motokwe Primary School Health post under construction	Headman of arbitration Village Development Committee Councillor	Teachers
TOTAL		18,657	19,228	38,422			

Source: Ministry of Local Government, RADP Coordinating Division.

D. Revised National Policy for Rural Development (2002)

- 4.26 The Revised National Policy for Rural Development (NPRD) was set out in Government Paper No. 3 of 2002. The revised policy replaced the policy that had been in place since 1973. The revised policy considers the question of the remote areas development under broad categories of Livelihoods, Poverty, HIV/AIDS, Gender, Environment and Capacity building. The problem of remote areas is not raised as a distinct major concern, but is put forward more prominently than it was in the past policy. This is partly because of the recognition that the war on rural poverty could only be won if a greater emphasis on livelihood systems focused on a diversity of rural economic pursuits other than communal arable agriculture.
- 4.27 The remote area dwellers get prominent mention in the revised policy under the social protection strategy of rural development, where they are recognised as an integral part of Botswana's vulnerable groups that should be adequately, efficiently and effectively covered by the social safety nets.

i. Livelihoods

- 4.28 The NPRD considers the development of sustainable rural livelihoods, based on the economic realities of the rural situation, as an emerging issue that will help address the spatial dimension of the different regions. Therefore, each region's economic growth will be based primarily on its comparative advantage, or a policy direction that aims to develop a particular *man-made* comparative advantage for that region.
- 4.29 It is in this context that rural area modernisation should promote growth centres that would depend on the development of Information, Communications and Technology (ICT) to efficiently and easily access the markets. This would be guided by increased participation of people in economic opportunities, optimal and environment-friendly utilisation of natural resources, passion for success, human dignity and productivity.

ii. Land and Natural Resources

- 4.30 The revised policy notes that the question of property rights over the productive resources in rural areas is currently a central theme that prevents rural communities from effectively and efficiently using the land-based natural resources at their disposal to improve their livelihoods.
- 4.31 This problem is of particular concern particularly for people in remote areas, whose land for grazing is under a communal land system. As noted in the discussion of the TGLP (section 7C.i below), the Land Tenure Policy (section 7C.ii below) and the Tribal Land Act (section 7C.iv below), the implementation of policies has led to a process where people in remote areas have lost access and control over the land in which they live.

- 4.32 The second concern for remote area dwellers that their communal land rights are easily turned into a free access system, where problems of the “tragedy of the commons” are frequent, and often lead to externalities such as overgrazing and deforestation that are not easily reversible. The revised policy aims to address these problems by taking action to clarify and strengthen property rights, and making rights transfer easier, including use of land as collateral and security.
- 4.33 The revised policy will also examine the introduction of market forces to tribal land, especially issues of subletting, leasing and trading of land rights. In particular, remote areas would benefit from the policy’s intention to improve the management capacity of Community Based Projects through training, especially in the management of revenues of CBNRM Projects. The revised RADP should further consider more clarification of the rights of the members of the Community Based Organisations (CBOs) operating Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), in order to promote equity of the benefits from these projects and reduce the current biases.

iii. Social Protection

- 4.34 The revised National Rural Development Policy emphasises the need to improve coverage, targeting, adequacy, efficiency and effectiveness of the social protection schemes. In addition, the revised policy requires programmes such as the RADP to develop in-built mechanisms for facilitating those able to improve their livelihoods to do so, and to graduate from dependence on social protection schemes.
- 4.35 These policy objectives require that the RADP should strengthen its component targeted to school going children, and ensure that their coverage is adequate, efficient and effective, to enable them to participate in the education system, and finally compete effectively in the job market and graduate from the RADP support. The same principle applies to the RADP Economic Promotion Fund (EPF).

iv. Capacity Building

- 4.36 The revised policy recognises that capacity for economic initiative in western and remote areas has lagged seriously behind. It promises to remove these impediments through a targeted, strengthened and strategically applied capacity building approach. Part of the proposed strategy would be improved technology, especially information and communications technology in remote areas. Participation will be encouraged across groups including people living in remote areas.

E. National Poverty Reduction Strategy (Draft)

i. Overview

- 4.37 The National Poverty Reduction Strategy considers the Remote Area Development Programme as a part of the poverty reduction programmes meant to address poverty in rural areas, where Botswana's poorest of the poor are disproportionately situated. The Strategy recognises that remote area dwellers are the hardest hit in the three poverty dimensions of income, capability and participation. There is a strong argument that in order to address these problems, the revised RADP should address the problems of participation by acknowledging that the social organisations and institutions in remote areas are weak, and need to be strengthened. People who live in remote areas are poorly represented in most institutions that contribute to determining their development.
- 4.38 These Strategy observations require that the revised RADP should be specific and more detailed in addressing the major problems of poor participation of the remote area dwellers. People who live in remote areas were concerned during consultations that it was very difficult for them to be taken on board in existing participatory mechanisms. It may therefore be appropriate that the Minister of Local Government could use electoral powers in existence to include people from remote areas in participatory institutions through special election.
- 4.39 The Strategy identifies a number of specific components that address different aspects of poverty in Botswana. Some of these are relevant to this Review, as discussed briefly below.

ii. Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)

- 4.40 The Strategy calls for CBNRM to be expanded and diversified in order to provide employment and incomes in rural areas. This entails extending the schemes to remote settlements, raising awareness within local Government, capacity building and decentralisation of management control. The Strategy specifically calls for a CBNRM fund to be available to non-Governmental and Community organisations (NGOs and CBOs) who are active in the implementation of CBNRM. This component of the Strategy is clearly compatible with the recommendations of this Review, discussed in section 8E below.

iii. The Remote Area Development Programme

- 4.41 The Strategy identifies the absence of a Remote Area Development Policy as a "*major impediment to the effective operation of the ...RADP.*" It expresses the view that the RADP has functioned in practice as a social welfare scheme, and has created dependency in remote communities. The primary issues are expressed as follows:

- *How to promote the culture and heritage of remote areas as an asset to be built upon,*
 - *How to provide appropriate education and capacity building,*
 - *How to address the issue of entitlement to land and natural resources,*
 - *How to overcome the problems of cultural discrimination and dependency,*
 - *How to promote integration without imposing assimilation.*
- 4.42 The Strategy calls for a process involving a series of stakeholder consultations, building from social mobilisation workshops in the RADP settlements to a series of District conferences, and a national conference at which the RADP will be revised. Although the Strategy was not available at the time that this Review was begun, the process envisaged is strikingly similar to the process that the Review Team has in fact followed, although the restricted budget required that only a sample of the RADP settlements was included at the first stage.

iv. Strengthening extension services to support the community based strategy

- 4.43 The Strategy calls for a strengthening of the Village Extension Teams (VETs) through a process of needs assessment and capacity building, so that the VETs can offer appropriate support for the implementation of the Community Based Strategy for Rural Development (CBSRD). Effective implementation of the CBSRD would be a key supporting activity for many of the recommendations of this Review, as discussed in section 8C below.
- 4.44 The issue of extension is discussed in detail in section 10B of this Review, which analyses the processes necessary to strengthen extension services, and the most appropriate institutional structure to support the implementation of the RADP.

5 Objectives of the RADP

A. Current Objectives

5.1 The overall goal of the RADP is *“to achieve sustainable social and economic development of the Remote Area Dwellers, through a coordinated and integrated approach of sectoral developments, so that they can equally benefit from the rapid economic development of the country”* (MLG, 2002:2). Specifically, the RADP objectives are to:

- Undertake intensified development of remote settlements so as to bring them to a level of development comparable with the rest of other communities/villages in the country;
- Promote production-oriented income and employment generating activities;
- Enhance the Remote Area Dwellers access to land and other natural resources;
- Encourage community leadership and active participation by Remote Area Dwellers in the election of their representatives in political and developmental organisations;
- Provide the Remote Area Dwellers with training and education to enable them to be self-sustaining;
- Promote the social, cultural and economic advancement of the Remote Area Dwellers by facilitating their integration into the mainstream of society, without detriment to their unique culture and tradition. (MLG, 2002: 2-3)

B. Stakeholder Understanding of Objectives

i. Community level perspectives

5.2 The perceptions of what the RADP objectives are differ considerably amongst the various respondents that we encountered in the communities, amongst district and national public officers, etc. Most residents in the remote communities consulted considered the RADP as meant to solve problems of the poorest of the poor in Botswana which to them included:

- Poor implementation of the programmes meant for addressing poverty in remote settlements.
- Unfavourable conditions of education for children and youth from remote areas.
- Low self esteem resulting from historical disadvantages that have been in place for generations.
- Education to the “mainstream society” about the difficult conditions the people of remote settlements face.

- A land use and planning system that excludes people in remote areas from fully benefiting from the land surrounding their settlements.
- 5.3 The communities summarised the RADP as incorrectly assuming that:
- Problems of the remote area settlements are the same and could be addressed with a uniform approach.
 - Remote communities are mainly disadvantaged by their geographical location.
 - People in remote areas can be made to join the “mainstream society” of agro-pastorals.
 - Extension officers drawn mainly from mainstream educated society share its principles and objectives.
 - It is based on stakeholder consultations.
 - The Rural Development Policy adequately covers their needs.
- 5.4 According to most members of the community in the sample, the RADP was meant to “uplift the standard of living” or “improve the livelihoods” of people living in places far away from basic necessary services by educating the children, and ensuring availability of potable water and land.
- 5.5 The youth in remote communities described the RADP as a vehicle that was to bring about improved change in their livelihoods. However, they expressed fears that the weak understanding of the RADP would make it less likely that the objectives would be implemented.
- 5.6 One group said that there is a need to integrate remote communities with other Batswana, who could bring investment opportunities to the settlements. Kgalagadi District recently reversed their policy of non-allocation of land to people other than “RADs” in the settlements. However, attention is being paid to the danger of “newcomers” dominating or taking over the settlements from remote communities.
- 5.7 Some respondents expressed concern about the criteria for eligibility. For example, one community expressed the view that the RADP does not target appropriate beneficiaries, citing the example of the skills development project, which did not target people according to their areas of interest.

ii. District level perspectives

- 5.8 The responses received from District level officials during the Review consultation indicated a mixed picture with regard to the aims and objectives of the RADP. Some described them as being clear, while others described them as vague and ambiguous, or too general, and subject to widely varying interpretations. There is clearly not a common view at District level.
- 5.9 Most officers were familiar with the history of the RADP, i.e. that the initial ethnic targeting was later extended to cover other ethnic groups, in

- recognition that many other Batswana lived in remote areas and faced similar problems to the Basarwa.
- 5.10 Some described the RADP objectives as aiming to integrate the remote area dwellers into the “mainstream of society,” to uplift living standards, or to address problems of poverty in remote areas. The main descriptions of RADP objectives were as follows:
- To *uplift Basarwa* and improve their material well being.
 - To *improve access to Government services*, education and poverty alleviation schemes.
 - To get the *Basarwa* to appreciate land ownership and to *discontinue their nomadic life*.
 - To *empower* people in remote areas, through re-settlement of *Basarwa*, improved standards of living and water development.
 - To ensure that *Basarwa culture is protected* and sustained.
 - To ensure a gradual transformation based on *free will and volunteerism*.
 - To *involve communities* in the design of programmes meant to raise their standard of living.
- 5.11 One group were of the view that the RADP objectives are clear to Government officials, more or less clear to the general public, but probably not well understood by the recipients (although they understand their general entitlements).
- 5.12 Many other respondents said that the objectives are not known or properly understood by key officers- for example the District Officer, and even in some cases the Remote Area Development Officers (RADOs). In Central District, officials expressed the views that the objectives are not clear because the RADP guidelines operate in the absence of a supporting policy, in contrast to other programmes, such as payment of the destitute allowance. This was said to have a number of effects:
- The programme was at times not consistent with other Government policies, such as the National Settlement Policy (this point is supported by the discussion in section 4C above).
 - The interpretation of beneficiaries was subject to abuse, e.g. some *Basarwa* not resident in remote settlements sometimes benefited from the programme due to pressure from politicians.
 - Despite the presence of guidelines to describe eligibility criteria, these were challenged at times and the target group made wider than necessary due to the absence of an RADP policy.
 - The RADP operates in parallel with other programmes and projects, and to some extent is forced to fit around them. In particular, it

overlaps with many functions of Social and Community Development (S&CD).

- 5.13 Some respondents did however say that they understood the RADP to encompass part of the Rural Development Policy and the Poverty Reduction Strategy.
- 5.14 Many respondents also said that the RADP lacked clear time-bound goals. The way the programme is currently framed does not make logical sense in that it does not have a clear cut off point that the objectives can be measured against. This is implicit in three ways:
- No time frame is given for the implementation of the programme. This makes it difficult to monitor progress in its implementation. Objective evaluation is impossible.
 - There programme lacks agreed measurable economic indicators that the beneficiaries have to reach in order for them to be considered “developed.” The programme has no exit mechanism to “graduate” settlements into village status.
 - As a result, the RADP is catering for settlements which would otherwise qualify as villages, and fall within other programmes in line with the National Settlement Policy. Under current practice, the dependency on Government seems to be permanent.
- 5.15 An NGO group in Ghanzi said that the radical assimilation approach of the RADP was flawed: *“The development of other Batswana from their pastoralist beginnings was a process, but in the case of the Basarwa, the same is expected to be an event. This is a dangerous approach. What is needed is a gradual transformation based on the free volition of people.”*

iii. Central level perspectives

- 5.16 Most central level officials referred to the objective of the RADP as being to *integrate* people far from developments, regardless of ethnic origin. While the original objective was to bring the *Basarwa* from a *degree of backwardness into the mainstream*, it was later perceived that this should be extended to other ethnic groups requiring socio-economic upliftment.
- 5.17 Some people saw the RADP is a component of rural area assistance, and therefore as falling within the policies of Rural Development and Poverty Reduction, following the principles of viability and sustainability. However, one concern was that the RADP does not feature prominently in either document as a part of the major objectives of addressing poverty in Botswana.
- 5.18 Some officials said that the objectives of the RADP should acknowledge that for *Basarwa*, who constitute the majority of the remote area dwellers, income and poverty may not necessarily be connected. They saw the RADP in terms of *empowerment* – which the *Basarwa* need to understand their rights and the constitution, and to understand the rule of law. Whatever

- the other goals of the RADP, it is clear that it seeks to empower remote communities.
- 5.19 Many officials expressed concern that the current level of expenditure on “handouts” is not sustainable. In common with many other social welfare programmes, the RADP lacks an “exit mechanism.”
- 5.20 The RADP needs more effective skills development, and the generation of sustainable livelihoods. However, there needs to be a progression away from livestock into other areas. Otherwise, the programme will deplete resources. Accordingly, the key to the RADP is education and skills development. The recipients will eventually see the benefits. The RADP focus should therefore switch towards education and training, where the goals are currently unclear.
- 5.21 Some central level officials regarded the objectives of the RADP as unclear, lacking in clear targets, and not well monitored. The objectives were described as “resource driven” - e.g. dominated by infrastructural development, and not related to the change of scope of the RADP (from ethnic to geographical targeting).

C. Conclusions and Recommendations

i. Overall Objectives

- 5.22 According to prevailing Government policy in Botswana, the aim for addressing extreme poverty in remote areas, or elsewhere, should be driven by objectives of social justice as enshrined in National Principles and the compassionate, just and caring nation pillar of the national Vision 2016. For example: *Botswana will have a more equitable income distribution that ensures the participation of as many people as possible in its economic success ... All people will have access to productive resources, regardless of ethnic origin, gender, disability or misfortune.* (Vision 2016, P8/9)
- 5.23 A majority of respondents took the view that the RADP was addressing a genuine gap in the social safety net, and that the focus of the programme on “remoteness” should be retained in some form. By this view, the RADP should be strengthened, not abolished. It needs proper monitoring against clearly understood, unambiguous and time bound goals.

ii. The level of development of remote settlements

- 5.24 The first objective of the current RADP is to *undertake intensified development of remote settlements, so as to bring them to a level of development comparable with the rest of other communities/villages in the country.* This objective raises two specific difficulties:
- The word “comparable” is not clear. If it means that the remote areas should have equal levels of development to all other areas, then the objective is clearly not attainable. If it does not mean them to be equal, then the degree of development to be attained is not clearly stated.

- However, the appropriate levels of infrastructural development for different sizes of settlement are spelt out in the National Settlement Policy (NSP, discussed in section 4A.i above), as amended from time to time. Any alternative statement within the RADP would be in potential conflict with the NSP. About 55% of remote area settlements fall within the Tertiary IV category of the NSP, while 25% would fall within the Tertiary III or Tertiary II categories. In principle, those settlements with more than 500 people could be declared as “villages,” and phased out of the RADP.

5.25 In practice, the remote settlements serviced under the RADP receive services and infrastructure in excess of their entitlement under the NSP, particularly as specified for Tertiary IV settlements (the category originally intended to cover the case of RADP settlements). This has led to equity complaints from settlements of similar size that do not receive such services.

5.26 The implication of the RADP objective is that it is intended to address a gap in the NSP provisions as they apply to settlements that are deemed to be “remote.” The 2002 revision to the NSP intended to restrict the Tertiary IV category to RADP settlements. However, the existing RADP settlements do not all meet with the Tertiary IV definitions (25% have more than 500 people). This objective should be rephrased in order to make it explicit that the NSP is the guiding policy, and that “graduation” from RADP (or Tertiary IV) status is possible.

iii. Community led development

5.27 The second objective of the RADP is to *promote production-oriented income and employment generating activities*. There are, however, income and employment generating activities that are not commonly understood to be “production-oriented,” such as service activities and tourism. The reference to “production” could be removed from this objective without loss of the intention to enhance income earning opportunities.

5.28 A second problem with this objective has arisen at the level of implementation, with a prevalent perception that the RADP has tried to replicate projects across all locations, without giving sufficient attention to local circumstances, and the skills and traditions of the communities concerned. This objective should be rephrased in order to make this requirement explicit.

5.29 This intention could be strengthened by rephrasing the fourth objective of the RADP, currently expressed as to *encourage community leadership and active participation by RADS in the election of their representatives in political and developmental organisations*.

5.30 The intention of this objective is to address a concern raised by a large number of respondents in this and other reviews. The imposition of project design and activities in a “top down” manner (although never the intention

- of current policy) is perceived as being responsible in large degree for the failure of many development projects nationally, including in the remote areas.
- 5.31 Government's intention to adopt a more community led model of development is clearly stated in the Community Based Strategy for Rural Development (CBSRD). The fourth objective of the RADP should therefore be rephrased in order to make explicit reference to the CBSRD, and to make it clear that the forms of leadership and community representation should be determined by the communities themselves. This would not preclude the election of representatives to political and developmental organisations.
- 5.32 The term "RADs" was found to be objectionable to many people during the consultative process, and should be removed from the RADP objectives.

iv. Access to land and natural resources

- 5.33 The third objective of the RADP is to *enhance the Remote Area Dweller's access to land and other natural resources*.
- 5.34 All citizens of Botswana are considered to have a legal right to land, upon proper application to a Land Board. However, many of the remote area respondents during this Review said that they found it impossible to obtain land or that their requests were not taken seriously by the authorities. Although there are legal and constitutional entitlements to land, many of the people in remote areas are unable to access them, as a result of their own lack of understanding of procedures, or of official attitudes towards them.
- 5.35 These issues are discussed in further detail in section 7 below. As a result of this discussion, and of the stakeholder perceptions, the Review Team is of the view that the RADP should interpret this objective as a requirement to provide active assistance to people to gain access to their entitlements. The objective should therefore be rephrased accordingly.
- 5.36 Vision 2016 states that *Communities will be involved in the use and preservation of their environmental assets, and will benefit directly from their exploitation*. (Vision 2016, P7). This aspiration is particularly pertinent to the situation of people in remote areas, particularly those who have a history of dependence on wildlife and veldt products.
- 5.37 There is overwhelming experience documented in the literature that the exploitation of resources is more likely to be sustainable if the local community benefits directly from it. In that way, the community attaches a value to the resources, and cooperates in their preservation. In view of the focus of the RADP on sustainable development, the Review Team is therefore of the view that this objective should be rephrased to make it explicit that the renewable natural resources in remote areas are intended for the direct benefit of the people who live there, and not as a common resource available to all citizens.

v. Education

- 5.38 The fifth objective of the RADP is to *provide the Remote Area Dwellers with training and education to enable them to be self-sustaining.*
- 5.39 The issues of education are discussed in greater detail in section 9A below. As a result of this discussion, and the stakeholder perceptions, it seems clear that this objective is not sufficiently comprehensive. Although this is probably not the intention of the objective, one possible impression is that reason for educating people in remote areas is to make them able to sustain themselves. However, the education policy of Botswana is aimed at equity of access to training and education for all citizens, for much wider reasons, associated with human rights and social advancement.
- 5.40 It would therefore seem necessary to rephrase this objective in order to emphasise that the intention is to provide equity of access to education and training opportunities for people in remote areas, as for all other citizens.
- 5.41 Vision 2016 goes further, to say: *All Batswana will have the opportunity for continued and universal education, ... Botswana's wealth of different languages and cultural traditions will be recognised, supported and strengthened within the education system.* (Vision 2016, P5)
- 5.42 This sentiment was echoed by many respondents, who called for a greater degree of instruction in mother tongues, particularly for primary school age children. There were also calls for the education system to be more flexible to cultural practices and the need for seasonal labour. In view of these aspirations, the Review Team proposes rephrasing the objective to refer to the need for education to be compatible with culture and tradition.

vi. Social, cultural and economic advancement

- 5.43 The sixth objective of the RADP is to *promote the social, cultural and economic advancement of the Remote Area Dwellers by facilitating their integration into the mainstream of society, without detriment to their unique culture and tradition.*
- 5.44 The terms “integration” and “mainstream” were used almost universally by District and Central level officials when describing the RADP objectives. The crucial reference to the preservation of culture and tradition was made by no-one.
- 5.45 As pointed out by one respondent, the word “integration” is interpreted by many as “assimilation.” Under this interpretation, the objective is to bring about the situation where the Basarwa, and other people in remote areas, adopt the prevailing culture of the remaining “mainstream” of society. It was also clear at community level that people did not wish primarily to be integrated into the culture of others, although they understood the intention to facilitate their social, cultural and economic advancement. The confusion and controversy over the true intentions of the RADP could be removed by simply removing the reference to “integration into the mainstream” from this objective.

vii. Ethnic discrimination and cultural diversity

- 5.46 Vision 2016 states that *no citizen will be disadvantaged as a result of gender, age, religion or creed, colour, national or ethnic origin, location, language or political opinions*, (Vision 2016,P12) and that *the country will still possess a diverse mix of cultures, languages, traditions and peoples sharing a common destiny*. (Vision 2016, P13). These are clear statements of the intention that there should be no discrimination on ethnic grounds, and a celebration of cultural diversity.
- 5.47 The Review consultation process found clear evidence at all levels that people in remote areas, particularly Basarwa, suffer from ethnic discrimination and negative social attitudes. These hinder them in attaining their social and economic advancement.
- 5.48 The development problems that people encounter in remote areas can never be fully addressed unless efforts are made to reverse these negative attitudes across all levels of society in the country. The Review Team believes that the RADP should contain activities explicitly targeted at addressing this problem. Therefore, the RADP needs an additional stated objective, that it will actively promote a tolerance and understanding of the cultural diversity of Botswana, in recognition of the historically disadvantaged position of some ethnic groups.
- 5.49 As an example, some respondents asked that there should be a Sesarwa Radio Programme, aimed at promotion of their language and culture. This programme could be translated to other languages for other people to understand what is been transmitted. This is different from having a Setswana or English programme translated into Sesarwa.

viii. Rephrased objectives

Recommendation R1. The overall goal of the RADP is to achieve sustainable social and economic development of people in the remote areas, through a coordinated and integrated multi-sectoral approach, so that they can equally benefit from the rapid economic development of the country.

The objectives of the RADP are as follows:

- To provide development infrastructure in remote area settlements, in accordance with the National Settlement Policy.
- To promote sustainable livelihoods for communities and individuals residing in the remote areas, to reduce dependence on Government and to promote self-reliance and sustainable utilisation of natural resources, in ways that are compatible with the skills and aspirations of remote communities.
- To encourage the direct participation of remote communities in issues concerned with their own development – in accordance with the Community-Based Strategy for Rural Development

- To promote the development of leadership structures and representation in the remote areas that are compatible with the traditional structures and cultures of the people who live there.
- To adopt and advocate affirmative action across all sectors, aimed at providing remote area communities with equal access to entitlements under Botswana law as enjoyed by other citizens
- To promote a tolerance and understanding at national level of the unity and cultural diversity of Botswana, particularly in regard to historically marginalised people from remote areas.

ix. Guiding policy for the RADP

- 5.50 The RADP intends to focus upon people who live in situations of extreme poverty, located in remote areas. As such, the principles and guidelines for actions to address their situations should fall within the provisions of a comprehensive National Poverty Reduction Strategy (NPRS). Similarly, remote areas are by definition contained within rural areas. Therefore, the development of remote areas should fall within the provisions of a comprehensive Rural Development Policy (RDP).
- 5.51 For these reasons, it can be argued that the RADP does not require a special policy document of its own, rather that any omissions in the NPRS or RDP with regard to remote areas should be added to those documents.
- 5.52 Nevertheless, many respondents (especially during the Feedback stage of this Review) expressed the view that the RADP does require a guiding policy. The NPRS has not yet been published, and is unlikely to contain recommendations of sufficient detail to cover the services provided under the RADP. Similarly, the RDP provides little detail concerning the specific case of remote areas.
- 5.53 The Review Team is of the view that many of these latter concerns would be addressed by a comprehensive strategy, clarifying the actions expected from officers engaged in the programme implementation. An additional and dedicated policy would complicate the needs for review of the other overlapping policies and strategies, and may in the long run cause confusion.

Recommendation R2. The RADP is a special case of rural development and poverty reduction. Thus, the Revised Rural Development Policy (RDP), the proposed National Poverty Reduction Strategy (NPRS) and the National Settlement Policy (NSP) should provide the broad policy framework for its activities. The RADP does not, therefore, require a special policy of its own. Remote area issues should instead be mainstreamed into the RDP, the NPRS and the NSP, and where appropriate, into the National policies on Education and Housing.

6 RADP Targeting

A. Introduction

- 6.1 The remote area settlements have never been formally defined. The Presidential Directive (CAB. 28/87) and subsequent savingram that provided implementation guidelines (Ref SLG 15/8, 29 September 1989) did not specifically define what a remote settlement is. The various Project Memoranda requesting for funding detail the objectives of the programme but do not specify what a remote area is. Even the Guidelines for the Economic Promotion Fund (1998) do not provide such a definition.
- 6.2 However, the RADP is currently targeted according to the physical location of settlements – those that are far from services, or from larger villages (in terms of distance or travel time). As outlined above, this constituted a change from the original programme, which was targeted on an ethnic basis, specifically at the Basarwa. One of the questions addressed during this review was whether or not it would be desirable to return to a form of ethnic targeting, or to adopt a different method altogether, such as a focus on extreme poverty.
- 6.3 The purpose of this section is to discuss the different methods of targeting that would be available to the RADP, to present the stakeholder perceptions on each of them, and to recommend a form of targeting for the programme. The targeting method should be both effective (i.e. reaching as many as possible of the intended beneficiaries) and efficient (i.e. excluding as many as possible of the unintended beneficiaries). It is also important that the targeting benefits of any method outweigh the additional administrative costs.
- 6.4 Targeting is defined as the identification of those who would or would not be eligible for a particular subsidy or transfer programme (Moepeng, 1994; Kennedy and Alderman, 1987; Pinstrup-Andersen, 1988; Maxwell et al. 1990 and Buchanan-Smith 1991).
- 6.5 Targeting of the RADP is important because of the need to maximise the benefits to recipients, and to minimise costs. It is used to distinguish between participants and non-participants of the programme. The choice of appropriate targeting in a programme such as the RADP should be based on the target efficiency, design efficiency, implementation efficiency and transfer efficiency of the adopted method.
- 6.6 The Food Studies Group (1990) defined targeting efficiency as the identification of an appropriate target group for assistance, and design efficiency as the selection mechanism best able to deliver benefits to target groups. Implementation efficiency is the ability of the targeting method to achieve the goals established for each measure and transfer efficiency is the proportion of the cost of a provision such as the RADP which would finally reach the beneficiaries.

- 6.7 The basis for adopting a particular method of targeting should be determined by whether the targeting costs are relatively small, and the method is both politically and logistically feasible (Kennedy and Alderman, 1987). Targeting is meant to exclude non-deserving cases from benefiting in the RADP. That is, the beneficiaries of the RADP should be the poorest of the poor or the most deserving cases in a remote area settlement that is recognised by the Botswana Government.
- 6.8 However, there is a lack of adequately trained administrators in the RADP, and household income data in these settlements is almost non-existent. This might indicate a problem of very high administrative cost that could exceed the savings that can be gained by increased targeting and might actually encourage reduction leakages or many deserving cases left out. That is, the more precisely or narrowly targeted the programme, the higher the risk of omitting target households it becomes.
- 6.9 Targeting is effective in saving resources and enabling a poverty alleviation programme such as the RADP to reach those in greatest need. However, it can be politically unpopular, especially in Botswana where poverty in rural areas is highest and the Government could be seen as assisting one disadvantaged small group at the expense of others who might also be facing similar conditions.
- 6.10 Targeting also minimises the risks of creating dependency and increasing inequality, but requires infrastructure and personnel. In addition, it is often very difficult to select participants of the target group, and interested pressure groups, whether political or NGOs, always influence the diversion of funds from the target group. Nevertheless, targeting can improve the physical ability and motivation of people in remote areas to perform useful work and activities that might lead them to sustainable livelihoods.

B. Targeting Options for the RADP

- 6.11 Targeting options available for the RADP are geographical; income means testing and individual methods. The current RADP uses a geographical targeting method, based on physical location and distance from services. This method is effective when the needy or deserving cases are a high proportion in the settlements, as is currently the case.
- 6.12 Income means testing is poverty based measure or selection method where eligibility is based on income, and provides a positive and objective identification of the poor. However, it may be characterised by poor coverage in the RADP because not all low income households in remote settlements need assistance, and total family income may be difficult to determine under subsistence and self employment conditions.
- 6.13 Individual targeting eligibility is based on some general category such as age, all pre-school or school going children. The RADP uses this method for providing education to people in remote area settlements. The old age pension is another example of an individually targeted benefit. This

targeting method is characterised by minimum administration costs but it has problems of high inclusion of participants, who may not need assistance from the programme.

C. Perceptions of Location Based Targeting

Note:

The following Sections (C-H) present the various perspectives on targeting for the RADP. It summarises what we heard from the community members, the district and central level officers, and presents our synthesis and interpretation of the various points of view (Section L). The major issue was whether targeting should be ethnic-based or poverty-based. However, our respondents also discussed various related issues, including community consultation and participation; culture and ethnic discrimination; and affirmative action. Since this section is merely a summary report of the various perspectives, the review team has throughout retained original reference to terms and designations such as *Basarwa*, as used by the respondents themselves.

i. Community level perspectives

- 6.14 Many respondents in RAD settlements visited during the consultations said they understood the RADP programme as meant for *everyone resident in the remote areas*. Nevertheless, several respondents identified a problem that arises in the targeting of the programme if defined by remoteness. They cited cases where people have moved to settlements from other villages in order to access the RADP services, or where entrepreneurs in the settlements claim eligibility when their businesses fail. It is therefore not always clear who should qualify. The criterion used in Kgo'esakeni (New Xade) is acceptance by the community, especially for those who drift in from other settlements
- 6.15 According to the Malatswai and Xere communities, their children should become leaders of their communities such as Chiefs, Councillors and Members of Parliament. The community came out clearly that targeting should be designed for deserving cases and not on the basis of ethnicity. In contrast to the views in Tshokwe, the name, Remote Area Dweller Development Programme (RADP), was preferred, because they consider that the objective of the programme should be targeted to people who live and *have always lived* in remote areas.

ii. District level perspectives

- 6.16 Many respondents emphasised that the RADP target group was determined by geographical location, not by ethnic origin. The recipients are people who are *living permanently away from villages in scattered settlements without permanent homes and basic social services such as potable water, health, education and transport*. Although respondents acknowledge

that the majority of the remote area dwellers are Basarwa, there are some who are non-Basarwa.

- 6.17 However, as with the discussion of the RADP objectives, it was noticeable that most respondents used the word “Basarwa” interchangeably with the term “RAD” (meaning “Remote Area Dweller”). Although most are aware of the change from ethnic to geographical targeting, the change has yet to penetrate the terminology.
- 6.18 Respondents referred to some of the disadvantages of geographical targeting in this way:
- That the RADP targets small settlements and excludes deserving Basarwa cases in the periphery of large villages, or other non-eligible settlements.
 - Some settlements are along main tarred roads, and cannot any longer be called remote.
 - RADP targeting is based on locality therefore, everyone in the designated settlements benefits. There is no strict screening of beneficiaries according to need.
 - Some very remote settlements are not regarded as RAD, because of confusion over the definition of RAD vs. Basarwa.
 - Service provision can be very expensive in remote areas. For example, Zutshwa water requires desalination - it is not economically efficient to provide fresh water in that location, yet RADP seems obliged to do so.

iii. Central level perspectives

- 6.19 Most officials were in favour of continued targeting on the basis of remoteness. While, there was general acknowledgement that *Basarwa* were left behind in terms of development because of past relations with the mainstream society, the prevailing cause of poverty should be noted as remoteness of areas in which they are predominantly found and further means related targeting within the targeted areas will accommodate most deserving Basarwa cases.
- 6.20 It was further emphasised that the focus of geographical targeting should not be diluted into a broad based targeting of the overall problem of poverty. The reason for this was that the dismantling of the RADP into part of an overall focus of the general poverty problem in Botswana might further marginalise the most disadvantaged areas. A poverty focus within the already identified remote areas will lead to more tangible outcomes.
- 6.21 Some officials who felt that the RADP focus on “remoteness” was in general still necessary nevertheless described the problem that many non-Basarwa or non-poor people qualify for the services by moving to the remote settlements.

D. Perceptions of Ethnic Based Targeting

i. Community level perspectives

- 6.22 Most respondents used the word "*Basarwa*" when describing the RADP objectives. It is clear that most of those in remote area settlements implicitly understand the RADP as being ethnically targeted at present.
- 6.23 Some respondents expressed their concern over the name of the programme, and associated translations into Setswana, as reminiscent of past injustices that they hold accountable for the high rates of poverty amongst them. For instance, in Tshokwe, community members expressed their dislike of the term Remote Area Dwellers ("RADs") or people of *Tengnyanateng* – preferring to be identified as *Basarwa*.
- 6.24 Many people said that the Basarwa are still marginalised in society, and suffer from discrimination. For example, they said that influential people from "*mainstream society*" who have lived among them contribute to their marginalisation. These people know their lifestyles and "*can easily cheat us and end up representing us.*"

ii. District level perspectives

- 6.25 To many respondents, it seemed clear that the programme is in reality targeted at Basarwa. For example, in Central District, officials said that the RADP has targeted Basarwa even outside the remote settlements, and in some districts, the programme provides services to Basarwa communities on farms. Opinions were divided as to whether this form of targeting should be allowed to continue.
- 6.26 Arguments in favour of ethnic targeting were as follows:
- Although it is important that all Batswana have access to services, Basarwa are in a special position, and should not be marginalised in the process.
 - Ethnic targeting of Basarwa would avoid exploitation of the programme by those who do not qualify, and could also target those Basarwa residing in the outskirts of villages that do not currently benefit from the programme.
- 6.27 Arguments against ethnic targeting were as follows:
- Perhaps the government has erred by over-targeting the Basarwa because there are other non-Basarwa people living in the remote areas who are not covered by the programme.
 - Separate development is against Botswana's national principles. It is not desirable for the programme to single out Basarwa.
 - Rather than emphasising ethnic targeting, the program should try to integrate people, while protecting the sensitive culture of the Basarwa.
 - Ethnic mixing is to some extent diluting the concept of "*Basarwa.*"

iii. Central level perspectives

- 6.28 Many officials consulted felt that there is still a need for explicit targeting towards the Basarwa, who have their own special needs. According to this view, there is a need to acknowledge that the Basarwa were left out of Botswana's development, and that they are the real target of the RADP.
- 6.29 Some implementers and recipients appear to want this ethnic focus, and there have been instructions from higher levels to extend services to Basarwa near villages. It is also helpful to distinguish target groups from one another – it is difficult to service mixed groups.
- 6.30 On the other hand, some officials pointed out two of the problems inherent in ethnic targeting. First, there is ethnic mixing (for example, between the Basarwa and the Bakgalagadi) that would blur the definitions. The second problem is that successful Basarwa often no longer identify themselves as Basarwa – to some people the definition of Basarwa is socio-economic rather than ethnic. Some respondents expressed the view that the term “*Mosarwa*” is a description of any person who has no property and is unknown. Hence Basarwa are have-nots whose origins are diverse, rather than an ethnic group.

E. Perceptions of Poverty Based Targeting

- 6.31 Many people consulted at the central level indicated that there should be a strong poverty focus to the RADP. The RADP deals with a group in extreme poverty, and in a state of extreme vulnerability.
- 6.32 There need to be criteria other than remoteness or physical infrastructure to drive the RADP. Some people said that targeting should be based upon economic conditions - by defining the parameters of poverty. We should therefore move away from targeting on the basis of either ethnicity or location. Some took the position that the point of entry to an effective RADP is via a comprehensive poverty reduction strategy. RAD issues are a subset of this.
- 6.33 Officials consulted indicated that poverty in Botswana has many causes. The Basarwa understanding of poverty is different from that of other groups – income was not traditionally regarded as important to them.
- 6.34 It was also pointed out that the harmonising of programmes is very difficult - for example, targeting on poverty grounds may lead to equity complaints among non-beneficiaries.

F. Problems Caused by Lack of Definition

- 6.35 Many respondents at district level referred to the lack of a precise definition of the RADP target group, and in particular to the overriding necessity to define what are or is not remote. The perceived lack of clarity in definition means that places like Zoroga or Phuduhudu which are along the tarred road benefit from the program while they are not geographically speaking,

remote. This, therefore, reinforces the old misconception that the RADP is a Basarwa programme, since the two places have a significant Basarwa population.

- 6.36 One group pointed out one of the unintended consequences of the RADP: it encourages people to migrate to remote destinations in order to access what are perceived as generous services. This makes the intended beneficiaries retreat further into the hinterland where they have no access to the programme.

G. The Issues of Culture and Ethnic Discrimination

i. Community level perspectives

- 6.37 One of the factors influencing Basarwa to isolate themselves from the rest of society is what they reported as marginalisation by the law enforcement agencies. For instance, they say that when they report cases to the police, they are not taken seriously. Some even suggested that Government could have helped to orientate the people of Xere by “relaxing” the law, which *“gave the appearance of worsening crime in the area.”*
- 6.38 Some recipients argued during the consultation that most cattle distributed to them through the RADP are stolen by people from mainstream society, an allegation that was confirmed by a number of officials. In another community, people complained that when some members of the “mainstream society” stole their property, such as livestock, the authorities never took their reports seriously. However, officials said that the Basarwa seldom reported cases, and were hiding criminal elements, or simply refused to give evidence which could assist in bringing the culprits to book.
- 6.39 Respondents also believed that they should first be allowed to run their own institutions and determine ways in which they can emerge from their poverty status. They are optimistic that their children would soon become more literate and dominate leadership structures such as the Village Development Committees (VDCs), chieftaincy, and Parent Teachers Associations (PTAs).

ii. District level perspectives

- 6.40 Some officials expressed the view that the policy of integration does not take into account cultural dynamics inherent in some of the people concerned, Basarwa in particular. According to this view, it is important that the RADP must factor in Basarwa culture in the activities, in order to ensure sustainability. For example, at present, Basarwa still prefer to live in isolation from other groups.
- 6.41 One NGO described the *“despair and social turbulence”* brought in by the intrusion of the RADP, which seeks to replace old ideals, and old aspirations that were embedded in Basarwa culture. A new culture ushered in by the RADP and its economic package means that the Basarwa adopt a new lifestyle for which they are ill equipped, entering at the lowest

possible step on the socio-economic ladder. According to this view, the programme “disempowers” the Basarwa, by making them dependent on handouts for their entire lifetimes without any end in sight or any other sustainable empowerment strategies. The Basarwa lose dignity, and lack control of their own destinies.

- 6.42 Others called for a greater emphasis on indigenous knowledge, so that the Basarwa could integrate their own culturally inherited skills into their economic activities.
- 6.43 Some officials and extension workers, even at senior levels, expressed extremely negative views about Basarwa, using strongly derogatory expressions, and also some racist comments. Some of these appear to derive to some extent from resentment at the special attention being given to Basarwa. These apparent beliefs and stereotypes would seem to lend some credibility to the claims of adverse discrimination by Basarwa.

iii. Central level perspectives

- 6.44 In contrast, one view from the central level was that development must be culturally based – “we miss the point if we ignore that.” It should derive from the culture and resource base – if so, it is more likely to be sustainable.

H. The Need for Community Consultation

i. Community level perspectives

- 6.45 One community understood the RADP objectives as aimed at empowering remote area dwellers through increased participation in the development decisions that affect them. They argue that at present, their participation is limited to being told what has already been decided, or has already happened.
- 6.46 The current form of their involvement is through public participation through the Kgotla system. However, they argue that Government agencies and Ministers define the problems and information-gathering processes that affect them, and so control analysis. Consultation in the Kgotla generally carried no obligation to take account of their views. Many respondents emphasised the need to design a programme that was participatory in nature and would involve remote area dwellers during its design and implementation.

ii. District level perspectives

- 6.47 Many respondents at district level referred to the need to involve the remote area communities in the design of programmes meant to raise their living standards, and that many of the current problems derive from a failure to do this. There is a need for Government to know, from the stakeholders, what it is they really want the program to offer them.

- 6.48 In support of this view, respondents characterised the RADP as applying the same strategies across the country to a whole spectrum of people who differ culturally and economically. The top-down determination of modes of assistance can be seen to have failed, and the process to “modernise” the remote areas should be more gradual and participatory.

iii. Central level perspectives

- 6.49 Many central level officials discussed the problem of community participation. It was said that the imposition of development from above has not succeeded - for example: crops, livestock and income generating projects lack marketing, and are often not regarded as natural activities in remote communities.
- 6.50 The problems of communities are not uniform, and require local tailoring. As a way forward, it was suggested that there is need to focus attention on people-led development as opposed to the current top-down approach. The RADP should be about community development and mobilisation, and it is important to increase the ownership of projects, and to shift to participatory processes. The voice of the community must be heard.
- 6.51 One NGO expressed the view that the concept of development needs to be redefined to be rights based, or at least to be community determined. It should not be imposed from elsewhere, based upon different and inappropriate models.

I. Conclusions and Recommendations

i. Defining the target group

- 6.52 Many respondents called for a redefinition of the RADP target group to include all disadvantaged people, regardless of location. This was largely on the grounds that there is extreme poverty found outside the remote areas, where people do not qualify for the RADP, and are felt to be left out. Such groups were usually ethnically defined, for example: *what is the wisdom of having a Mosarwa in Serowe suffer and you focus on the Mosarwa in Qangwa?*
- 6.53 However, this suggestion has practical problems, and potential conflicts with other programmes. A comprehensive national poverty reduction strategy would contain provisions for addressing problems of extreme poverty in or near larger settlements, whatever their ethnic dimension. These problems differ in nature to the problems faced in remote areas, and their solution would require different programmes. If the RADP were refocused on the Basarwa, as in its original form, then it would rediscover the equity problems inherent where similar hardships are being suffered by other ethnic groups. This was the original rationale for the change to geographical targeting, and would still seem to apply.
- 6.54 In addition, the problems introduced by ethnic mixing, which has been in progress since the dawn of humanity, would in due time dilute any

definition based upon ethnic group. An additional problem identified by respondents, and linked to the low social status of the Basarwa, is that successful Basarwa no longer identify themselves as belonging to an ethnic Basarwa group.

- 6.55 It has been argued above that there are special circumstances related to remoteness that complicate poverty reduction and rural development efforts. For this reason, it would seem important to retain a programme explicitly targeted on remote areas. The problems of inappropriate targeting need to be dealt with at an operational level during the implementation of the programme. In particular, the RADP should introduce explicit means testing in order to exclude those who are less in need of targeted assistance:

Recommendation R3. The RADP should introduce poverty or means related criteria in order to ensure that the programme is targeted at the poorest members of remote communities, not on those community members who do have the means for their own sustenance.

ii. The case for affirmative action

- 6.56 Many respondents during this Review have referred to the problems of ethnic discrimination and social marginalisation of Basarwa resulting from negative social attitudes in “mainstream society.” It would seem clear that there need to be programmes to address the marginalisation through affirmative action targeted at disadvantaged remote area people, as well as public education programmes to counter the prevalent social attitudes towards them.
- 6.57 Culture is dynamic, but it advances against the background of an intrinsically resistant nature, and can require strong affirmative action to bring about desirable change. For instance, in Botswana society, men have had to adopt affirmative action policies that addressed the marginalisation of women, against the background of a strong culture that placed men ahead of women.
- 6.58 In the case of remote area people, as they interact with external influences such the market, new technology and information, they face choices that require changes in cultural practice, such as hunting technology, or the nature of individual property rights. The RADP will need to become more sensitive to the demands presented by these cultural changes.
- 6.59 In addition, it is important to convey the fact that remote area cultures needs to be developed, with the understanding that they cannot resist the influence of information, communications and technology (ICT) and market interactions that is transforming the world. Interaction with markets will need to form an integral part of the poverty reduction strategies for remote communities. Their cultural knowledge and information can become their assets to be sold for tourism or other purposes.

- 6.60 Generally, there was unclear outright support for direct affirmative action from the political representatives of most remote areas. Perhaps this reflects the small size of the affected population, and its relative unimportance in the political process. A programme of affirmative action may seem to clash with the policy of bringing about unity. However, as argued above, remote communities are currently facing difficulties in gaining access to their existing rights under the law. Programmes that assist them to do this do not run counter to national policy.
- 6.61 Respondents listed a number of areas where affirmative action programmes might be appropriate. These included:
- Education, for example by allowing lower entry requirements for people from disadvantaged backgrounds (this is already practiced informally).
 - Land allocation for people in remote areas (they are not currently given any special priority).
 - Granting of hunting licences, for subsistence or commercial purposes.
 - Provision of legal aid, or other negotiating assistance for people who have difficulty in gaining access to their rights.
- 6.62 These issues are discussed in more detail in the sections that follow. A general recommendation might be phrased as follows:

Recommendation R4. In view of the overall aim to promote the social, cultural and economic advancement of people in remote areas without detriment to their unique culture and tradition, the RADP should include programmes of affirmative action to assist historically disadvantaged communities to gain access to education, land and other resources.

iii. **Graduating from the RADP**

- 6.63 Many respondents referred to the problem that there was no obvious mechanism for deciding whether a community currently serviced by the RADP was no longer in need of those services. The RADP lacks an “exit mechanism,” and the level of expenditure on the programme will become unsustainable.
- 6.64 One group suggested the re-definition or graduation of some settlements to villages. Under this suggestion, there could be a classification of settlements currently regarded as remote, depending on the age of the settlements, and the extent to which they are graduating towards village status. These criteria would be additional to those adopted by the National Settlement Policy. The level of RADP assistance would decline on the basis of this classification. This would link RADP assistance to development of the settlement, and phase it out as it became progressively unnecessary. This leads to a recommendation:

Recommendation R5. Remote settlements should be classified by age, population, the level of development, and the extent to which they are graduating to village status. The level of RADP assistance should be linked to this classification, with time bound targets for the graduation to each new stage. Those settlements that are deemed to have graduated fully to village status should then be de-linked from the RADP, through a consultative process with the members of the communities concerned.

7 Land Rights, Access and Use

A. Introduction

- 7.1 The central question addressed in this section revolves around land rights, access to land and land use for remote area communities. Access to land and other natural resources is one of the specific objectives that the RADP seeks to achieve (see section 5A above). In the discussion that follows, an attempt is made to establish the extent to which the RADP, as currently constituted, has met this objective.

B. Land and Land use Rights in Communal Areas

a) Common property rights system

- 7.2 The majority of remote area settlements in Botswana are located in communal land. Except in areas where land tenure systems such as leasehold are in place, land and natural resources in communal areas are subject to a common property right system. Dasgupta, (1993) contends that this system is widely practiced in remote areas of the world such as the mountainous regions of India and Nepal.
- 7.3 In the case of Botswana, as argued below, the common property rights system has a profound impact on remote area communities' control of natural resources within the vicinity of their settlements. As Ciriacy-Wantrup and Bishop, (1975) observed, a common property rights system usually disintegrates once in contact with a market economy. A major weakness of the system is that the market provides incentives for participants to overexploit their natural resources in efforts to maximise their benefits. Under such circumstances, the proverbial "tragedy of the commons" sets in, culminating in resource depletion and subsequent deterioration of the community's sources of livelihoods.

b) Problems of free access

- 7.4 In Botswana, depletion of natural resources in communal areas seem to have been compounded by the collapse of traditional mechanisms employed to control access to land and land resources by local communities. In the wake of the collapse of the traditional mechanisms, the communal land around most remote area settlements, as in most settlements in Botswana, have become almost free access areas, because all people in Botswana have a right to settle where ever they choose. Except for water rights, no one has a right to exclude anyone.
- 7.5 Free access systems suffer from the "free rider" problem. Individuals acting in pursuit of rational self-interest have an incentive to shirk their responsibility toward the community or group to which he or she belongs (see for example Runge 1986, Moepeng 1996). As shown in subsequent sections, this logic now applies to almost all natural resources that are gathered or used by remote area dwellers.

C. Implications of Botswana Government Policies

7.6 Several policies formulated in Botswana have had a direct impact on remote area communities' rights over land and land use. Many of the policies reviewed here were primarily aimed at meeting the needs of communities living in the larger population centres of Botswana, and seem to have given too little attention to the unique problems of remote areas. In practice, the remote communities have not fared well from the implementation of these policies, and have, in some cases, lost access to land and natural resources in the areas where they have lived for many generations.

i. National Policy on Tribal Grazing Land (TGLP), 1975

7.7 The intention of this policy was to implement the framework set out for improved productivity of the cattle industry. It also indicated the need for protection against range degradation, and to protect those people with few or no cattle. The document noted problems associated with communal grazing: overgrazing around settlements, increasing exclusive rights for few wealthy cattle owners through borehole allocation and restrictions on improved herd management. It did not provide for hunting and gathering, which was at the time an important livelihood activity for people who are currently defined as remote area dwellers.

7.8 The policy introduced the concept of land use zoning for commercial farming, communal grazing and reserved areas, and encouraged Land Boards to zone the land in their area according to these categories. The communal grazing areas were preserved, mainly as they already existed, and in the vicinity of settlements. The reserved areas were intended for future allocation to people without land. The reservations were also for other uses, such as arable agriculture, wildlife management and mining. Hunting and gathering was not acknowledged as an eligible land use.

7.9 Since the TGLP, much work has been done on resource assessment including the General Soil Legend 1985, Soil Map of Botswana 1990, Land Systems Map 1990, Vegetation Classification Map 1991, Land Suitability for Rained Crop Production 1992. There are other studies, such as the definition of agro-climatic zones (Sims, 1981), and the development of information bases on land use or potential such as groundwater. Through these and other studies, much information is now available that can guide assessment of existing land uses in respect of suitability and sustainability, and to determine the most appropriate use based on natural capability and other socio-economic factors.

7.10 The practicalities of implementation were described in some detail. These include setting out the duties of Land Boards, zoning, allocation and grant of lease. The policy describes the zoning process, and provides rules for the use of communal areas, together with the objectives of allocation and the use of commercial land.

7.11 It is obvious from the Policy that the land use rights of the communities living in remote area were not addressed. For instance, the TGLP ranches could be developed on land already in use by remote area communities for gathering purposes. Thus as shown in several studies, the implementation of TGLP led to the displacement of remote area communities and infringement in their land and land use rights (see for example Campbell, Main and Associates, 1991).

ii. National Policy on Land Tenure, 1985.

7.12 This policy arose from the Government review of the findings of a Presidential Commission on Land Tenure. The Commission identified a number of areas of concern: lack of credit and non-acceptance of communal land for loan security, misuse and poor management of grazing land, and institutional inability to manage land effectively.

7.13 In the rural areas, the Tribal Land Act introduced a new land administration system, but customary land tenure was retained and added to by the common law lease for commercial land, including commercial grazing areas. This was intended to enable security for finance. The policy allowed communal use of grazing land, but proposed stronger planning and management to curb misuse and degradation.

7.14 The deliberations of the Commission did not consider the rights of people living in remote areas to the use of land they had occupied for many generations. This neglect has led to their present limited access to land suitable for their sustainable livelihoods (see further discussion in section 7E below).

iii. National Policy on Natural Resources Conservation and Development, 1990

7.15 Botswana's overall environmental policy is presented in the 1990 White Paper on National Policy on Natural Resources Conservation and Development. The NCS Coordinating Agency is charged with its implementation. The NCSA has initiated an Environmental Action Plan (EAP) with three focal areas: environmental economics, environmental education and environmental legislation.

7.16 Wildlife is a valuable resource in western and northern Botswana, and the policy introduced changes for wildlife and tourism. These included the establishment of wildlife management areas and tourism concessions. The emphasis in this policy was wildlife conservation, and its tourism development potential.

7.17 The policy emphasised the role of sustainable development. For example, it stated that the Government subscribes to the weak version of sustainable development where environmental decline is only permitted if this is compensated by comparable increases in human and physical capital. The

end result should be that the productive capacity is at least maintained, and preferably increased.

- 7.18 The policy aimed towards infrastructure development and conservation. The general aims of the 1990 Conservation Policy are to:
- increase the effectiveness of natural resource use and management to maximise the benefits and minimise undesirable side effects;
 - Integrate environmental work throughout ministries.
- 7.19 The policy specifically aims: to develop new, better and sustainable resource uses; optimise existing uses; develop multiple rather than single natural resource uses; increase participation by all stakeholders; and to balance population growth and natural resource supply.
- 7.20 In its present form, the policy has minimal relevance to people living in remote areas. It has been instrumental in further restricting wildlife use by communities in western and northern Botswana, but has provided almost no alternatives from which these communities could sustain themselves.

iv. Tribal Land (Amendment) Act, 1993

- 7.21 A number of important changes were introduced in respect to the duties and powers of Land Boards. These include provision for compensation in addition to requirement for Land Boards to grant alternative land. The changes recognised that it is now not possible in every case to provide suitable land for relocation, and provided for easier relocation and settlement throughout Botswana.
- 7.22 Land Boards were asked to create land use zones for the entire tribal area, and make allocation according to the zones use. Land Boards would subsequently create management plans to guide the use and development of each zone. Unauthorised activities relating to acquisition, occupation, change of use, transfer, misrepresentation were made offences with provision for a fine or imprisonment. There is provision for the establishment of a land tribunal, to which any person may appeal. The existence of land use plans should enable Land Boards to be more responsive to people's needs, to make land allocation more quickly, and to identify locations for specific projects, thus improving access to land.
- 7.23 This 1993 Tribal Land (Amendment) Act took over the powers that local people had over land, as the Land Board could override local (traditional or tribal) institutions that previously protected common property rights. No exception was made for people in the remote areas, as this was considered a uniform solution that would address all land problems in Botswana. The Act was mainly triggered by land problems in peri-urban areas.
- 7.24 The people living in remote areas have been adversely affected by this Act because most of them were poor, illiterate and strongly believed that the land belonged equally to all who lived in it. This happened because the Land Board could allocate land equally to other Botswana citizens who had

applied and qualified, irrespective of the concerns of the local community. As a result, much of the land that was previously utilised communally by the communities in remote areas has been allocated to new boreholes used for the expansion of cattle posts. This allocation practically gives exclusive land use rights to the owner of the borehole. As a result, the act has limited remote area people's rights and access to land for gathering veldt products. These communal rights have sometimes been withdrawn altogether by those who have been legally allocated land by Land Boards.

vi. Botswana Land Policy – Issues Report (2002)

- 7.25 A consultancy led by Natural Resource Services (Pty.) Ltd. is currently engaged in the preparation of a comprehensive National Land Policy for Botswana, and produced an Issues Paper in September 2002. The paper refers to the problems that have arisen from the implementation of policies, and argues that the *“Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) and the Fencing Component have been a major determinant of tenure insecurity... The benefits of these policies in terms of productivity remain unclear, while the costs in terms of landlessness and poverty are very high.”*
- 7.26 Amongst other recommendations on land, the paper advocates that the new policy should ensure that *“the Fencing Component of the 1991 National Policy on Agricultural Development does not run ahead of the capacity of District Councils and RADP to accommodate evictees,”* and also that *“evictees and others displaced by implementation of the Fencing Component of the 1991 National Policy on Agricultural Development receive prompt, adequate and just compensation.”*
- 7.27 The paper acknowledges that the issues of land restitution, and access to land and resources are fundamental to solving the problems of people in remote areas. The paper goes on to make a number of preliminary policy recommendations, based on the principle that people in remote areas require more control over land management, comparable to that enjoyed by other citizens.
- 7.28 The paper calls for Government to pay greater attention to upholding the rights of minorities to pursue their distinct lifestyles and cultures, within the context of economic and social empowerment, poverty reduction, sustainable land use, and the conservation of natural resources.
- 7.29 With regard to land, the paper makes two specific recommendations:
- *In those areas where RADs form a majority of the local population, new sub-land boards or related structures could be established to regulate the use of the land. Membership of these could be made up of mainly of local residents.*
 - *New water development in RAD settlements should be put under the control of the RAD residents themselves. District Council control of these water sources has been a prime cause of invasion of RAD settlements by cattle belonging to non-RADs*

D. Attempts by Government to Increase and Safeguard Access to Land

- 7.30 There have been some deliberate moves by Government to facilitate land acquisition by remote area communities, and at safeguarding communities land rights. Attempts by Government to facilitate land acquisition by remote area communities include the case of the Ghanzi leasehold farms. In 1989, the Ghanzi district set aside three leasehold farms for use by remote area communities of Chobokwane, Groot Laagte and West Hanahai settlements. Attempts to reallocate one of the farms to a syndicate were rejected by Government.
- 7.31 Other measures at safeguarding remote area community access to land are evident in measures by district authorities during the demarcation of ranches under the NPAD. Districts that reportedly have undertaken such safeguard include Kgatleng and Central. However, what is lacking in these measures is a set of clear guidelines on how districts should proceed in reserving land for remote area communities. Currently, such practices appear to be dependent on the discretion of district authorities.
- 7.32 The discussion in the previous sections indicated the negative impacts that the TGLP and NPAD have had on the remote area communities' access to land and natural resources. However, these policies do contain measures which aimed ostensibly at safeguarding community access to land. As initially conceived, the TGLP determination of zones was supposed to leave out some areas as reserved. For its part, fencing under the NPAD is supposed to take place "*where possible.*" People living in settlements within Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) are also permitted to herd cattle.
- 7.33 A common practice is that prior to the delimitation of ranches, a socio-economic survey is conducted to indicate the communities that are likely to be affected. The greatest challenge is that in both policies, intentions were not matched by practice. With the NPAD there have not been any major attempts to define what is understood by "*where possible.*" It is quite probable that proceeding with fencing of communal grazing areas (in the process, disregarding remote area communities' rights to land and land resources) is not in line with the spirit of the NPAD. The challenge here is how to close the chasm between policy intentions on the one hand and practice on the other.

E. Land Access in Remote Area Communities

- 7.34 As with the issue of targeting discussed above, there were different interpretations of the meaning and manifestation of access to land. The literature on access to land and land resources reveals at least three contrasting views. These were also echoed in the various consultative meetings and workshops conducted as part of the data collection exercise for the present Review. The following bullets are followed by detailed explanations (a; b; c) of the three discernible positions:

- The first view holds that remote area communities, just like other citizens, have access to land and land resources. According to this position, remote community members apply (for land) just like any other citizen and, as such, access to land in remote areas is not an issue.
- The second view draws a distinction between *theoretical* equal access to land for Batswana, and the practical realities manifest in remote communities' attempts to access land. According to this view, therefore, access to land is indeed an issue in the development of the remote areas.
- Straddling these positions is a view which holds that remote communities do have access to residential and arable land, but not to land for grazing. As in the preceding viewpoint, access to land is a pertinent issue.

7.35 It is important to discuss these viewpoints in some detail.

a) The view of equal access to land

7.36 Some respondents expressed the view that there is no barrier to accessing land rights for people in remote areas. Land allocation is an entitlement of all Batswana, and can be carried out within settlements, without need to visit Land Board offices. RADP land applications are not given any special preference; all applications are treated in the same manner.

7.37 This view is predicated on the provisions of the Tribal Land Act which guarantees equitable access to land for all citizens of Botswana. Ideally, any one can collect application forms for land, fill them in and submit them to the Land Board. This view is captured in a statement made in 1993 by the then Deputy Attorney General when he stated:

...the question of getting a tshimo and a borehole or farm is now based on citizenry or before the amendment of the Tribal Land Act on belonging to any tribal territory in which they resided. Those who are not able as of now to acquire masimo, or mafudiso are not able to do so not because ke Basarwa but because of their economic status in life. This is not so because they are Basarwa but because they do not have the means or economic ability.

b) The view of lack of access to land

7.38 The equal access to land position has been challenged by researchers and commentators on the RADP. It has been argued that the provisions of the Tribal Land Act on equal access to land were in practice not realised. Cassidy (2001: 9) maintains that *there is a substantial difference between the theoretical equality of land allocation and its actual implementation and functioning.*

7.39 Observations such as those by Cassidy have led to the characterisation of remote area communities as landless. Moeletsi (1993) traces the landless status of the San to failure by the Tribal Land Act to recognise Basarwa land uses. Land uses specified in the Tribal Land Act are residential, arable grazing and commercial. Gathering and hunting, the two primary land

- uses associated with the Basarwa are thus not recognised as land uses in their own right.
- 7.40 This omission has resulted in what one officer in Boteti sub-district dubbed 'land squeeze' experienced by the remote area communities. This was in reference to a situation in which remote area communities in Boteti find themselves sandwiched between the CKGR and the Makgadikgadi National Park.
- 7.41 The implementation of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy and the National Policy on Agricultural Development are often cited as clear indications of the non-recognition of Basarwa land rights. Quoting the work of Campbell, Main and Associates, Good concluded that in the case of the Western Sand Veldt, the demarcation of ranches proceeded without regard for Basarwa, who could be told to move by anyone who had been awarded land rights by the land board (Good, 2001: 22). In a study of Western Ngwaketse, Gary Childers revealed the negative impacts that TGLP ranches had on people whose livelihoods were partly based on gathering.
- 7.42 Turning to the National Policy on Agricultural Development (NPAD, also sometimes called the "New Agricultural Policy"), several commentators have raised the equity issue in relation to the fencing component of this policy. For example, Perkins refers to the *fencing off equity issue* -an attempt to describe the de facto privatisation of communal land under the NPAD. This adversely affects remote communities who depend on these areas for gathering.
- 7.43 A study of the Kaka area by the Central District Technical Committee (on the Fencing Component of the NPAD) demonstrates the limited access to land accorded the remote communities under the NPAD. The study followed a decision to use Kaka as a pilot area for the fencing of communal rangelands. Extensive socio-economic studies revealed the presence of remote communities in the area. Most of these people were settled around boreholes and were regarded by the borehole owners as squatters. The Technical Committee recommended that at least some of the ranches should be reserved for the remote communities. As considerate as it was, the decision by the Technical Committee to proceed with the demarcation of ranches confirms the observation made by Campbell, Main Associates cited above.
- 7.44 Under the National Agricultural Development Policy, more ranches have been identified for individual and syndicate fencing in the Boteti area. As currently executed, proponents of the remote area landlessness argument would see the two policies as premised on non-recognition of Basarwa rights. The two policies are thus viewed as a continuation of Basarwa land dispossession, a process that can be traced back to the colonial period (see Moeletsi and Ng'ong'ola, 1996).
- 7.45 Analysts cite what they view as the cumbersome procedures and requirements for accessing land. The current land acquisition procedures

- are based on the assumption that all applicants have information on how to access land. The demarcation and the subsequent advertisement of ranches in the Boteti area for example, proceeded on the assumption that advertisement would reach all potential applicants.
- 7.46 While it can be argued that individuals from remote area settlements could apply for grazing areas and boreholes just like any other Batswana, requirements for such applications disqualify most applicants from remote area settlements. For example, applicants are required to submit a Management Plan. The preparation of such plans has financial implications which applicants from remote areas can not easily mobilise. Such requirements effectively exclude Basarwa communities, on the basis of resources and access to information, since the advertisements were mainly done through the newspapers, which Basarwa do not read.
- 7.47 It is assumed that there is equitable information and enough literacy to enable people to collect and fill in application forms for different land. Quite often the district headquarters or sub-headquarters where subordinate Land Boards operate from are located some distance from most remote area settlements. To be allocated land, applicants are required to be in possession of a valid Omang. Ownership of land is usually evidenced by the possession of a land certificate. As simple as may appear to be, it is quite lengthy and costly for remote communities.

c) The view of access limited to grazing land

- 7.48 The position holds that while remote communities have access to residential and arable land, access to grazing land is greatly limited. Most remote communities reported problems of inadequate grazing land where they could pursue sustainable livelihoods. In many of the settlements, the areas were already cattle posts or wildlife management areas (WMAs) when the settlements were established (Cassidy, 2001). As Cassidy correctly pointed out, the location of remote settlements in such areas limits their possibilities for expansion.
- 7.49 Residents of Tshokwe indicated for example, that they had land for residential and arable agriculture purposes but not grazing areas. The residents attempts to obtain grazing areas were thwarted by cattle owners in the area who claimed that the area was for communal grazing- *ke mahudisetso a matlhakanelo*. According to one respondent, refusal to designate grazing areas for remote communities emanates from the fact that residents of Tshokwe are looked down upon due to their ethnicity- *bare lebela ko tase*.
- 7.50 Elsewhere, the presence of grazing areas around remote settlements has greatly constrained the allocation of arable land for remote area communities. In the case of Mabesekwa, protests from neighbouring cattle owners resulted in residents being allocated arable land close to 10 km from the settlement (Molebatsi, 2002)

- 7.51 Some officials pointed out that despite having been allocated arable land, very little of these was put to any use. Council efforts at encouraging subsistence agriculture included the clearing and fencing of arable fields. Failure to cultivate by the remote communities is often blamed on crop damage by livestock from the surrounding cattle posts. Compensation for crop damage by livestock was reported to be problematic, as some cattle-owners lived far from the settlement. In some instances, failure to cultivate has cast some doubt on the relevance of crop production as a source of livelihood for remote area communities. It is submitted that perhaps instead of adopting standard economic activities for remote area communities, the RADP should exercise flexibility and allow communities to embark upon economic activities they were familiar with and also well suited for the local environment.
- 7.52 The perception that remote area communities had limited access to grazing land has often been challenged by those who point out the communal ownership of these areas. The implication is that farmers in remote area settlements, like any other Batswana, had access to communal grazing areas. However, ownership of boreholes in grazing areas plays a role in determining who enjoys communal grazing rights. As such, large cattle owners enjoyed access to land around their boreholes, while remote communities were not able to use it.
- 7.53 Although the remote communities are allocated a buffer zone of 20km around them, this zone is meant to over all economic activities, including small-scale agriculture. While this was meant to reduce land conflicts in the short term, it is inevitable that these will result as pressure for land increases. It should also be recalled that such buffer zones are not for exclusive use by remote area communities but are open to other users.
- 7.54 It has also been argued that like other Batswana, remote area communities could apply and be allocated boreholes anywhere in the country. This submission is not tenable given the financial costs involved in borehole drilling, pitted against the financial status of most residents in remote areas. Moreover, perhaps with the exception of the newly created ranches under the NPAD, it is evidently clear that under the current land management practices where the 8 km by 8 km water rights rule exists, there is little land in Botswana for further drilling of boreholes for livestock. As aptly captured by the Bobirwa Sub-district Land Board Technical Committee, *go tletse* – it's fully occupied.
- 7.55 The predicament faced by remote communities in accessing grazing areas was highlighted by a technical committee of the Bobirwa Sub-district Land Use Planning Unit (sub-DLUPU). The Committee observed that in those cases where Government drilled boreholes for purposes of watering livestock for the remote communities, other people move in with their livestock and in the process displace the intended beneficiaries. Occurrences such as these were reported in Kgalagadi District and elsewhere.

- 7.56 The *mafisa* system was also cited as one avenue through which non-remote farmers gained access, and ultimately control over boreholes initially meant for remote settlements.
- 7.57 Closely associated with access to land is the question of the extent to which remote communities have control over land and natural resources around their settlements. At issue is the tendency by other people to graze their animals and harvest natural resources in the vicinity of remote area settlements without express permission from the remote communities.
- 7.58 In the case of Tshokwe, it was reported that the recent drought has seen an influx of cattle from other parts of the district. The main complaint was that the influx was due to private arrangements entered into between “guest” and “host” cattle owners without any involvement of the leadership in Tshokwe. The argument advanced by such farmers is that *lefatshe rele kopanetse* (land is communally owned). One such farmer who was called upon to account for his behaviour is alleged to have refused and indicated that he did not deal with Basarwa.
- 7.59 Apart from arrangements between host and guest cattle-owners, it was also reported that some non-remote cattle owners unilaterally chose to “squat” in the vicinity of Tshokwe so as to water their animals in the community dam. The residents felt powerless over such people. The case of the influx of cattle from non-remote communities into Tshokwe and its environs caused a lot of disquiet among the residents, who viewed the presence of cattle in the vicinity of their settlements as compounding the problem of crop damage by livestock.
- 7.60 Other reported cases involved the collection and harvesting of veldt products around Tshokwe by people from other parts of the Bobirwa sub-district. Resources cited include firewood, phane and grass. While this could be viewed as a result of the “free access” practices that seem to govern resources in Botswana’s communal areas, remote communities interpret it differently. Residents of Tshokwe for example felt that this was a clear indication of the contempt with which they were held by other people because of their ethnicity. As one commentator in Tshokwe argued, it was inconceivable for an individual to harvest phane or collect firewood in the vicinity of a village like Mmadinare without permission, or at least the knowledge of the leadership.
- 7.61 Lack of control over local resources should not be underestimated, as it exposes remote communities to competition for natural resources from other communities. These communities are usually better equipped and easily out-compete the remote communities in natural resource acquisition. In the case of phane harvesting for example, vehicles are now used to transport harvesters to any area with an abundance of phane. In Tshokwe it was reported that phane harvesters came from as far as Bobonong. In yet another incident, cattle owners from Bobonong employed Tshokwe

residents to cut and load grass into waiting vehicles for livestock feeding in Bobonong.

- 7.62 Competition and lack of control of resources by local communities has been cited as responsible for natural resources depletion in remote area settlements. Competition for resources does not only come in form of harvesting as in the case of phane, but can also take the form of grazing by livestock. Resource depletion due to increased livestock population was widely reported in the Economic Consultancies et. al. monitoring report which covered selected remote settlements in Kgalagadi and Ghanzi districts. The report attributed environmental perturbation and resource depletion to increased number of cattle in the vicinity of the settlements.
- 7.63 Similar problems due to increased number of cattle were reported in the settlements of Khwee and Mmiya (Toteng and Ndozi, 1992). The susceptibility of remote area settlements to resource depletion should also be understood against a backdrop of the environmental marginality of most of these settlements. The aridity and fragile nature of the environment in which most remote areas are located put a limit to both human and livestock populations that the areas can accommodate.
- 7.64 The foregoing discussion raises a number of issues concerning the remote communities' access to land and land resources. It is evident that although the Tribal Land Act guarantees equal access to land to all citizens of Botswana, in practice remote communities' access to land is greatly limited. This emanates from structural as well as operational problems. The failure of the Tribal Land Act to recognise land uses such as hunting and gathering is viewed by some analysts as the basis for the alleged landlessness status of the remote communities.

F. The Issue of Land Rights

- 7.65 The question of land rights has also been raised specifically in relation to the Basarwa in remote areas – in connection with the absence of a territory Basarwa can call their own. The country's designation of districts, for example, Kweneng, Ngwaketse, Kgatleng, etc., appears to give people of a certain ethnicity some form of identification with a particular territory.
- 7.66 The majority of remote area dwellers in Botswana are Basarwa. The remote area land question has in some instances been associated with absence of an area or territory (supra-settlement level) in Botswana, controlled or known as Basarwa territory. One of the cherished practices in Botswana is the retention of tribal territories which are known by names of specific ethnic groups. For example, territories like Kweneng, Ngwaketse, Kgatleng, Borolong, Bukalanga and Bobirwa are all associated with a specific ethnic group. This has led some observers to conclude that unlike every other Motswana, a significant section of the remote area dwellers have no territory (Mazonde 2002:63) that they "can call their own". Similar sentiments were echoed at the NGO consultative meeting for this Review.

- 7.67 Lobbying groups among the Basarwa, in particular the First People of the Kalahari (FPK) express the view that the Basarwa have lost access to their land, and their sense of belonging (see for example Rivers, 2001). The absence of an ethnic territory is perceived to mean dispossession and restricted access to the land. They call for Basarwa land rights, and refer to more appropriate land allocation systems, such as that found in Namibia, where they allege that facilities are provided in the places where the San choose to live.
- 7.68 One of the FPK projects that clearly aimed at acquisition of land rights for Basarwa was the *Show the Land* Pilot Project. According to Hardbattle, 1996, the project was formulated in response to the increasing land use pressure on traditional N/oakwe areas and the continued displacement of the people from their resource areas. The project was planned to take place inside the CKGR. Rivers opines that this could have been part of the process of filing a formal land claim in the CKGR. Reference to ancestral home or land highlight Basarwa attempts to have territories which they can call theirs.
- 7.69 **The issues raised above demand that the RADP provide public education to remote area dwellers, explaining the legal and administrative frameworks for land rights and access, as well as direct assistance in making applications to land boards.**

G. The Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) Management Plan Process

i. Background and Relevance of to the RADP

- 7.70 There has been some degree of controversy surrounding the 1986 decision and subsequent actions by Government (especially since 1997) to relocate all people still resident within the CKGR into settlements outside the park.

a) Reasons for Relocation

- 7.71 The Government provided several reasons for the relocation, which included:

i) Delivering development

- 7.72 This argument is advanced as a consequence of the desire of the Government of Botswana to bring development to a sector of the population who are currently living in unacceptable conditions. Botswana is a signatory to a number of conventions in the United Nations in which it pledges, amongst other things, to respect human rights and deliver upon its obligations to provide education, health and political freedom. Botswana's overall development record in these regards is regarded as exemplary.

ii) Cost of services

7.73 The issue of the cost of delivering services within the reserve is cited especially by District level officials who were responsible for delivering those services. In some areas, water was being bowsed in at great expense and inconvenience along very rough roads. The task of delivering entitlements, such as the destitute allowance, to mobile populations was becoming very time consuming and costly.

This reason is compatible with the National Settlement Policy, which specifies the service entitlements for communities, and is not incompatible with international practice in this regard. It is easy to conclude that services and social welfare can be delivered much more effectively and efficiently in accessible communities. It is therefore understandable that Government would take the position that these services will only be available at certain points outside the reserve, where they are within range of existing service points.

iii) Depletion of resources

7.74 A third argument is that people must be removed from the CKGR because their presence is depleting the wildlife and natural resources. The reserve is intended for the preservation of these resources, for tourism and other activities. Some respondents said that the settlements inside the CKGR were growing steadily prior to the recent relocations in 1997. The presence of larger settlements with more modern facilities was having a noticeable impact on the surrounding environment, and it was becoming clear that they were not sustainable as they were.

7.75 In addition, access to modern transport and weaponry has meant that both hunting and gathering can be done on a much larger scale than previously. For this reason, it is clear that the exploitation of all resources in the CKGR will need to be regulated, or they will disappear. The danger that the continuation of serviced settlements within the CKGR was not compatible with the preservation of wildlife and natural resources would therefore seem to be real. This would not, however preclude the possibility of allowing some people to make regulated use of resources in the reserve, as described in the proposed Community Use Zones.

7.76 Although the relocations were preceded by consultation with the people within the park, the issue has been taken up by international lobbying groups, some of whom maintain that the San people have an ancestral land claim on the CKGR, and that the relocation has been an infringement of fundamental human rights.

7.77 The RADP did not implement the relocation, but a number (about 5 per cent) of the remote area people who fall within the mandate of the RADP have been relocated out of the CKGR during the last three years. Consultations in the most affected settlements, Kgo'esakeni (New Xade)

and Xere (Kaudwane was not visited during the Review) were to a large extent dominated by issues arising from relocation.

- 7.78 The relocation issue is also pertinent to the issue of land and access to land that is being discussed in this section. The international perspectives described in Chapter 3 above have emphasised the importance of land, and in particular, the dispossession of poor people worldwide of land that they have occupied for many generations. These experiences resonate strongly with the perspectives of some remote area people in Botswana, and are therefore important to this Review.

ii. Stakeholder Perspectives on relocation

- 7.79 This subsection briefly presents the stakeholder perspectives, followed by a discussion of issues as they are understood by the Review Team. Finally, the development of the CKGR management plan is discussed as a case of good practice in participatory programme development. Lessons from this and the CBNRM experiences from elsewhere could provide valuable input into future design and management of the RADP.
- 7.80 Perspectives at community level differed between the older and younger generations. While older people were generally opposed to the relocation, the younger people saw some advantages, and were more optimistic about the future outside the reserve.
- 7.81 The older generation had not wanted to relocate from the CKGR, and were reported to be supporting attempts to move people back to the reserve. According to one of the elders from the CKGR, who spoke during the community-level consultations, Basarwa traditions give the older people power to control the younger ones, and the latter are obliged to obey their parents' instructions. But relocation had made this problematic because it led to movements that tended to rearrange social relationships, which apparently led to situations whereby traditions could not be upheld anymore outside what was considered their traditional territory.
- 7.82 District level officials expressed the view that Kgo'esakeni (New Xade) is receiving disproportionate attention because of sensitivity arising from the Survival International campaign. This was distorting the RADP, since better programmes are also needed in other settlements.
- 7.83 One view from the Department of Tourism was that rather than shelve the CKGR management plan, efforts could be made to identify how communities living in proximity to the wildlife resources could benefit e.g. through management of campsites. The game guiding training initiative from which some remote communities have already benefited could be intensified. The advantage of this initiative is the potential it has to tap from the hunting and gathering skills some remote area people already possess.
- 7.84 There are concerns that the relocation of people from the CKGR has the principal disadvantage of removing or inhibiting an important livelihood

option for the people concerned. The settlements do not appear to have the capacity and resources to provide sustainable livelihood options. This is manifested in the high degree of dependence of settlement dwellers on government hand-outs. The dependence is also a symptom of the emense challenges that the relocated people face in the transition from the kind of life they had been accustomed to a more sedentary lifestyle.

- 7.85 The high level of dependence of settlement dwellers on public services and their apparent inability to adjust to different means of sustaining their livelihoods complicates the task of the RADP. This means that they have to be cared for by the programme. It adds strain to limited resources for the care for the affected people and communities, who appear to be unable or incapable of embarking on sustainable (non-dependent) livelihoods. The RADP's challenge now is to ensure that people in the new settlements have viable livelihood options that do not lead to increased dependence on government hand-outs.

iii. Land Use Planning and Management

- 7.86 This section outlines a case of consultative and participatory land use planning that involved all stakeholders that, with lessons experienced elsewhere with the Community based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM, discussed in the next chapter) may provide valuable lessons for the RADP. **What is of interest to the present study is the concept and processes that initially informed the preparation of the CKGR Management Plan, rather than the content of the plan itself. The concept of all-inclusive consultation and participation is in line with the Government's own ideals, and provides important lessons for the future conduct of RADP planning and implementation.**
- 7.87 The CKGR Management Plan is predicated on the concept that communities can prosper and co-exist alongside natural resource and wildlife conservation. **The concept is also in line with the CBNRM, which is based on the conferment of control over natural resources to local communities, which benefit directly from conservation and the sustainable utilisation of natural resources.** One of the more successful examples of CBNRM activities is that experienced in the area of the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust (CECT), which has operated for about a decade and also provides useful lessons for the co-existence of people, wildlife and natural resources conservation and participatory development (Jones, B.T.B., 2002: 25-40).
- 7.88 A consultative, participatory planning process was adopted in the preparation of the CKGR Management Plan. Among the key objectives of the Plan are conservation, maintenance of wilderness, sustainable economic benefits, tourism development, community benefits, education and research. The plan acknowledges and advocates for change within Botswana's conservation practices and puts forwards compromise strategies between conservation and the needs of the affected communities.

- The plan views compromise as an essential requirement for plan ownership by local communities.
- 7.89 From a planning point of view, the Management Plan perceived human beings as part of the Kalahari ecosystem; hence they should not be excluded from the management of the reserve. What was considered ideal in the Plan was what they dubbed a win-win situation whereby a compromise between conservation and community needs would have been established.
- 7.90 The concept of mutual co-existence of people, natural resources and wildlife conservation (as espoused in the Wildlife Management Areas and the CBNRM) is important in that it relates to the creation of sustainable livelihoods, which is a desirable outcome of the revised RADP. The consultative and participatory processes are worth emulating in the planning of the RADP because they lead to widespread and mutual acceptance of the plans, enhanced success of implementation and mutually agreed direction of local development.
- 7.91 The Department of National Parks and Wildlife are currently in possession of a Draft Final CKGR Management Plan, to replace the Third Draft mentioned above. Although the third draft of the CKGR Plan evolved through a consultative and participatory methodology, participants at the Ghanzi Regional (feedback) Workshop stated that the Draft Final has not been taken back to stakeholders for further consideration. This corroborated information from the earlier field visits, which makes it clear that sections of some communities in the Ghanzi area are awaiting feedback on the Plan. The view from the Department of National Parks and Wildlife was that this draft was undergoing internal processes of refinement.
- 7.92 The formulation of the Management Plan was (to the concerned people) a process that revealed government attention to their concerns and care for their livelihoods. It would seem, therefore, that these communities appreciated the benefits from the consultative planning processes, and expected the consultative/participatory process to continue.

iv. Discussion of Issues Relating to Land Management Planning

- 7.93 It is useful to discuss briefly the lessons that may be learnt from the process of formulating the Third Draft Management Plan and other community-based development approaches.

b) Lessons from the Participatory Planning Processes

- 7.94 A number of positive attributes that led to the Third Management Plan are worth highlighting: first, the premise that conservation and community can co-exist; second, the participatory methodology employed in the process of drawing up the plan. Planning for the co-existence of conservation and community coupled with the continuous involvement of local communities could significantly contribute towards consensus on sustainable utilisation

of the resources throughout Botswana, in the context of the CBNRM and other participatory development processes that Botswana subscribes to.

- 7.95 A compromise or win-win situation could have also greatly contributed to addressing the land question as raised by remote communities in Botswana. The compromise philosophy that informed the plan could be of great benefit to communities in other parts of Botswana. The participatory methodology through which the plan evolved meant that whatever compromise was arrived at in the end was a negotiated one that was also acceptable to all. Consensus and acceptance are critical for compliance with, and successful implementation of, development plans.

c) Conclusion

- 7.96 The consultative and participatory planning processes that led to the formulation of the Management Plan provides valuable lessons for the planning and conduct of the revised RADP.
- 7.97 The first, that development planning can be based on the premise or concept that there can be co-existence of communities with natural resource and wildlife conservation (that is also reflected in the CBNRM model, which has been successfully implemented elsewhere, such as in the Chobe enclave referred to above). Community involvement appears to lead to better community understanding of the benefits of conservation, and thus the livelihood benefits of sustainable utilisation of resources.
- 7.98 The second lesson is that genuine involvement of local communities in the development planning and management process may lead to consensus, acceptance, ownership and commitment that are essential for compliance and successful plan implementation.

H. Conclusions and Recommendations

i. Introduction

- 7.99 In charting the way forward for remote area land rights, access and utilisation (Sections 7A-G), it is essential that concerns raised by the different arguments are considered. Some suggestions also came from the various interviews conducted during the data collection phase of this study, which included:
- The need for **affirmative action** in areas such as land allocation.
 - **Enhanced representation** in institutions such as the Land Board.
 - **Extending access to land** for remote area communities (through purchasing).
 - The need for **continued consultation and dialogue** between Government and communities in general.

ii. Affirmative Action in Land Allocation

7.100 A recurrent theme throughout many discussions was the need to adopt affirmative action as a way of protecting remote communities' access to land. Some respondents also argued that affirmative action could be used to safeguard the interest of remote area people in the recently advertised farms under the National Policy on Agricultural Development. Affirmative action is widely viewed as critical in the general upliftment of the remote area communities. In the words one participant at the Francistown Consultative workshop, affirmative action "*e ba tsisa gaufi le rone jaaka mo lebelong, gare leba ko morago retshwanetse ra bona batho eseng lerole.*" ("affirmative action will bring [remote area communities] closer to other groups in Botswana and like in a race, when we look back we should be able to see people and not just dust.")

7.101 It does appear that the reservation of grazing areas for the remote communities is already happening in some areas. What is not clear is how this comes about, and seems to depend on individual officers who argue and convince others of the desirability of such measures. For example, the reservation of ranches for the remote communities in Kaka was a recommendation made by the Technical Committee. Similarly, the possibility of reserving some farms for remote communities in the 4B area in Boteti seems to be an initiative of the officers at Letlhakane. This leads to the recommendation:

Recommendation R6. Land Authorities should give priority to land applications by members of remote communities who wish to acquire land in the vicinity of their settlements.

7.102 Respondents also raised the question of low awareness among remote area dwellers of the value of landed property. The submission here is that remote communities are easily tricked into selling their plots, or even water rights. There is a need for a vigorous sensitisation campaign that will help remote communities realise the value of land in modern Botswana, and understand the procedures by which land can be acquired. This leads to the recommendation:

Recommendation R7. RAD officers should provide public education about land rights and access, as well as formal advice and material assistance to members of remote communities in making applications to the Land Authorities.

iii. Enhanced Representation

7.103 The affirmative action argument has also been extended to Land Board membership, since the Land Board is taking regular decisions that affect the remote communities. It is submitted that some positions in the Land Board should be reserved for remote communities. The contention is that under the current method of electing Land Board members, the odds were stacked

against remote area candidates due to low educational attainment and numerical inferiority.

- 7.104 There is in fact some representation at present in some of the Land Boards, for example: Ngwaketse (1), Kgalagadi (3), Tawana (5), Ghanzi (2), Kweneng (2), Kgatleng (1), and Ngwato (8). This does not, however, reflect official policy, and is therefore not consistently applied. This leads to the recommendation:

Recommendation R8. In Districts or sub-Districts with remote area communities, positions on the Land Board should be reserved for suitably qualified members drawn from those communities (one member for every three RADP settlements in the District). The members could be appointed for a fixed term, in rotation between the communities concerned.

iv. Extending access through purchasing of land for Remote Communities

- 7.105 Land is an essential factor of production, and as such, concerted efforts should be made to ensure that remote communities have access to areas for grazing or other purposes. Existing settlements are surrounded by cattle posts and WMAs, and there seems to be little potential for expansion. Government could relieve the constraint by purchasing some of the cattle posts for the use of the remote communities. This leads to the following recommendation:

Recommendation R9. Government, through Land Authorities, should embark upon a programme of land acquisition in the vicinity of remote area settlements, either by reserving unallocated land, or by purchase of land already allocated.

- 7.106 It is important to establish the most appropriate use for land thus acquired, in line with the wishes of the communities concerned. In this way, Government can avoid the problems already encountered, where land allocated to the remote communities is not used.

- 7.107 Thus, if Government acquires land on behalf of remote area communities, then it will be important to embark upon a participatory process, similar to the one undertaken for the Third Draft Management Plan for the CKGR, in order to determine the most appropriate use for the land. In other words, Government should establish Community Use Zones intended for CBNRM, where non members of the community would be excluded, as in the following recommendation:

Recommendation R10. The land thus acquired should be used in order to establish substantial community use zones through a participatory process with the members of the communities. The granting of community use zones would include the right to exclude non-members of the community from the use of the resources, and the possibility of re-zoning the land for uses deemed appropriate by the community, in consultation with Land Authorities.

v. Dialogue with Remote Communities and NGOs

- 7.108 The land question is central to the success of RADP and it is important that Government tries as much as possible to open up discussions with remote area communities. Such discussions could possibly help bring about an understanding between the communities and the Government.
- 7.109 The participatory approaches to community development, natural resource and wildlife conservation, which are also advanced in the CBNRM model, can be promoted through the involvement of local communities in development planning processes that lead to consensus, acceptance, ownership and commitment, which are critical for successful plan implementation.

Recommendation R11. Before taking decisions affecting land allocation or land use in remote areas, Land Authorities should conduct thorough participatory discussions with a representative group drawn from the affected community, and from local Non-Governmental organisations (NGOs).

8 Promoting Sustainable Livelihoods

A. Overview

- 8.1 Livelihoods have been defined as containing the natural, physical, financial, human and social assets, the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by individuals or households (Ellis, 2000). Sustainable Livelihoods are those that provide a living in the long term without depleting any of the categories of assets. Livelihoods that require a long-term transfer from Government (such as social welfare, or subsidised labour intensive works) would not normally be regarded as sustainable.
- 8.2 In centuries past, most remote area dwellers derived their livelihoods primarily from natural resources, such as game and products. However, these sources of livelihood are declining for various reasons – one of which is loss of access to vast tracts of land where natural resources were readily available decades ago. Hunting and gathering is regarded by many respondents as a source of livelihood that is no longer sustainable.
- 8.3 Rural livelihoods in Botswana were surveyed as a part of the Review of the Rural Development Policy (BIDPA, 2001). The Review found that rural livelihoods are spatially diverse, that is, different parts of the country are suitable for different economic activities, and that households typically pursue a number of parallel strategies to construct a viable livelihood.
- 8.4 In most parts of rural Botswana, the Review found that the most important source of rural livelihoods was formal employment, followed (in smaller settlements) by livestock and transfers (mostly from Government). Arable agriculture was also found to be important in the Eastern part of the country. Table 8-1 shows the ranking of livelihood activities in the two main regions containing remote area communities.
- 8.5 The table shows the results of a survey of all rural households, not only those in remote areas. It is however instructive, since it indicates the areas that are seen to be of importance in determining rural livelihoods generally. Note in particular the minimal importance attached to the exploitation of natural resources.
- 8.6 The question is whether or not the situation in remote areas is significantly different from the picture shown in Table 8-1. The sections that follow present an analysis of the livelihood options represented in the table for the remote area settlements, with a discussion of future options that might sustain them.

Table 8-1: Ranking of Livelihood Activities by Contribution to Household Income/ Consumption, by Region

Livelihood Activity	East (Small Settlements)	West
Employment	(1) 31%	(1) 41%
Livestock	(3) 23%	(2) 28%
Transfers	(4) 22%	(3) 22%
Informal Sector	(6) 12%	(4) 20%
Arable Agriculture	(2) 30%	(5) 17%
Remittances	(5) 19%	(6) 14%
Natural Resources	(7) 1%	(7) 1%

Note: Activities are ranked according to the percentage of households reporting that the activity makes a significant contribution (25 %+) to total household income and consumption. The three most important livelihood systems in each region are marked in bold type.

Source: Review of the Rural Development Policy (BIDPA, 2001)

B. Current Livelihood Systems in Remote Areas

i. Formal and Informal Employment

a) Current Situation

- 8.7 Formal employment is not a traditional form of livelihood in remote areas, and the opportunities for expansion are extremely limited in sparsely populated settlements that are far from the suppliers of inputs, and from markets for their produce.
- 8.8 At present, the predominant forms of formal employment in the remote areas are through labour intensive works in the Department of Roads, in drought relief projects, and employment in cattle posts in the surrounding areas. The RADP has also provided resources through the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF - discussed in section 8C below) for enterprise and small business creation, and training in skills.
- 8.9 The labour intensive works were introduced in 1991/92 to compensate for the withdrawal of drought relief programmes. This followed the 1990 review that indicated that the vast majority of the settlement populations depended on drought relief for their daily subsistence and would suffer unless compensatory schemes were introduced. Though the planning and implementation of the actual projects may appear somewhat haphazard, this component seems to make a small contribution to the income of settlement inhabitants (NORAD, 1996, p. xvii).

b) Issues

- 8.10 Respondents raised a concern that labour intensive activities can only involve a limited number of residents in the settlement – they cannot be regarded as a viable substitute for sustainable employment opportunities.
- 8.11 Some officials felt that many of the settlements were not sustainable. Although people are reluctant to move out of their areas, they should appreciate that their settlements offer limited job opportunities and that they must venture to larger areas to search for jobs. The principal alternative lies in the promotion of enterprises and income generating projects under the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF, discussed in section 8C below).

ii. Livestock

a) Current Situation

- 8.12 Botswana has a strong cultural tradition in livestock and an extensive livestock support system. Development of ground water resources has made it possible for livestock to expand virtually throughout the country including remote areas in the western region. It is therefore natural that the distribution of livestock has been seen as an important component of the RADP.
- 8.13 The livestock distribution scheme under the RADP is aimed at diversifying livelihoods and improving the economic status of remote area communities. Under this scheme, adults in remote area dweller settlements are entitled to either five cattle or fifteen goats. The objective of the scheme is that the recipients will be able to increase the herd size, and establish a productive asset base that will allow them to invest, or engage in other activities.

b) Issues

- 8.14 Respondents expressed a number of views during the consultation process in this Review. Most agreed that cattle rearing was not a traditional activity of the Basarwa in the western Districts, and that they lacked skills in this area. This was, however, not said to be true of the Bakgalagadi, who constitute a significant proportion of the remote area dwellers in the Kgalagadi District. For this reason, the cattle rearing scheme was seen to be more successful in Kgalagadi District than in Ghanzi District.
- 8.15 Elsewhere, there were mixed reports of the successes and failure of the scheme. Specific problems reported were stated as:
- There is no monitoring once the communities have been given the livestock.
 - There is a lack of grazing land in most remote areas.
 - Some community members are insecure and are afraid that their livestock would be stolen by more powerful members of society.

- Livestock rearing often conflicts with other livelihoods such as arable farming or game ranching in areas where there is not enough land.
 - The number of animals distributed in remote settlements is below the level that can be considered economically viable.
 - People in remote areas are unable to afford the inputs for sustainable cattle rearing, such as stock feed and vaccines.
 - The livestock scheme has raised the self esteem of the recipients, and provided benefits such as milk, but is not enough to sustain livelihoods – Like many Batswana, remote area people do not consider cattle as a business. It also takes time before the livestock brings in any returns, and many people want instant cash.
- 8.16 Livestock rearing is a long-term investment and benefits may not therefore accrue in the short term. Beneficiaries may be tempted to dispose of livestock to meet immediate needs. In most cases sustainability and suitability assessments are not conducted prior to distribution of livestock. In places where the livestock carrying capacity cannot sustain additional livestock or the area is not suitable for livestock keeping, economic benefits may decline.
- 8.17 With the introduction of the Fencing Policy, pressure on grazing land and land conflicts may increase (see section C above) and expected economic benefits from the livestock scheme might decline further. It is possible that expectations on the impact of the livestock scheme may exceed what is possible given current conditions.
- 8.18 However, some NGO representatives were of the opinion that cattle rearing may be a more sustainable venture than small stock because the latter are easier to dispose for immediate consumption. NGO representatives also cautioned that the cattle scheme should be regarded not as a venture that would uplift recipients from poverty but rather as a form of social security. Reasons advanced for this argument include the fact that cattle's rearing is a labour intensive exercise, and that it takes years before any returns accrue to the owner.
- 8.19 Some respondents reported that schemes such as this one are introduced as part of the RADP without adequate needs assessment or situational analysis of the environment. An example was given in a settlement where most of the livestock was lost due to the prevalence of a poisonous plant in the area.

iii. Arable Agriculture

a) Current Situation

- 8.20 Almost all of the remote area settlements are located in the dry sandveld and western regions of Botswana, where arable agriculture is not normally considered to be a major source of livelihood. Nevertheless, the RADP

encourages arable agriculture as one of the income generating activities in these areas.

- 8.21 The issue of food production was subject to intense debate during some of the consultation exercises. At issue was whether arable agriculture was extensive enough to be described as a major activity, or important source of livelihood. In Qangwa for example, as in most settlements, it was reasonably established that in historical and cultural terms, the majority of residents have not treated arable agriculture as a major economic activity. In the case of Qangwa, this is also tied to the diverse ethnic composition of the settlement, and distinctive productive activities that have tended to typify the social organisation of the different groups. For example, Baherero are predominantly pastoralists, Hambukushu have more of an arable farming tradition, whilst the Basarwa are perceived to be engaged in gathering wild fruits.
- 8.22 There were some areas in which people said they were meaningfully engaged in arable agriculture, for example Sekhutlane in Barolong Farms (Southern district). It was reported that they produce enough to sell to the Agriculture Marketing Board. This success was attributed to their proximity to, and influence by the Barolong, who are well versed in food production. However, in almost all other areas, the limited food production means that people are reliant on foodstuffs procured from the shops, and destitute packages such as rice, maize meal and sorghum.

d) Issues

- 8.23 The crops that the remote communities, particularly the Basarwa, are encouraged to grow (maize, sorghum) do not form part of their traditional staple diet. They prefer to plant watermelons, but receive no assistance to do so. This is a further example of "top-down" planning - planning for the people, not with them.
- 8.24 Many respondents cited the lack of draught power for ploughing. Their view was that the small numbers of cattle provided under the RADP scheme are not adequate for this purpose. There is also a general lack of farming implements, such as ploughs, tractors and fencing to protect crops from wild animals (which are a significant problem for arable agriculture in some areas).

iv. Management of Natural Resources

- 8.25 Natural resource management, in the form of hunting and gathering, could be said to be the traditional livelihood activity of the Basarwa in remote areas. However, it is also important to note that the importance of hunting and gathering has been declining for many years. The traditional livelihoods for Basarwa were changing, with or without the RADP. For example, those people living in the CKGR in recent years were slowly moving into the cash economy and were not living 100% hunting and gathering lifestyle. They drank Council water, and they attended clinics

- instead of being wholly reliant on traditional medicine. Almost no-one consulted during this Review was of the opinion that remote area people should return to a life of hunting and gathering. Nevertheless, the exploitation of natural resources remains a potentially important livelihood option.
- 8.26 Over 60% of the remote area settlements are located in western parts of Botswana in an ecological zone called the Dry Sandveld Area. This includes the districts of Ghanzi, Kgalagadi and the western parts of the Central, Kweneng and Southern Districts. The area is characterised by low rainfall and lack of perennial surface water sources, making the region highly dependent on ground water sources. Despite the aridity of the area, it is endowed with wildlife resources, and a wide range of veldt products which local communities have historically used to augment their livelihoods. Several studies on remote area settlements have referred to the significance of veldt products to remote communities (see for example Hitchcock 1988; Hitchcock and Masilo, 1995; Van der Maas 1995 Economic Consultants et al, 1991 and Mazonde, 1992).
- 8.27 Despite the significance of the natural resources or veldt products in remote areas, they are in a state of depletion (Molebatsi and Atlhopheng 1998). Several factors are viewed as responsible for the depletion, including drought (Toteng and Ndozi, (1989), settlement growth and expansion, and increasing grazing pressure from increasing number of cattle (Economic Consultants et al). The depletion of natural resources in and around remote area settlements could also be viewed as resulting from limited access to land and local communities lack of control over local resources (Molebatsi and Atlhopheng 1998). Limited access to land should be understood in terms of the de-facto privatisation of land under the Tribal Grazing land Policy, as well as the Fencing Component of the National Agricultural Development Policy.
- 8.28 Lack of control over local resources should be understood in the context of free access which seems to have replaced common access practice in most communal areas in Botswana. Studies on Basarwa territoriality have shown for example that Basarwa communities had highly developed concepts of territoriality which in turn regulated access to local resources. Outsiders could harvest natural resources within a given area only with the express permission of the resident or local community (Heinz 1996).
- 8.29 As shown under the discussion on access to land (section 7E above), local communities do not have the right to restrict or regulate resource exploitation in the vicinity of their settlements. Local community control over local resources is however possible under the Community Based Natural Resource Management system, discussed in section 8E below.

C. Community-Based Strategy for Rural Development – February, 1997

8.30 Government programmes in rural areas are guided by the Community-Based Strategy for Rural Development. The rationale for this strategy recognises that development activities and processes have often been conceived and implemented by Government along technocratic lines, with too little emphasis on finding out what rural people want, attracting legitimate popular participation and building institutional capacity at grass-roots level. The aim of the strategy is to expand rural economic activities through effective community-based approaches. The specific objectives are (p.4):

- Reduce poverty by better programme design.
- Promote supporting services and income-generating activities.
- Enhance planning and management capabilities at district level.
- Improve communities' implementation capacity.
- Define structures for effective institutionalisation and coordination.
- Take into account gender and environmental sensitivities.

8.31 The main strategic elements are:

1. A shift in responsibility and control over rural development activities from Government to communities.
2. A shift in development activities towards those capable of improving income and employment.
3. A changing role of Government from lead implementing agency to facilitator.

8.32 The strategy is to be implemented through: social mobilisation and advocacy; community participation; community leadership; transfer of decision-making power to local communities; community action plan and community-based projects. Specific instruments of the strategy are:

- devolution of control over development activities and resource use to local communities and leadership structures;
- Community action plans with priorities and planned activities using a set of eligibility criteria;

8.33 There are a number of key questions relevant to the RADP:

- It does not assess the strengths and weaknesses of communities: to what extent are they able to implement the strategy?
- To what extent have improved services and other external changes in the rural environment raised or created new livelihood opportunities?
- To what extent will the so called "dependency syndrome" hamper the CBP policy – i.e. will communities be willing to actively participate?

- 8.34 In view of the emphasis in this Review on community led development, the future of the Community Based Strategy is critical for the redirection of Government efforts in rural development. The issues of community mobilisation, distribution of responsibilities and profits are all central to the further development of Community Based Natural Resource Management.

D. The Economic Promotion Fund (EPF)

i. History and Objectives of the EPF

- 8.35 The Economic Promotion Fund (EPF) is the component of the RADP concerned with the establishment of sustainable small business activities in the remote settlements. In the mid nineties, the EPF was the largest of the non-infrastructure components of the RADP. The EPF was established under the RADP. The aim of EPF is to create employment opportunities, exploit resources, and to promote the participation of Remote Area Dwellers (remote area dwellers) and self-reliance.

- 8.36 The specific objectives of the EPF are:

- to promote production oriented activities
- to create employment opportunities
- to evaluate and exploit resources available in each community
- to diversify community involvement in development
- to challenge and promote community participation in solving problems of unemployment
- to make each community self reliant.

ii. Eligibility for the EPF

- 8.37 The EPF provides funds for the following activities:

- Investment in production oriented and income generating activities – e.g. game ranching, harvesting and utilisation of veldt products and arable agriculture.
- Infrastructure aimed at assisting the development of production oriented and income generating activities – e.g. tanneries, handicrafts, livestock schemes and poultry farming.
- Training and studies related to activities discussed above.
- Any other investment or expenditure likely to assist the generation of additional productive activities – e.g. new projects (products or ideas) related to activities discussed above, market surveys and resource availability studies.
- Down-payment or supplement to other schemes in cases where the remote area dweller is unable to meet one or more of the criteria in that scheme.

- 8.38 The EPF is available to the following categories of people:
- All remote area dwellers, irrespective of whether they reside in settlements identified for infrastructure development, or in smaller groups.
 - Local communities, non-Governmental organisations (NGOs) and communally owned remote area dwellers projects.
- 8.39 Economic activities which might adversely affect the role and situation of women are not eligible for support from EPF.

iii. Administration of EPF Projects

- 8.40 The initiation of projects financed through EPF is done by remote area community members, with the assistance of the Remote Area Development Office (RADO) and the Assistant Project Officer (APO) at the settlement level. Proposals for projects to be funded through EPF are appraised for viability by the District Council's Economic Planner. Requests for project funding are presented at the District's Production Development Committee, which recommends approval (or rejection) to the District Development Committee (DDC). The Ministry of Local Government makes the final approval.
- 8.41 Applicants are notified of the approval of their projects through the RADP Unit in the District Councils. Implementation of the projects is the responsibility of RADP personnel in Districts with close cooperation of extension officers. Project monitoring and evaluation is the responsibility of the Economic Planner and RADO. The Economic Planner prepares and submits quarterly progress reports on the EPF to the Ministry of Local Government.

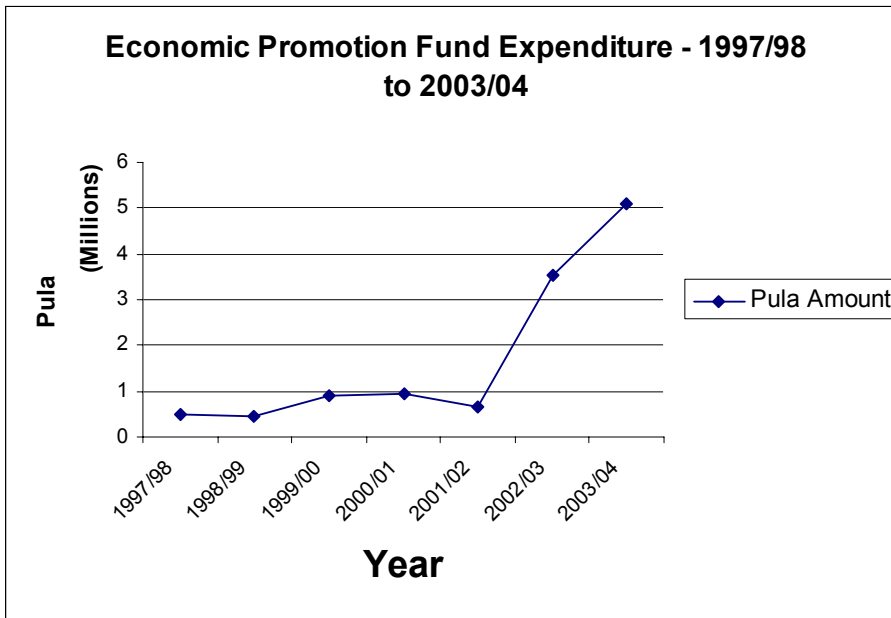
iv. Effectiveness of the EPF

- 8.42 The EPF has been more successful in promoting enterprises which most remote area dwellers and RADP staff know something about. It has been less successful with the wide range of other less familiar activities such as arable agriculture, horticulture, artisan enterprises (carpentry, masonry, blacksmith, tanneries, bakeries, sewing etc. Even wildlife harvesting and commercialisation of veldt products have not been successful ventures under the EPF (see NORAD, 1996 and 2B.ii above).
- 8.43 Disbursements from the EPF have increased tremendously since 2001. The increase could be attributed to intensified utilisation of the facility in the new settlements that were established due to the relocation from the CKGR. Table 9-1 provides the absolute expenditure figures of EPF and Figure 9-1 illustrates the trends.

Table 8-2: EPF Expenditure, 1997-2003

Year	Pula
1997/98	510,000
1998/99	444,000
1999/00	914,690
2000/01	956,280
2001/02	656,444
2002/03	3,541,397
2003/04	5,088,500
Total	12,111,311

Figure 8-1: Trends in EPF Expenditure, 1997-2003



Source: Ministry of Local Government, RADP Coordinating Division.

8.44 Although the statistics are not available, the District level consultations revealed that most EPF funded projects had short life spans and tended to collapse. During the consultation process of this Review, various views were advanced as to why the EPF projects failed. Some of the reasons for failure were lack of commitment; inadequate consultation of the communities; marketing difficulties; inadequate research and extension; and limited local skills. These are explained below.

a) Lack of commitment

8.45 Many respondents reported a lack of commitment to projects - citing instances where training, support and all necessary infrastructures was provided for projects, but no production has resulted. This was sometimes attributed to the unwillingness of beneficiaries to understand the

importance of investment. Where profits accrue to projects, they are not re-invested into the businesses but are used as disposable income.

- 8.46 Some respondents expressed the view that commitment to projects is compromised by the culture of dependence on Government handouts, and by the fact that the Government pays for everything. Successful projects require a degree of volunteerism in the early stages. In any event, an environment of extreme poverty is not conducive to a culture of investment. Others pointed out that the low level of public participation in development was a wider problem throughout Botswana, not restricted to remote areas. It would seem that the benefits are not apparent to the recipients.

b) Lack of community consultation

- 8.47 Many respondents were of the view that EPF projects were doomed to failure because not only were they too complicated for remote area dwellers, but also that they were not involved in its design and implementation. The present project planning system may be characterised as "top-down." Project ideas are conceived and designed centrally, and replicated in all of the settlements. These projects are often not suitable to the area concerned, or to the culture of the people who live there.
- 8.48 People reported that they preferred "Permaculture-like" projects in which they fully participated. A gradual introduction to projects of economic benefit using participatory approaches was deemed more beneficial than the rapid top-down approach used in the current programme. Other respondents complained of uncoordinated and often conflicting policies of various Government programmes and departments; particularly those of Wildlife, Land Boards and Integrated Field Services.

c) Lack of marketing

- 8.49 Many respondents identified marketing of products as a major problem. Remote areas are by definition far from markets and centres of population, but the problem extends also to the local market, where there is inadequate purchasing power within the settlements. Government employees based in the settlement are the only potential customers with regular incomes.
- 8.50 In addition to this, goods produced are usually of low value and low quality, and face stiff competition from those produced elsewhere. As a result, the prices offered by intermediaries can be disappointingly low to the producers. NGO respondents, amongst others including RADP and district development officers, called for market surveys to advise producers in the settlements on what is desirable in the national and international markets. "You just can't buy anything [just] because it is being produced."
- 8.51 In some cases goods produced may be of a unique nature and of good quality e.g. handicrafts. However the remoteness of some settlements and the lack of marketing facilities within them may make it difficult for the goods to reach the intended markets. Some respondents complained of

“middlemen” who exploit them by offering low prices and reaping a high marketing margin from product sales. Whether or not these claims can be substantiated (and Council provided transport is sometimes available), it is nevertheless true that the remote area producers have very little bargaining power, and are vulnerable to unfair terms of trade.

d) Lack of economic opportunities

- 8.52 Some respondents felt that the nature of the remote areas meant that there were simply not enough activities and opportunities to generate an income in the settlements. People are highly dependent on Government.
- 8.53 Many respondents called for a system of preferential tendering for local residents in the remote settlements, to create more of a market for local produce, and improve the livelihood possibilities in settlements. It would seem that some degree of protection would be desirable, at least in the short term, provided that quality regulations could be effectively implemented.

e) Lack of veldt product research

- 8.54 Some veldt products are seasonal and unreliable, and are affected by the occurrence of drought. Income from such products is erratic and unreliable. Some respondents felt that if proper research was done on veldt products, their market value would be enhanced and issues of sustainability could be dealt with.
- 8.55 There is poor attention by Government to the issue of Intellectual and Property Rights which would increase the market value of the veldt products. Botswana is a signatory to the Convention of Biological Diversity but has not backed it up by creating the necessary legal framework in order to protect our local species.

f) Poor extension

- 8.56 The effectiveness of extension activities across other ministries has also contributed to project failure. The EPF guidelines assume implementation of projects is done in close cooperation with other extension officers. Consultations with Districts have revealed that the RADP officer has tended to be coordinator, advisor and implementer of EPF projects due the inadequate support of other extension agents.

g) Lack of skills

- 8.57 Some respondents expressed the view that opportunities for economic upliftment are limited by low literacy levels, and lack of skills. The RADP acknowledges the importance of skill transfer, and beneficiaries of EPF are sent for skills training prior to starting projects. However, the training has tended to focus more on the technical skills rather than those related to management and marketing. It would seem clear that the remote area dwellers need more competitive skills training, without which they will be

unable to benefit from the other enterprise development schemes under CEDA.

- 8.58 Assistant Project Officers (APOs), who are responsible for the day to day monitoring of projects, only have 'O' level certificates. Few RADOs have been trained on project management. The District personnel's view is that tailor-made project management and accounting courses for staff would help improve project monitoring. While the Ministry has made efforts to conduct in-service training courses on project management for some APOs, these have been short and have had very little impact in improving project monitoring.
- 8.59 Other reasons included poor project monitoring due to lack of adequate training for both the RADOs and the APOs. Inadequate project appraisal was cited as a contributory factor to failure of projects. The effectiveness of extension is discussed further in section 10B.ii below.
- 8.60 This problem is linked to the lack of community consultation described above. The failure to acknowledge and use indigenous knowledge in the design of EPF funded projects has resulted in a bias towards "foreign projects" such as carpentry, bakery, welding, etc. The skills transfer for these projects is difficult where there is no prior tradition of such activities.

v. Alternative Financing Mechanisms

- 8.61 The Financial Assistance Policy has been the main source of financial grants until 2001 when Government decided against outright grants. EPF funds were used to provide remote area dwellers with the deposit they needed to benefit from FAP. The Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency (CEDA) was introduced as a result of Government's decision against outright grants. CEDA provides loans at subsidised interest to all citizens 18 years or over wishing to start or expand business operations and to buy into existing businesses.
- 8.62 To access assistance from CEDA, project promoters are required to submit detailed business proposals, necessary licences for the business they wish to undertake and necessary land. All projects are evaluated to determine viability and justification for funding by management of CEDA and recommended to the Board of Directors for a final decision. Project viability is evaluated according to management, market, projected profitability, sustainability and anticipated growth of the business.
- 8.63 CEDA is the largest and best known alternative funding mechanism to the EPF. It is not clear yet what the impact of CEDA will be as funding mechanism to income generating projects for remote area dwellers will be. However, it is clear that the requirements are more thorough than they were during FAP. With the current skills of RADP staff, it is unlikely that CEDA would have the desired impact as an alternative funding mechanism. It is also not clear what the links between CEDA and EPF are. No CEDA-funded projects are operational yet in remote settlements.

8.64 The other alternatives to the EPF that could be utilised by remote area dwellers are community projects funded by the National Conservation Strategy Conservation Agency (NCSA), the Ministry of Local Government's LG 1109 (81/1109) programme for community projects and the Department of Wildlife and National Park's EWT 202 (201/202) programme for community and private support. It is doubtful whether these alternatives to the EPF are well known by many remote area dwellers. The RADP has to popularise them if they are to be widely utilised.

E. Community Based Natural Resource Management

i. Current Situation

8.65 Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) has been operating in Botswana since 1989. In 1993, the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust (CECT) became the first community organisation to embark on a CBNRM project. The history and the general performance of CBNRM in Botswana is now well documented (NFCBNRMB, 2001: Cassidy, 200; Masilo-Rakgoasi, 2003). Some commentators view CBNRM as a development approach for rural areas and an innovative natural resources management initiative (Rozemeijer, 2002).

8.66 The advent of the CBNRM initiative in Botswana has been linked by some authors to the CAMPFIRE initiatives in Zimbabwe (see for example Tamuhla, 1998). The thrust of CBNRM revolves around conferment of the control of natural resources to local communities. It is believed that such an arrangement is likely to bring about conservation and sustainable utilisation of natural resources.

8.67 Botswana's draft Community Based Natural Resources Management Policy places the foundation of CBNRM on the assumption that all members of the community share an interest in conserving the local environment, while people who live closest to the natural resources generally:

- must absorb the greatest costs associated with conservation;
- have the most impact on resources;
- given the proper tools and incentives are the most likely to successfully conserve and benefit from those natural resources.

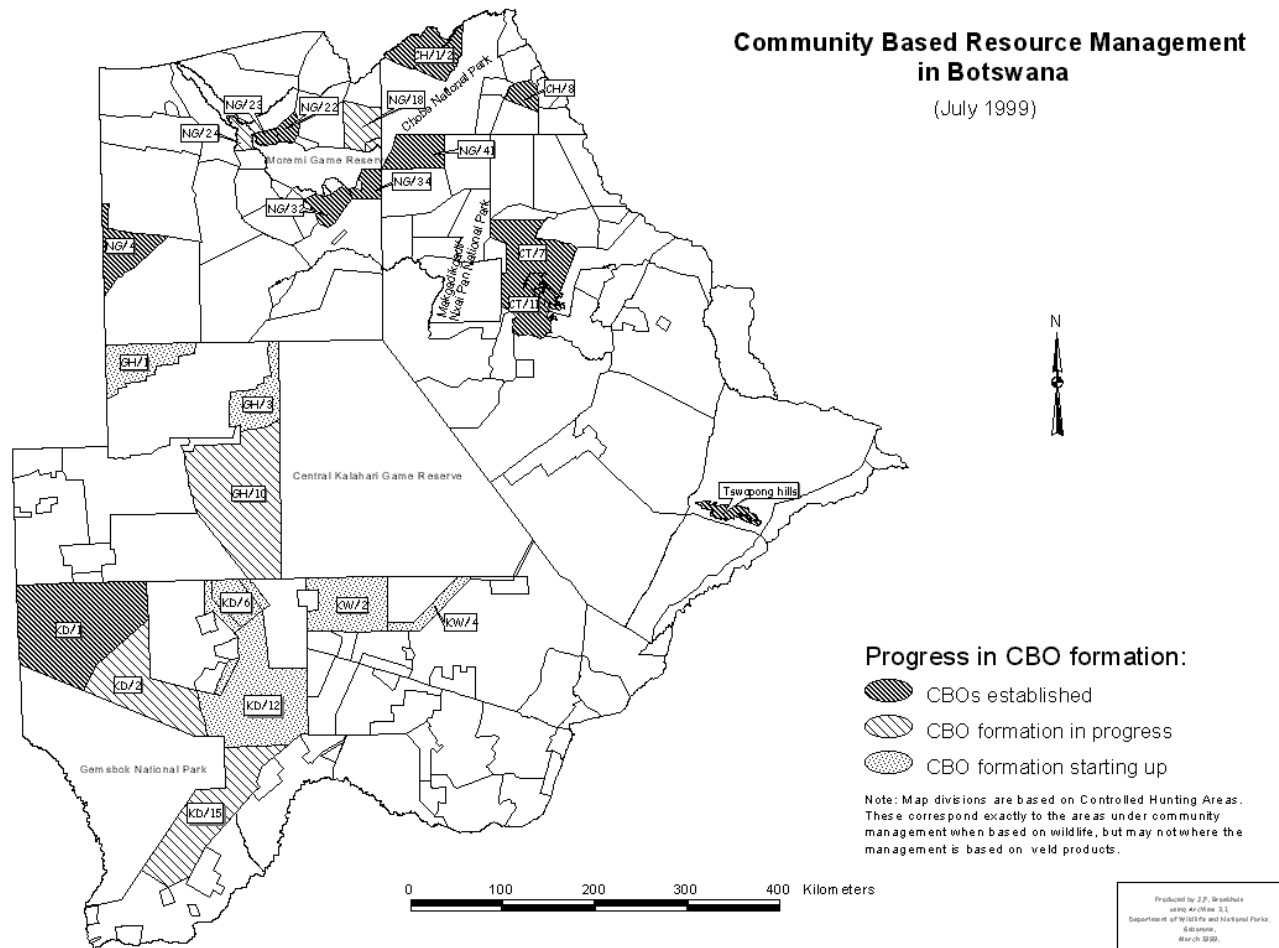
8.68 The conservation objective of the CBNRM is viewed by some analysts as having been at the centre of the adoption of CBNRM in Botswana. Cassidy 2001 for example views the origins of CBNRM in Botswana as lodged within resource conservation objectives as opposed to economic empowerment intentions (Cassidy 2000: 11). According to Cassidy this is borne out by the fact that it was not the Ministry of Finance Development Planning that initiated CBNRM, but the Department of Wildlife and National Parks and the Department of Lands (Cassidy, 2000:11).

- 8.69 The above notwithstanding, Cassidy's view is that it is economic development and financial opportunity that have made the CBNRM popular. Currently, in addition to the two departments cited by Cassidy as having initiated CBNRM, the number of departments directly involved in CBNRM has increased to seven. This includes the Agricultural Resources Board (ARB), National Conservation strategy Coordinating Agency, Department of Tourism, Rural Development Coordinating Division and the National Museum, Monuments and Art Gallery.
- 8.70 To highlight its multifaceted nature, Rozemeijer, (2001) identified the following as beneficiaries of CBNRM - Government, Private Sector, NGOs and CBOs. The benefits are in the form of rural development, natural resources conservation in communal areas and tourism development.

ii. How CBNRM Works in Botswana

- 8.71 Botswana has established administrative blocks called Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs), each of which has a wildlife off-take quota designated by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP). Some CHAs are protected areas, where hunting is prohibited, while some others are zoned for community use.
- 8.72 Prior to 1995, special game licences could be issued to individuals to allow hunting for personal consumption. The new policy allows a community to manage the quota of a CHA, provided it forms a representative Quota Management Committee. The committee decides how to divide up the quota among families, and monitors adherence to the quota. A community can also apply for a lease over a CHA from the Land Board, provided it forms a Trust, and develops a Land Use Plan. The Trust can then sub-lease the use of their land and quota to tourism companies, which can be a lucrative source of income.
- 8.73 Community based organisations can also harvest veldt products, through cooperative harvesting and marketing ventures. The Ministry of Agriculture is preparing a policy to clarify community rights of tenure and exclusion.
- 8.74 The process for communities to gain rights over their resources is a complex one, and they usually need assistance to understand their rights and responsibilities in CBNRM and with the procedures for establishing committees, trusts, and producing land use plans. This kind of assistance is currently provided by Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs).
- 8.75 Currently it is estimated that there are over sixty CBOs involved in CBNRM in different parts of Botswana (see map in Map 8-1 below). Due to their location mainly in the North-West and Western Region, the majority of the CBNRM draw membership from remote communities. In fact some of the successfully operated CBNRM projects are reportedly run by remote area dwellers. This is the case with the Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust in Ngamiland and the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust in Kgalagadi.

Map 8-1:



Source: Reproduced from SNV/IUCN Website <http://www.cbnrm.bw/>

- 8.76 The success of these CBOs lies mainly in that they have managed to generate substantial financial resources for the benefit of the participating communities. An interesting observation concerning CBNRM is the view that they provide the opportunity for remote communities to control land and natural resources, and could further offer a real possibility for their empowerment (Rivers 2001).
- 8.77 The optimism expressed by Rivers can be viewed as emanating from the positive attributes of CBNRM, which if appropriately harnessed could significantly contribute in the economic and political empowerment of remote communities. These positive attributes are inherent in the methodologies that accompany the establishment of CBOs, the bodies that are responsible for running CBNRM. The establishment of CBOs involves community mobilisation which in itself is essential for empowerment of local communities.
- 8.78 By running CBNRM in their respective areas, those constituting CBO leadership no doubt gain some skills which could be used elsewhere in their communities. The presence of CBNRM in remote area settlements provides a starting point for community mobilisation, that is essential for addressing the reportedly widespread economic and political disempowerment that characterise remote communities.
- 8.79 The CBNRM Support Programme (May 1999 - 31st of December 2003) is a joint initiative by SNV-Netherlands Development Organisation and IUCN - The World Conservation Union. SNV has been supporting Community Based Natural Resources Management projects since 1994, and the IUCN has expertise in information sharing, documentation of project approaches, and establishing dialogue between NGOs, Government and private sector.

iii. Issues

- 8.80 In discussing CBNRM, it is also important to look at some of the challenges that the approach currently faces. The main challenge is the definition of community, and also the mode of resource distribution among community members.
- 8.81 Saugestad 2001 maintains that CBNRM assumes the existence of cohesive and homogenous communities. The reality, according to Saugestad is that such communities are made up of individuals from different kinship groups including non-Basarwa people (Saugestad, 2001: 133). The contention is that quite often the non-Basarwa takes up dominant positions in the running of such CBNRM. Masilo-Rakgoasi (2003) has also challenged the definition of community used in the CBNRM. According to Masilo-Rakgoasi, while the term community may seem inclusive, in reality, it is exclusive in that it obscures the differences that exist within these communities. These are difference defined along ethnic, gender and even age lines.

- 8.82 In the case of multi-ethnic settlements or CBNRM areas, Basarwa are often dominated by other groups. Thus as pointed out by Saugestad above, positions of authority within the CBOs are taken up by non-Basarwa groups. Masilo-Rakgaosi's study further revealed that in terms of decision-making, Basarwa remained voiceless and marginalised.
- 8.83 The limits of CBNRM in heterogeneous communities are also captured by Cassidy (2002), who is concerned over the questions of representation, participation and equity. The submission is that it does appear that the general membership of CBNRM is passive, and leaves the decision-making processes to the elected representatives, who in most cases are non-Basarwa. In the process, decisions taken do not necessarily reflect the wishes of the Basarwa. NGO experience suggests that equitable decision-making is easier in communities of mixed ethnicities and socio-economic statuses if the representation structures are based on family groups, thus matching as closely as possible to normal cultural practice.
- 8.84 Questions have also been raised regarding the distribution of proceeds accruing from CBNRM activities. The current procedure in most CBNRM areas is that proceeds are ploughed into community projects and infrastructure. What is not apparent is how these proceeds filter down to the individual households, and subsequently individual members of the community. It does appear that currently there are no mechanisms to ensure that this happens.
- 8.85 With regard to this issue, the NGO experience suggests that it is vital to have a "live-in" advisor based in a community for a period of 1-3 years to provide assistance. As time progresses, the local project assistants take over the leadership and CBNRM knowledge from the advisor.
- 8.86 Due to low levels of skills amongst the remote area dwellers, in some cases, the Trusts have to go into partnerships with more experienced safari operators with high business acumen, and this puts the communities in a compromising position due to their lack of management skills. Management positions were mostly supported by donors on behalf of the communities, but these have been on the decline as donors pulled out of Botswana.
- 8.87 When compared to the issuing of Special Game Licences, CBNRM is found wanting in meeting household needs. Under the Special Game Licence, individuals benefited directly from wildlife resources. According to Cassidy (2002), former holders of Special Game Licences are perhaps the most-hard hit in the present CBNRM arrangement, because they are poor and remain voiceless and no one seems to check to see how far CBOs do cater for their needs (Cassidy, 2000: 38).
- 8.88 Another obstacle that was reported is that of the issuing of hunting quotas by DWNP. There is an apparent decline in the quantity of licences issued; furthermore, some of the most attractive species such as the lion are

sometimes excluded from the license which then becomes less attractive to the safari operators.

- 8.89 The improvement of CBNRM requires that particular attention be paid to the CBNRM Policy, which has remained in a draft form for almost three years. It is critical that the policy be finalised, to form the basis for CBNRM project development.

iv. NGO and CBO Intervention

- 8.90 Over and above Government's own efforts to develop the remote areas and to provide diversified livelihoods to the remote area dwellers, the NGOS and CBOs have been involved in this process for many years and they have developed the expertise of operating in marginalised areas. The most famous of these is Kuru Development Trust in Ghanzi which has trained and engaged Basarwa (in particular) in diversified livelihoods in the settlement of D'kar and others. The income generating activities they supported include:

- **Art work** which was very successful, culminating in the Kuru artists participating successfully in international exhibitions. Substantial income was derived from this project – one of the clients was British Airways and they used the art work on their aircraft. The question to be asked might be whether or not the artists were properly advised on how to invest their income.
- **Leather works:** A variety of leather and other crafts are made by the remote area dwellers in D'kar and other settlements. However the challenges include low market values of products; poor quality control and the sustainability of the raw materials.
- **Pre school education:** This is a long term activity but one that prepares remote area children to participate in the formal employment through acquiring basic education. The pre-school programme has had some successes including training of remote area dweller teachers (by so doing providing them with an alternative source of livelihood) and preparing the remote area dweller children for entry into the formal education system on Botswana. A lot of obstacles have been encountered and they will be discussed in detail under the Education Section of this report.

- 8.91 Other NGOS include organisations such as Permaculture Trust which amongst other activities (such as assistance with housing), encourages remote area dwellers to develop backyard vegetable gardens for subsistence purposes, and to improve nutrition. Others produced vegetables for commercial purposes but one of the difficulties that were reported is that once the gardens are ready for harvesting, producers lacked customers for various reasons, including the fact that most of the residents in the settlements are not accustomed to consuming products such as tomatoes.

v. The National Ecotourism Strategy

a) Introduction

8.92 Tourism has been identified an economic sector with the potential to contribute to economic diversification. The Tourism Policy of 1990 has been developed to provide policy direction and the Tourism Act (1992) a regulatory framework to promote the development of tourism. In view of the importance Government places on tourism, it commissioned, in partnership with the European Union, the Botswana Tourism Development Programme. The Tourism Development Programme's focus is to map out a development strategy for the tourism industry in Botswana. The Tourism Development Programme has identified and made financial provision for projects. The National Ecotourism Strategy (NES) is one such project.

b) Relevance of ecotourism to remote area development

8.93 The focus of the NES is to facilitate growth of tourism to undeveloped areas of the country. The NES can be of benefit to Botswana because among other reasons, it provides an incentive for the sustainable utilisation of natural resources generates income for the conservation and sustainable management of natural areas and fosters renewed pride in local culture. For these reasons, the NES is relevant to small and remote communities.

8.94 In view of the potential for sustainable development in ecotourism, the Department of Tourism has realised the need to decentralise services to marginal areas. Tourism offices have been constructed at Tsabong and staff deployed to the offices. At Ghanzi, construction of offices is in progress.

8.95 The National Development Plan 9 also focuses on community participation to ensure sustainable tourism development. The decentralised tourism development approach adopted by the Department of Tourism has a potential for creating viable business and employment opportunities for people living in remote settlements. Its focus on natural resources and local culture has the advantage of using existing skills and resources in the settlements.

8.96 Some projects have already been established in remote settlements, while others are at initiation stage. In Kgalagadi District, communities at Make, Khawa, Monong, Zutshwa, Ukhwi, Inalegolo and Kokotsha have started a Camel project. Youth have been trained on the project. However approaches to the running of the project are being evaluated on realisation that the project is not doing as expected. At Gudigwa, a cultural village has been established, managed by the community. At Lepokole, the community is at the project initiation stage. Their idea is also on cultural tourism, connected to the existence of rock paintings within the settlement. There are also plans to start a cultural village at Kaudwane and Kgo'esakeni (New Xade).

8.97 These initiatives in remote settlements provide some hope of sustainable development. However, issues such as how the benefits trickle down to

those not directly employed/involved in the projects should be worked out. The issue of financing is also an important one. In the absence of a tourism development fund, the Department of Tourism has been encouraging communities to use development partners (NGOs) effectively. Some of these financiers include the Community Conservation Fund at the Department of Wildlife and CBRNM funding at the United Nations Development Programme. There is also potential funding for micro projects at the Ministry of Local Government (for example, the EPF).

- 8.98 While there is potential for sustainable development in ecotourism, there is a need to enhance links between the RADP and other programmes. Benefits from ecotourism can be realised in the presence of a coordinated approach from all stakeholders. In order to maximise benefits for projects intended for remote communities, there is a need to understand the social dimension (lifestyles) of the people for whom the projects are intended. This would help identify economic interventions relevant to the different communities.

F. Recommendations

Recommendation R12. The RADP should adopt participatory techniques, so that all projects and schemes are locally initiated and involve beneficiaries at all levels during the identification, planning, implementation and evaluation stages. This will ensure that projects are relevant to local situations and environments. This should apply in particular to:

- Introducing or continuing livestock schemes.
- Identifying opportunities to support arable agriculture.
- Supporting projects to generate employment and income, through the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF).
- Establishing and supporting Community Based Organisations (CBOs) to manage Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) schemes.

- 8.99 It is important to emphasise that this recommendation implies a profound shift in the way in which the RADP functions at present. The skills and experience required by RADP officers are substantially different – requiring familiarity with community mobilisation and participatory techniques.

i. Livestock

Recommendation R13. The RADP should coordinate a detailed study to assess the impact to date of the cattle scheme on the livelihoods of remote communities, and the extent to which it is sustainable and compatible with existing land uses, particularly within Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs). This study should inform future decisions about the cattle scheme.

ii. EPF

Recommendation R14. The RADP should intensify its support to projects funded under the Economic Promotion Fund, in particular:

- Provide support to locally based suppliers to prepare tenders to provide services or goods in the settlements.
- Advocate for a system of preferential tendering, where locally based suppliers would be given preference in all tendering procedures.
- Focus on intensifying the building of business skills, and monitoring and extension capacities.

iii. CBNRM

8.100 The analysis presented above shows that a variety of livelihood opportunities need to be pursued in remote areas, since no one source is likely to be sufficient to generate sustainable livelihoods. It would seem clear that CBNRM projects hold great potential for the exploitation of wildlife, tourism and veldt products in remote areas. The RADP must encourage the processes necessary to establish CBNRM projects in the settlements.

8.101 The significance of CBNRM cannot be overemphasised, in particular its community mobilisation and sensitisation attributes. This could prove important for the overall development of remote areas. As a development approach, CBNRM seem to be naturally suited for the circumstances in remote areas.

8.102 This should be viewed against the background of the general failure of development strategies based on encouraging arable and pastoral farming. A major advantage is the fact that CBNRM activities are based on an area's natural endowment while the same cannot be said about arable and pastoral agriculture. From the human capital perspective, CBNRM offers a real possibility for the development and utilisation of locally available resources – a development that could greatly benefit from indigenous knowledge, as held by local communities.

Recommendation R15. In accordance with the draft or future CBNRM Policy, the RADP should provide support for establishing CBNRM projects in remote settlements, to exploit locally based natural resources and to generate employment opportunities. Attention should also be paid towards the extent to which locally available knowledge and skills can be used to generate projects, particularly with regard to tourism and culturally related activities.

Recommendation R16. The RADP should coordinate financial and other support for community based research on natural resources including that based on adding value to veldt products.

8.103 The RADP will need to establish modalities to ensure the full participation of all members of a CBO running a CBNRM scheme. In particular, this must include:

- Participation in decision-making processes, and in the running of CBOs.
- A fair distribution of proceeds to all members, as determined by the CBO itself.

9 Social Infrastructure in Remote Area Settlements

A. Social Welfare

i. Current Situation

9.1 The dominant source of livelihoods in remote areas is the system of national social safety nets, designed by the Government to assist the poor and the aged. These include the destitute rations and allowance, old age pension, orphan support and assistance given to people on home based care. The most common scheme offered in the settlement is the destitute ration and allowance. National policy on the destitute is described below.

ii. The Revised National Policy on Destitutes (2002)

9.2 The 1980 Destitute Policy stated that Government must confront the larger issue of providing programmes and opportunities which will enable persons to help themselves and not call upon Government subsidy. Then, when they are forced to do so, a strong rehabilitation programme is vital so that the destitute, if possible, can become self-sufficient. A destitute was defined as:

- An individual without assets (resources and assets defined as cattle, other livestock, land, cash, cannot plough due to ill-health or handicaps, close family members cannot/will not assist him) and is;
- Physically or mentally incapable of working due to old age, physical or mental handicap; or
- A minor child, or children whose parent(s) has/have died or deserted the family, or is not supporting his family; or
- An individual who is rendered helpless due to a natural disaster or temporary hardship (Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1980).

9.3 The 1980 policy was revised in 2002 due to changes in the circumstances of poor people in Botswana. The current definition of a destitute person is;

- An individual who, due to disabilities or chronic health condition, is unable to engage in sustainable economic activities and has insufficient assets and income sources
- ‘insufficient assets and income sources’ are
 - Possessing not more than four livestock units, or
 - Earning or receiving an income of less than P120.00 per month without dependents or less than P150.00 per month with dependents (MLG, 2002). Other criteria pertain to mental or physical disability (as determined by a health practitioner), emotional or psychological disability (as determined by a social worker), being terminally ill as well as children under 18 years of age living under difficult circumstances (Revised Policy, 4.i-4.4).

- 9.4 In the old policy, a person was only eligible to be assessed as 'destitute' if he or she did not own assets. Subsequently, more accurate analysis has shown that it is indeed possible for a household to own just a few assets, for example, up to a maximum of four livestock units and still be poor. Poor households require a small amount of cash to meet their non-food requirements (MLG, 2002, 5.3, 5.4). The revised Destitute Policy (2002) introduced other forms of assistance such as a small amount of cash to instil a sense of being and confidence on the beneficiaries.
- 9.5 Permanent destitute persons are entitled to packages amounting to P211.90 in rural areas and P211.40 per month. Included in this amount is P55.00 cash for 'personal items'. On the other hand, the policy provides for temporary destitution which caters for those individuals who are temporarily incapacitated. They benefit from the policy until they can support themselves (they have to exit destitution within six months). Temporary destitute persons are entitled to packages amounting to P181.90 in rural areas and P181.40 per month. Included in this amount is P55.00 cash for 'personal items' (Revised Policy, 6.6.5, a-c).
- 9.6 There is also provision for shelter (if needed); medical care; occasional fares if they are related to employment, rehabilitation or repatriation; funeral expenses if there is no family to provide this; exemption of service levies, taxes, water, street licences, school fees and tools or other equipment necessary for rehabilitation projects.
- 9.7 The old policy assumed that registered destitute persons consumed their rations on their own. Experience has however shown that almost without exception, destitute persons in fact share their rations with their immediate dependents. The revised policy articulates the need for additional ration packages as follows:
- Assistance will be provided in the household context. In the same vein, assistance provided will be proportional to the size of the family;
 - If it is discovered that there are adult dependents in the household, they will be assessed in their own right and if illegible, registered accordingly;
 - One destitute plus two dependents will get one food basket only;
 - One destitute plus three or four dependents will get one additional food component ration package.
 - One extra food ration will be allocated for every two additional dependents (Revised Destitute Policy, 2002, 6.6.3 a-e).
- 9.8 The policy states the obligations of persons receiving assistance. The registered destitute must make every effort to;
- Find employment if he is physically and mentally able;
 - Produce at least a part of his own food if he is physically and mentally able;

- Take part in any activities sponsored by council staff aimed at his rehabilitation and financial improvement;
 - Use the assistance given him only for specified purposes;
- 9.9 The individual is assessed and recommended by the Village or Ward Development Committee, and confirmed by a social worker for full registration as a destitute person. Such a person begins to receive the food component of the overall assistance package pending review and confirmation of full registration by the relevant local authority committee.
- 9.10 The Revised National Policy on Destitute Persons is very comprehensive and inclusive of all deserving cases in the remote areas. Most members of the VDCs in the remote areas that this study selected in their sample displayed extensive knowledge of the Policy and its processes. As a result, they reported wide coverage of the programme to deserving cases in their settlements. This policy is additional to the efforts of the RADP.

iii. Issues

- 9.11 Problems associated with the delivery of these programmes are numerous particularly in the remote areas. For example, the Destitute Policy is not flexible in that the food items are prescribed and beneficiaries are not given an opportunity to replace any of the items. The remote area dwellers are not accustomed to some of the prescribed food items e.g. canned beef, which is reported to go to waste in some areas.
- 9.12 Further implementation issues include:
- Attitudes of extension workers towards the remote area dwellers lack empathy and often recipients are not given timely assistance.
 - Some areas are more expensive than others and in some cases; the allocated amount is not enough to cover all the food items prescribed in the package.
 - The policy is not closely monitored, partly due to the distance of settlements from the main offices and lack of adequate decentralisation of authority to officers at the settlement level.
- 9.13 Although the social welfare systems are currently a vital component of peoples' living in remote settlements, this situation is neither desirable nor sustainable in the long term. The principal focus of the RADP must be on "development," to create sustainable livelihoods in these areas.

B. Education and Training

i. Introduction

- 9.14 Education and training is a critical component of the overall Remote Area Development Programme, within the framework of the Vision 2016 pillar of an educated, informed nation. Vision 2016 states that schooling will be universal and compulsory to the secondary level by year 2016, and that no

student will be disadvantaged by ethnic origin, gender, language or remoteness of settlement.

- 9.15 Basic education is the main factor that addresses illiteracy, and contributes significantly to creating an informed nation. Ulla Kann, et al (1989) listed universal education as part of ongoing campaigns for political support, human rights, equity in the form of quality of access. Education is a requirement for economic and social development.

ii. The Revised National Policy on Education (April 1994)

- 9.16 The Revised National Policy on Education (1994) is based on the premise that access to basic education is a fundamental human right. The Revised Policy does not mention the remote area dwellers as a special group but covers this target group as part of its major objectives of access and equity as an explicit goal of educational policy.
- 9.17 Remote areas are characterised by poor quality education, because they face difficulties in attracting qualified teachers and education administrators. As a result, most remote area children are disadvantaged in education (see the discussion in section 9A above). This is likely to contribute to intergenerational transmission of poverty and render the impact of long-term poverty reduction in remote area sluggish.
- 9.18 The report of the National Commission on Education (1993) addresses the issue of language of instruction at the pre-primary schools using “the language dominant in the area where the school is located” and that English and Setswana should be introduced gradually (REC.12, a). On the other hand, the Revised National Policy on Education states that “presently, pre-primary education is provided mainly by private individuals and organisations through the day care programme.” Access is limited to about 7% of the population age 3-6, and the curriculum is not standardised. In addition, Government cannot commit itself to provision of pre-primary education on a universal basis, given the scale of its commitment to other areas of support. (Government Paper no. 2 of 1994, 5.2-5.3).
- 9.19 The policy is silent on the alternative use of language of instruction at primary level other than the two official languages; Setswana and English. The policy states that Setswana should be taught as a compulsory subject for citizens of Botswana throughout the country and that English should be established as a medium of instruction (REC.18, PARA. 4.7.31, b, d).

iii. Education in Remote Areas

- 9.20 Kann et al (1989) observed that remoteness was a major factor influencing participation in education. One of the major findings at the time was that when the distance to school increases, the percentage enrolled in schools decreases.
- 9.21 The then Coordinator of the Remote Area Development Programme, Mr. Gaewetse Koketso, said at the 2000 Remote Area Dwellers Education

Conference in Ghanzi that in order to ensure access of remote area children to education, the Government had designed a settlement strategy that provide schools and other services to remote areas with a population of 250. Further flexibility was made in the new Settlement Policy to reduce the requirement for provision of social infrastructure in remote areas to 150 people (subsequently revised to apply to Tertiary IV settlements of 250-499 people). The strategy provided for a two teacher primary school facility to address remoteness concerns of people who live in areas with a small population.

- 9.22 Even if this strategy is implemented, however, the remote areas are sparsely populated, and it is inevitable that some children will need to be transported large distances in order to receive schooling. It will also be necessary to continue the current practice of providing boarding hostels at both primary and secondary level, as would be the case in remote rural areas anywhere in the world. Nevertheless, the 1987 MLG Circular Savingram stated that in future, establishment of hostels should be avoided to the extent possible.

iv. School Infrastructure

- 9.23 Government has made considerable effort to provide social infrastructure to address problems of lack of access to education in remote areas. The RADP settlements have all been provided with primary schools. Koketso (2000) documented the construction of hostels to accommodate children whose parents live in areas where it could not be easy to provide schools, such as very small populations in farms and cattle posts.
- 9.24 The RADP provides children with free school uniforms, sports fees and provision for participating in inter-primary school activities outside the settlement, such as shows or rallies. Assistance is provided at all levels of education (including tertiary), but the dropout rate is high. Nevertheless, there are several success stories of children from remote settlements who have obtained professional qualifications.
- 9.25 There were mixed views about the success of education in the remote settlements. Some respondents were happy with the situation, while others said that education was not doing well, referring to problems of young people dropping out from secondary education, or not being able to find work subsequently.
- 9.26 Schooling in some of the settlements reaches nationally acceptable levels. The pass rate in Tshokwe is among the highest in the region. In 2001, Tshokwe Primary School pass rate was number 3 in the Selibe Phikwe Inspectoral area. In 2002, the school pass rate was number 8 out of 15 schools in the Mmadinare Inspectoral area. Fifteen children from the school represented the region in the National Primary School athletics competition. The school has 7 trophies won from various music competitions. It is clear, therefore, that the problems reported above are not universal in remote settlements.

v. Education Issues

9.27 The report 'Torn Apart' (Le Roux, 1999) refers to the situation in which the Basarwa children find themselves within the education process; there are expectations from the educators and other expectations from the parents and the community at large. The report provided perceptions of problems faced by the Basarwa in education. These are summarised below, with some discussion of stakeholder perceptions.

a) School environment and hostel conditions

9.28 Many respondents referred to the problems inherent in providing hostels for children, requiring them to leave their parents, and live away from home in a new environment that is not always friendly. Some respondents expressed the view that children living in hostels are away from the influence of their parents, and are subject to risks, such as pregnancy, and that teachers often do not take adequate responsibility for them.

9.29 In 1997, prior to the Le Roux report, alarm raised by an MP at the appalling hostel conditions in his constituency prompted the formation of a Task Force to assess the condition of remote area hostels countrywide. It would seem clear that Government has responded to the criticisms of Kann, Le Roux and others, insofar as the physical infrastructure is concerned - for example, the new hostels built at Kgo'esakeni (New Xade) are of a high standard.

9.30 In spite of Government efforts to eliminate ethnic discrimination in Botswana, there are still reports of abuse of Basarwa children (for example see Kiema, 2001) in schools. Some respondents in the remote communities also alleged that abuses continue. If true, this would have a very negative bearing on academic performance and self esteem. Whatever the truth behind these allegations, the consultation process in this Review found that many people in remote settlements have a negative view of the schooling provided for their children. The overall reality appears to be that there is a high dropout rate in remote area schools, and a generally low academic performance (with some exceptions).

9.31 Some respondents at central level expressed the view that Botswana has shied away from dealing with issues of multiculturalism within society, and has so far failed to effectively address the problems that are caused by intolerance and ethnically based abuse. If true, this observation would be particularly relevant to remote area education.

9.32 Many respondents said that the shortage of teachers from the remote areas was a significant problem that contributed to the feelings of alienation faced by the children, and to the level of ethnic tension within the schools. Many called for an accelerated programme to train and deploy teachers who had grown up in the remote area settlements, or with the remote area communities.

b) Language

- 9.33 Many respondents referred to the problem of language, especially at primary level. Most remote area children receive their education in a second, often completely foreign language. This raises obvious difficulties for the children, who are usually adjusting to hostel life at the same time. Most respondents believe that this is a contributory factor to low academic performance.
- 9.34 These sentiments are echoed by Vision 2016, which states that Botswana's wealth of different languages and cultural traditions will be recognised, supported and strengthened within the education system (Page 5), and that no citizen will be disadvantaged as a result of gender, age, religion or creed, colour, national or ethnic origin, location, language or political opinions (Page 12, emphasis added). These aspirations are compatible with mother tongue instruction at primary level (which many people have called for), or at least for a strong emphasis on diverse language teaching in schools.
- 9.35 There are however many difficulties in the provision of mother tongue instruction, not least of which is the general lack of trained teachers able to speak or teach Basarwa languages. Few San languages have developed orthography, and those that have face difficulties of applying it to practical use in schools, where materials are inevitably provided in a "mainstream" language, such as English, or Setswana.

c) Cultural differences

- 9.36 The reports cited above (Kann, Le Roux) discuss the problems that arise because of cultural differences between remote area children and those from other regions. The issue was also discussed by some of the respondents in this Review. For example, children are said to suffer a role crisis: in their culture, puberty is celebrated as an advent of young adulthood and there are traditional rituals associated with this. The formal education system does not allow them space and time to engage in these rituals. This is also the age where children most feel the stigma and associated pain. Many are reported to run away from school at this stage.
- 9.37 A second problem was said to be that the school curriculum only teaches about other children's cultures. According to this view, excluding the culture of the remote area children gives them an impression that their culture is not acceptable, and is something to be ashamed of.
- 9.38 Some respondents referred to the problem of seasonality, associated with the needs of hunting and gathering. The Education system does not accommodate the needs of Basarwa at certain times of the year, in particularly during the gathering season. Respondents felt that schools could adopt more flexible schedules so that they could follow their parents during seasonal veldt food collection,
- 9.39 As an example of the practice elsewhere, the Australian Government has modified the school system to accommodate the needs of the Aborigines,

not the other way round. Schools open during the non-migratory seasons in Aborigine areas.

d) Poverty

- 9.40 Poverty is a major factor that inhibits the attainment of basic education in remote areas, despite the fact that the RADP pays for many of the direct costs. Although the RADP has addressed the poverty issue by taking appropriate affirmative action illustrated above, in practice, many of the problems of poverty continue to affect remote area children because of poor implementation. Many of the youth drop out of school, especially at junior secondary level, and many of these youth from remote areas presented their cases during the consultation exercises.
- 9.41 Those still remaining in school in larger settlements feel the effect of poverty - they lack most possessions that are essential for students in towns and major villages, and find it more difficult to integrate socially. A further problem is that many remote area people lack information on how to access the systems of Government support. In some cases, those who do get support are ostracised by other groups for the privileges they receive.

e) Parental support

- 9.42 Parents do not always cooperate in matters of their children's education, because they do not trust the system and those who run it. The support and welfare programmes are seen as creating dependency on the system, and on individuals they mistrust: this leads to apathy and low self esteem amongst the parents and the wider communities.

f) Post primary education

- 9.43 Most junior secondary schools in Botswana do not have boarding facilities. As a result, most children from remote areas are rented accommodation in larger villages where secondary schools are found. The existing ethnic stigma often results in emotional abuse of remote area children in schools and leads to some of them abandoning their schooling.
- 9.44 Some respondents were concerned with the lack of follow-up of those who had dropped out of school. They were of the view that RADP should follow up school dropouts who perform well in extra-curricular activities and encourage them to enter into vocational training. In general, respondents felt that there is insufficient assistance given to youth who want to be admitted to senior schools or vocational training.
- 9.45 Others expressed concern about lack of follow-up of those who had completed school or training. A lot of training has been provided, but skills learned through training are often not used afterwards.
- 9.46 The general view was that educated RADP beneficiaries seldom return to their settlements, preferring to live elsewhere, because the settlements do not offer any job opportunities. Their skills are therefore lost to the settlement.

vi. Conclusions

9.47 Education is a major development priority in Botswana, attracting generous Government funding in line with commitments made at international level. There is therefore a need to further analyse why remote area children do not sustain schooling. The following recommendations are based on the discussion of issues presented above.

a) School environment and hostels

9.48 The first issue involves attempts to improve the school and hostel environment, and to make it more culturally familiar to remote area children. One possibility is to make stronger efforts to employ more people from the remote areas.

9.49 A second issue relates to the promotion of multi-culturalism in the society of Botswana generally, an issue that is of much wider concern than the RADP. The RADP could however take responsibility for the promotion of cultural understanding and tolerance towards people from remote areas through tourism, media programmes and educational materials aimed at lessening the ethnic based stigma.

b) Language

9.50 The issue of primary mother tongue instruction is also wider than the concerns of the RADP. However, whatever the outcome of this debate, the RADP could provide resources for developing materials using remote area languages. In some cases, the development of educational materials may require the prior development of dictionaries, and agreed orthography and spelling systems for the remote area languages. The RADP could also assist in this area.

c) Cultural differences

9.51 In order to accommodate the problems of cultural difference referred to above, the education system would need to become more flexible with regard to the timing of the school year, and with regard to the occasional release of individuals for cultural rituals such as those associated with puberty. Such changes are not within the jurisdiction of the RADP, but the RADP could assist in the provision of information, in order to inform policy.

d) Poverty

9.52 Poverty reduction is one of the primary objectives of the RADP. However, in view of the concerns over implementation expressed in the discussion above, it would seem that further attention should be paid to the payment of the direct costs of education.

e) Parental support

- 9.53 In view of the discussion over the lack of parental support for children at schools in remote areas, it would seem that there is a need to actively solicit such support. A participatory approach would have the effect of reducing the level of distrust and suspicion, as advocated in Recommendation R19 below

f) Post primary education

- 9.54 The RADP is already practicing affirmative action with regard to education by seeking to pay the costs, and in establishing schools and training opportunities. In addition, the RADP is responsible for transporting children still living within the CKGR to and from relevant schools outside the reserve.
- 9.55 Many respondents have called further for affirmative action over the admission of remote area applicants to secondary and tertiary levels of education, in view of their disadvantaged status, and the positive role that education will play in the future reduction of poverty.
- 9.56 Some respondents pointed out instances where such affirmative action with regard to educational progression was already taking place, but on an informal level. The RADP can facilitate further formalisation of this practice.

C. Health and HIV/AIDS

i. Introduction

- 9.57 There is no breakdown of health outcomes specific to the remote area settlements, although all are equipped with a health post and nurse. The annual Drought and Household Food Security Outlook publications indicate that malnutrition is significantly higher in the western and dry sandveld areas where the remote settlements are located – some 18% in Kgalagadi North, against a national average of 11% in 2002 (IMDC & EWTC, February 2002, 2003). This is an indicator that health outcomes are likely to be significantly worse in RADP settlements than the rural average.
- 9.58 In particular, there is likely to be a danger of increased infectious disease in the settlements where many people have been recently relocated from areas with much lower population density. At present, however, there is little information in this area.
- 9.59 However, HIV/AIDS is a major public health and development problem in Botswana, both in urban and in rural areas. More than one third of adults nationally are infected with HIV, principally in the age group 20-50, the most economically active group. Quite apart from the human suffering brought about by the associated illness and death, AIDS is reducing the number of the most productive age group, and damaging the prospects for economic growth.

- 9.60 HIV/AIDS is a fatal disease, and no cure has yet been found, although very expensive antiretroviral (ARV) treatments are now available to combat the symptoms, and reduce the level of the virus in the body to undetectable levels.
- 9.61 The Government of Botswana has launched a number of national level initiatives to combat HIV/AIDS. These include voluntary counselling and testing centres (VCTs), where people can be tested for the HIV virus in a confidential environment, and the phased introduction of ARV treatments for infected people who are beginning to show signs of illness.

ii. HIV/AIDS in remote areas

- 9.62 Rural areas have a rate of HIV infection of about 70%-80% that of urban areas. Remote rural areas are generally regarded as carrying a still lower risk of HIV infection. HIV is primarily transmitted in Africa by heterosexual sex, and high rates of partner change. This is assumed to occur at a lower rate in remote areas. It must be stressed however that there is very little hard information to support this assumption, and HIV infection in remote communities has not been directly measured.
- 9.63 It should be noted that excessive alcohol consumption is regarded as one of the greatest social problems in the remote area communities. This has been associated elsewhere with the rapid rise of HIV infection, as well as infection with other sexually transmitted infections. There is no reason to expect that the remote communities will be any different in this regard.
- 9.64 Although HIV infection is likely to be lower in remote areas, it is also likely that it is significant, and probably more recent than in urban areas, where mortality rates are already climbing to alarming levels. This means that HIV/AIDS may for the time being be less visible in remote areas, just as it was in urban areas a decade ago. Experience does however suggest that the problems may become acute in all areas over the forthcoming decade.

iii. Issues

a) HIV/AIDS awareness

- 9.65 The RADP is currently responsible for providing HIV/AIDS education in the remote communities. Some respondents indicated that the level of awareness is very high in settlements, some of which have an HIV/AIDS awareness officer resident in the settlement, conducting house to house campaigns. Others indicated high levels of ignorance - for example, although condoms are abundant in the settlement free of charge, they are not used because many people believe they are infectious. The youth refuse to collect them when provided.
- 9.66 Some districts provide very active education campaigns - a good example is the farm workers project in Ghanzi, which provides HIV/AIDS education (amongst other things) to small communities living on the Ghanzi farms. This is an example of best practice that could be adopted by the RADP.

9.67 These workshops should also provide information about the testing and treatment options available for HIV/AIDS, and advocate the prevention of mother to child transmission (the necessary treatments are available at the clinics within the settlement).

b) Testing and treatment

9.68 HIV carries a serious stigma in Botswana, and there is a general reluctance for people to test themselves for the virus. There are a number of testing centres within the country, and many of these have arranged to visit communities to allow people to test without having to travel to the centre. The reported response to these opportunities has been disappointingly low.

9.69 The intensified education and awareness training recommended above will in time address this problem. However, it may also be useful if the RADP facilitates travel to the testing centre for those people who wish to test, but would rather do so in a more anonymous setting.

9.70 Those people who test positive will try counselling and advice about how to live with the virus. They may also qualify, in due course, for a course of ARV treatment under the Government scheme. Where this is required, the RADP should facilitate by making the necessary regular travelling arrangements.

D. Recommendations

i. Social Welfare

Recommendation R17. The RADP should promote the creation of sustainable livelihood systems aimed at self-sufficiency. The emphasis should be on developing communities to reduce dependence on Government.

Recommendation R18. The RADP officers should assist with social welfare provision in two respects:

- Engage in community consultation to provide recommendations for the composition of the destitute packages in remote settlements, taking account of local livelihoods and food preferences.
- Develop a monitoring mechanism for the utilisation of destitute persons' assistance, pensions and orphans' allowances in remote communities, in order to ensure continued suitability, and to avoid waste.

ii. Education and Training

Recommendation R19. RADP officers should initiate participatory discussion with communities in remote areas to ascertain whether changes in the timing of the school year, in hostel or school conditions, use of local language or flexibility with regard to cultural rituals would be helpful in improving the school environment for remote area children.

Recommendation R20. The RADP should establish a component at National level to actively promote a tolerance and understanding of the cultural diversity in remote areas of Botswana, through public education and media, and assistance with curriculum development for schools throughout the country.

Recommendation R21. The RADP should actively assist in promoting the educational progression of students from remote communities. This could involve the following:

- Meet all of the costs of education for eligible recipients.
- Advocacy for affirmative action over education progression for people from remote areas, so they are granted preferential entry and progression in secondary, tertiary and vocational establishments.
- Assistance with development of bridging courses to ease progression through the education and training system, and to bring participants to the required standard.

Recommendation R22. The RADP should assist in the promotion of the use of local languages in the primary school environment in remote settlements, either for teaching, for informal interaction, or as subjects in their own right. This could be done in the following ways, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education:

- Promote affirmative action to employ people who are able to speak local languages to teach in the schools, and administer the hostels.
- Advocate for the development of the orthography and written lexicon of remote area languages.
- Advocate for the development of educational materials in local languages.

iii. Health and HIV/AIDS

Recommendation R23. In collaboration with the District Multi-sectoral AIDS Coordinator, the RADP should provide resources for regular HIV/AIDS awareness workshops conducted within the remote settlements, run either by the RAD officers or APOs, or by a specialised unit operating from the District or sub-District headquarters.

Recommendation R24. In collaboration with the District Multi-sectoral AIDS Coordinator, the RADP should provide transport to HIV testing centres for those who wish to test, or to ARV treatment centres for those who require treatment for AIDS.

10 Structure, Coordination and Implementation of the RADP

A. Central Government Coordination of the RADP

- 10.1 Management is critical to successful implementation of the RADP. This chapter deals with issues relating to organisational structure, coordination and implementation, and makes recommendations for improvement.
- 10.2 The Review Team considers that the RADP is an integral element of Botswana's rural development efforts and thus cannot be examined in isolation from it. The implementation of rural development has faced considerable constraints and limitations ever since independence. These shortcomings have been subject to a number of previous studies and recommendations. The Team has reviewed these studies, whose findings and recommendations are still relevant to the administration of rural development in general, and to the RADP in particular. Thus, some of the issues dealt with here are not entirely new because problems of structure, coordination and implementation have existed for a long time.
- 10.3 The historical constraints include: confusion over functions, roles and responsibilities in the implementation of rural development; ineffective extension support; ineffectual coordination of the development efforts; the lack of clarity of objectives, goals and targets; and the shortage of qualified and skilled human power.
- 10.4 However, a significant number of the recommendations that arose from the studies that identified the above-listed problems have not been implemented or have only been partially attended to. Hence some of the critical recommendations from earlier reports (e.g. the need for functional and role clarity, improvement of extension and coordination) are reiterated in this report.

i. Structure

- 10.5 The RADP is administered and coordinated by a ministerial division which reports directly to the Permanent Secretary of the MLG.
- 10.6 The central Government organisation that coordinates policy and implementation of rural development activities is the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP) through the Rural Development Council (RDC). The RDC considers all aspects of rural development policy, implementation, monitoring of progress; receives reports on natural resources, rural extension service coordination, and the monitoring of drought. The RDC reports to the Cabinet.
- 10.7 The RDC secretariat is the Rural Development Coordination Division (RDCCD). The RDC is chaired by the Minister of Finance and Development Planning, while the Assistant Minister of Local Government deputises. It is an inter-ministerial committee, with the following composition: permanent

- secretaries of the ministries most directly involved with rural development (agriculture; trade and industry; education; health; environment, wildlife and tourism; minerals and water affairs, etc.); Secretary for Economic Affairs (MFDP); permanent secretary for development (Office of the President); Director, Public Service management; representatives of other special interest groups (district councils; brigades; non-Governmental organisations; the Botswana Confederation of Commerce, Industry and Manpower; Botswana Chamber of Commerce and Industry; TA; Land Boards).
- 10.8 Correspondingly, the District Development Plans Committee (DDPC) and the Development Planning Coordination Section (DPCS) of the MLG are also directly involved with rural development.

ii. Central level policy and coordination issues

- 10.9 The RADP objectives and strategy of the RADP are not well known by implementing officers as well as others that collaborate in the provision of extension services.**
- 10.10 The RADP, as currently devised is based on a 1987 Presidential Directive (Cab. 28/87), which stated that the Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme be implemented in the Central, Ghanzi, Kgalagadi, Kgatleng, Kweneng, Southern, and North West (including Chobe) districts.
- 10.11 The RADP was conceived and operates as a special programme. The programme was approved through a presidential directive, which (as usually the case) does not spell out the objectives and strategy for implementation of the programme. Adoption of the programme through a presidential directive implies that Parliament did not debate the RADP. Its objectives and strategies are therefore, not well known by Members of Parliament, the public at large, and even the majority of public servants. In most cases the directive is not even accessible to the implementers of the programme.
- 10.12 Our consultations revealed that the absence of a specific RADP policy framework significantly constrains its effective implementation. The RADP overall direction appears to be ambiguous, since its objectives, target, goals, expected outcomes, and timeframe for completion seem to be unclear.
- 10.13 The apparent lack of clarity and confusion over programme objectives, targets and goals appears to stem from the fact that the programme is presented as being outside of the public domain. It seems that the RADP is accorded a certain amount of sensitivity that makes it appear rather secretive. There are also misconceptions about the programme; for example, despite its change of emphasis from ethnic to geographic targeting, quite a number of political and public service leaders still regard it as a Basarwa programme.
- 10.14 The 1987 directive also stated that:

An integrated approach is adopted in implementing this programme to facilitate its complementary support from the extension services and related programmes such as ALDEP, rural industrial promotion and others.

- 10.15 **The integrated approach to implementation of the RADP has never been elaborated or put into practice.** At the central level, such integrated approach should ideally involve coordination of the above-named central level structures (RDC, RDCD, DDPC, DPCS) with the District Development Committees (DDCs), the District Extension Teams (DETs), Village Development Committees (VDCs) and the Village Extension Teams (VETs).
- 10.16 Inter-ministerial/departmental coordination, collaboration and organisational support for the RADP are weak. The relationships alluded to between the various central and lower level structures mentioned above are not clear. The RADP is not integrated and coordinated with other rural development programmes. Since the RADP has been conceived and operated as a special programme, it practically operates as a stand-alone programme.
- 10.17 However, the remote areas are rural; thus the RADP (through its coordinating division) should be expected to have clear and direct links with the RDC/RDCD. However, the functional relationship of the RADP coordinating division and the RDC is not elaborate. Although remote area development is an aspect of rural development, it is unclear how and to what extent Rural Development Policy (RDP) relates to the RADP, or how the RADP impacts on the RDP. It is equally unclear how the implementation of the RADP is monitored and evaluated by the RDCD.
- 10.18 As the RADP Coordinating Division reports directly to the Permanent Secretary, its relationship with the DDPC and DPCS within the MLG is not clear.
- 10.19 Additionally, **there does not appear to be any functional central coordinating mechanism to integrate and coordinate the RADP administration** with that of other ministries such as agriculture and the veterinary services, trade and industry. Thus, the arrangements for facilitating “complementary support from the extension services and related programmes” do not exist.
- 10.20 Actually, the RADP has evolved as a stand-alone programme that delivers services that cut across other ministerial service and extension provisions, albeit without a central coordinating mechanism with those other ministries. Thus, the relationship of the RADP Coordinating Division and the other ministries that provide district and lower level extension services is not elaborate.
- 10.21 **The RADP implementation strategy appears to be undefined and unclear.** Even though project memoranda for requests of funding exist, these do not specify the strategies for programme implementation. The implementation strategy for the RADP is thus open to different interpretations. Within the MLG, the approach to implementation of the RADP is not well coordinated

and the different councils implement the programme in various ways. The programme has evolved as a scheme for open-ended disbursement of services and benefits, without uniformity or common standards of implementation.

10.22 **The RADP has neither a systematic monitoring and evaluation system, nor an objective measures for determining the level of achievement.** The programme does not have timetables for completion of the programme and/or its different components. As a consequence of the above, there does not seem to have been any attempt to establish congruence of the programme with overall national rural development policy, or even to monitor, evaluate, or assess the impact of the RADP on intended beneficiaries.

10.23 **The RADP Coordinating division is understaffed and does not have sufficient clout to coordinate the almost country-wide programme.**

10.24 In summary, the Review Team found that at the central level, there is the absence of clear policy objectives and a strategic implementation framework. The structural integration and coordination mechanism with other ministerial units is not elaborate. The RADP Coordinating division has insufficient staff for its mammoth tasks. It also lacks influence and clout that would enable effective coordination of the programme. Lastly, there is no systematic monitoring and evaluation mechanism to assess programme accomplishments.

Recommendation R25. The RADP should continue as a special programme, coordinated from a department within the Ministry of Local Government. The RADP Coordinating Division should be upgraded to a full-fledged Department of Remote Area Development, and be adequately staffed. But the programme should be reoriented to emphasise community development.

Recommendation R26. The Ministry of Local Government should provide clear operational and strategic direction by elaborating the objectives, targets and goals of the RADP as a special case of rural development and poverty reduction. A system of monitoring and evaluation should be devised to assess the implementation of the programme.

B. Local Government (District Council) Level

i. Structure

10.25 The district councils administer the RADP. The council level provides the linkage between the central and community levels of operations.

10.26 The RADP is usually administered as one of the council departments at the district level. The RADP administrative structure at District level consists of the following hierarchy of officers:

- Principal Remote Area Development Officer (PRADO),
- Senior Remote area Development Officer (SRADO),

- Remote Area Development Officer (RADO),
 - Assistant Remote Area Development Officer (ARADO) and
 - Assistant Project Officer (APO)
- 10.27 The RADP department is headed by a Principal Remote Area Development Officer, who together with the other officers conduct both administrative and extension work. Successive review and evaluation studies of the RADP point to the relative success which the programme has recorded in terms of infrastructure provision (Egner 1991; Kann, 1991; Grundbulson, 1986, Environmental Consultants; and CMI). However, the success recorded is mainly in the form of physical structures for health and educational purposes.
- 10.28 The actual service delivery is significantly dependent on the efficiency and effectiveness of the extension officers in charge of these services who are drawn from various sectors that include the RADP officers and others from central government field units such as agriculture, wildlife, trade and industry, etc.
- 10.29 Overall district development is coordinated through the DDC. This committee, chaired by the head of District Administration, the District Commissioner (DC), consists of the district officers responsible for development (DOD), lands (DOL) and administration (DOA); the council secretary, council planning officer (CPO), Principal Remote Area Development Officer (PRADO), Social and Community Development (S&CD) officer; district physical planner; tribal secretary; representatives of central Government ministries in the district; representatives of non-Government organisations; sub-district representatives; and heads of parastatals and business council delegate (where available).
- 10.30 The DDC's function is to discuss district development issues, compile the district plan, supervise its implementation, and monitor and evaluate district projects. Ideally, the district council, and all the district field units of the different ministries should submit their plans, and other information and data for monitoring and evaluation of district projects and programmes to the DDC.
- 10.31 District Administration is a department within the Ministry of Local Government (MLG). The DC is the central Government's principal representative, overseer of all central Government functions, and coordinator, through the District Development Committee (DDC) of all development activities of the ministries, departments, local authorities, and other organisations in the district.
- 10.32 The District Extension Team (DET), a subcommittee of the DDC, is responsible for integrating and coordinating the various district activities and monitor progress. The DET is chaired by the District Officer Development (DOD) from the District Administration office, with the Council Planning Officer as Vice Chair. It consists of the heads of extension

departments in the district, including S&CD, education, health, agriculture, wildlife, RADO, etc.

- 10.33 Under the DDCs are the Village Development Committees (VDCs), which are lower level organisations that are supposed to provide the link between the district and the communities, and serve as participatory inputs into the district and national development planning process.
- 10.34 The VDCs are assisted by Village Extension teams (VETs), which are composed of extension workers from the various extension departments who are supposed to be based in the villages. The VETs act as Government representatives, and are responsible for facilitating consultation and participation of villagers in the development process as well as coordinating implementation of various projects and programmes.

ii. Effectiveness of Extension Services

- 10.35 Several criticisms have been raised in connection with effectiveness of the extension services for rural development in general, and specifically for the RADP. Amongst the crucial issues that arose about two decades ago was the requirement to reform the rural development extension services to make them more effective. A government report of 1984 (written by B Hughes) recommended the establishment of District Officer (Extension), to better coordinate extension efforts for rural development. This recommendation was rejected by government, ostensibly because this role is supposed to be performed by the District Commissioner as defined by instructions for setting up the District Development Committees and the Extension Services (1970). The Review Team concurs with this viewpoint, and recommends strengthening the functions of the District Administration as coordinator of development efforts, in line with previous recommendations in the Review of Rural Development Policy. Such would benefit the entire rural development effort, including the implementation of the RADP.
- 10.36 The other criticisms that are specific to the RADP extension revolve around three areas namely: training of the officers; attitude of officers towards remote area dwellers; and residence of the officers. These issues are discussed in turn below.

a) Training of Officers

- 10.37 Past reviews of the RADP highlighted the inadequacy and inappropriateness in training of the RADP officers, particularly the Assistant Project Officers (APOs) operating at settlement level. The Assistant Project Officers occupy an important position in the RADP hierarchy because they are in direct and constant contact with remote area communities. They are generally expected to manage the various projects implemented under the programme. It is thus essential that they understand the programme objectives and strategy. However, they tend to be the least knowledgeable and qualified of the RADP cadre.

- 10.38 The APOs are the least trained of the officers. The cadre is principally occupied by Form five school leavers who are not well trained for working in the challenging context of remote area communities (CMI: 1996:86). To the CMI mission, the training and qualification of RADP cadre are utterly inadequate.
- 10.39 This observation was confirmed by the APOs in the settlements that we visited. Most of them suggested that they should be provided with in-service training to upgrade their education to match the requirements of their stakeholders' expectations.
- 10.40 Apart from inadequate levels of training, questions have also been raised in connection with the appropriateness of their training, where provided. The same questions apply to the training of the senior RADP officers at District level, the RADOs. Most RADOs are trained in social work, and not community development. This resulted from what one Government official referred to as a 'mishap' in the Government training programme, which resulted in the replacement of community development with social work. Training in social work is not equivalent to training in community development. Remote areas are in need of community development officers rather than social workers.
- 10.41 Other extension workers who service remote area settlements, such as teachers, nurses, court clerks and tribal police (local police) staff also do not have appropriate training. While these officers find themselves working in what they correctly interpret as an environment that requires special skills, few have reported ever receiving such training. They are thus unqualified to deal with development problems of the remote area dwellers.
- 10.42 The need for a specialised and committed extension service in the RADP is further illustrated by the problems that confront the administration of the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF). Due to poor follow-up and monitoring, the EPF has fared badly in most remote settlements. From the surveys conducted for this review, it was found that several individuals in Tshokwe who had received training in various vocations are currently not putting those skills into use. This is with the exception of one individual who was running a bakery in the village.
- 10.43 Molebatsi (2002) also noted incidents of poor monitoring of projects and follow-up on people who received training through the RADP. The study shows that one of the first projects to run in Mabesekwa was a tannery that operated for only one year and closed down. In the case of cattle and goats schemes also under the EPF, the schemes never went beyond the first recipients. Poor performance of the EPF has been explained in terms of poor extension service, characterised by poor follow-up of project beneficiaries.
- 10.44 In the same study, Molebatsi reported cases in which individuals who had received training in the areas of tannery, bone carving, carpentry and dressmaking had not put their skills to any use. In the case of one

individual who received training in carpentry, it is reported that he 'carves when he likes' and the proceeds are spent on beer. As argued above, poor performance of the EPF projects can be explained partly by the inadequate advice that recipients receive from RADP officers.

- 10.45 In all these examples, the question is whether the RADP officers are adequately trained to deal with the complex circumstances arising from the requirements of remote area development.

b) Attitudes of extension officers towards remote communities

- 10.46 There are recurring allegations concerning the attitude of extension officers towards remote communities. The majority of these officers come from communities in which remote area dwellers are widely despised. This stems from the historical relationship characterised by the economic subjugation and exploitation of the Basarwa by Tswana groups (see Good, 1992).

- 10.47 It has been argued therefore that extension officers just like the societies from which they are drawn, look down upon remote communities. Such attitudes are often reflected in the language used, and the general treatment of remote area dwellers by the officers in their day to day interactions.

- 10.48 The language used is often derogatory as in the use of the term masarwa or the diminutive mosarwana. Teachers are often blamed for such derogatory language, statements and ill-treatment of Basarwa children. Giving a personal account, Kiema, 2001 captures the ill-treatment received by Basarwa students at the hands of some non-Basarwa teachers.

- 10.49 The attitude of the extension officers towards remote area dwellers can be illustrated by the findings of a fact-finding mission on schools in remote settlements in the Tutume Sub-district, which took place from 24-26 June 1997. Though generally sympathetic, the team unequivocally blamed the plight of the Basarwa children in the area on their parents. While acknowledging that the economic status of the remote area dwellers was low, the report concludes:

There is very little hope for improvement unless the RADs themselves change their lifestyle and have the future of their children at heart. They need to have a long term vision as opposed to the myopic interpretation of life spending profits [proceeds] from sale of phane or grass on chibuku and tobacco which does not have any future (Tutume Sub-District, 1997: 8) (quoted in Molebatsi, 2002).

- 10.50 With attitudes such as expressed above, the need for specialised skills for officers who work among remote area dwellers cannot be over-emphasised. One of the attributes of such specialised skills would be a holistic appreciation of the dynamics surrounding the condition of the Basarwa. Such an appreciation should lead to less judgmental perspectives towards Basarwa by Government officers.

10.51 At an NGO consultative workshop convened for the present Review, a delegate stressed the need for careful selection of who is posted to remote area settlements. The contention was that *it must be people who are not only informed about the situation prevailing in those settlements, but they should also be sympathetic to the cause of the "RADs" – people with the right attitude.*

c) Residence of RADP Officers

10.52 Reference was made in the preceding section to the fact that within the RADP extension service structures, the APOs are based at the settlement level. From the surveys conducted for the present review it has emerged that there are instances in which these officers reside elsewhere and not in the remote area settlement. In some cases the community voiced displeasure over the external residence of the APO, who at times live at district or sub-district headquarters where there may not be any remote area dwellers.

10.53 Complaints over external residence of officers were also raised in connection with the agricultural demonstrators, who were not readily available for consultation by the community. Non-residency of RADP officers and other extension officers was also reported by the RADP monitoring review that covered six settlements drawn from Kgalagadi and Ghanzi districts (Economic Consultancies et. al. 1986). With the exception of teachers and nurses, the report indicated that extension officers servicing remote area settlements resided outside these settlements.

10.54 Some people felt that the employment potential of school leavers in remote settlements should be specifically targeted. For example, form 5 leavers should be employed in their own settlements as extension officers.

iii. Issues at the district level

10.55 **Officers in the districts generally do not have a clear understanding of the objectives, targets and goals of the RADP.** Sometimes these were actually unknown. Equally unclear were the expected outcomes of RADP activities, and the timeframes for their attainment. The RADP was perceived to be too general and subject to widely divergent interpretations.

10.56 The remote area dweller officers stated that they do not have centrally-defined policy guidelines for implementation of the programme. Neither is there central guidance on strategy. Day to day activities and practices are subject to the interpretation of individual officers; hence routine management of the programme is ad-hoc, uncoordinated, and lacks uniformity amongst different field officers.

10.57 **The monitoring mechanisms for implementation of the RADP are inadequate and there is no systematic evaluation mechanism.** The monitoring process through annual and quarterly reports did not appear to be sufficient in determining the progress and achievements of the RADP. No systematic evaluation mechanisms exist. It was, therefore, difficult to determine the actual changes attributable to the administration of the

RADP, or the impact of the programme on intended beneficiaries. It was impossible to determine improvements in the lives of remote area dwellers in the absence of target and goal clarification, as well as benchmarks for measurement of achievement.

Recommendation R27. District specific objectives, goals and targets should be developed within the framework of the national guidelines. The extension services should be subjected to a system of monitoring and reporting of their functioning and performance in relation to clear goals and targets.

10.58 **The uniform implementation of the RADP is generally inappropriate for the diverse conditions and circumstances of the different regions/districts.** RADP implementation, which is guided by the project memoranda, appears to entrench an approach that regards the whole country as economically, demographically, ecologically, socially and culturally homogeneous. Nevertheless, the attributes of each region differ, hence the needs, requirements and capabilities of the various remote areas are likewise different. The implementation of the RADP thus appears inappropriate in a number of cases, for example the provision of cattle (under the EPF) throughout the country, even though some areas are ecologically unsuitable and their inhabitant's livelihoods are not based on rearing cattle.

Recommendation R28. The RADP implementation strategy must infuse realism and flexibility into the programme and allow for the formulation of sub-programmes that recognise geographical, ecological, environmental, economic, and ethnic-cultural differences and diversity, as well as the livelihood choices of the intended beneficiaries. It is therefore important that RADP extension officers should reside in the settlements in which they work.

10.59 **The overall integration and coordination of the RADP in district development is problematic.** The District Administration, through the DC, as chairperson of the DDC has responsibility for overseeing all district developments, including those of the council. This, in addition to coordinating the activities of the ministerial field units in the district. The DC's role is thus supposed to be general oversight, rather than day to day administration, management, or implementation of ministerial and council projects and programmes. The DC is assisted by the DOD in the coordination of the district development efforts.

10.60 The problem of coordination is also a long-standing one. A study conducted for the Rural development Unit in 1988 recommended improvements to the institutions and processes of coordination of inter-ministerial committees for rural development. Although the report identified a number of areas for improvement, most of its recommendations were not accepted by the government (Government of Botswana, 1989).

10.61 The review of the terms of reference of the Rural Development Council (1999) and the recommendations contained in the review of Rural Development Policy (2001) also called for Government to clarify the

respective functions, roles and responsibilities of the District Administration and the District Councils, in order to address the problem of coordination of the overall rural development effort. As most of the recommendations have not been implemented, the **problems relating to the implementation of rural development (and by extension the RADP) that were evident some twenty years ago remain, and severely affect the implementation of the programme.** The Review Team recommends that some of the earlier recommendations be reconsidered, specifically those of the Egner report (1981), Review of the Terms of Reference for the RDC (1999), Review of Rural Development Policy (2001).

- 10.62 Although the district councils have numerous developmental responsibilities, they do not possess requisite authority for coordinating overall district development.** They are quite successful at implementing line activities such as provision of welfare benefits, services and amenities. However, **they are severely limited by current legislation in effectively coordinating development activities.** The councils do not have adequate authority for the integration of RADP activities with other ministerial development and extension activities. **Consequently, the coordination of the RADP is weak.**
- 10.63 The existing Act that governs local authority (council) operations actually does not give the requisite authority or organisational structure for integrating and coordinating projects outside the realm of the council. The councils are established and constituted by the President (Head of State and Government) under the Local Government (District Councils) Act. The councils are representative corporate bodies with powers to make by-laws, levy local taxes, and formulate own budgets. They provide social services, amenities and facilities in their specified areas of jurisdiction, such as health, sanitation, abattoirs, water, education, social welfare benefits, village infrastructure, licensing and regulation through enforcement of bye-laws, etc.
- 10.64 The councils derive their powers from specific acts of parliament, which also limit their jurisdiction to the prescribed areas. They must have all by-laws approved by the Minister of Local Government before implementation; the Minister may discipline any councillor; and the President may dissolve a council. The councils are regulated by central Government; as such, the DC holding office in that area is an ex-officio member of the council, and has rights (as the central Government's representative), to inspect the records, accounts, documents, cash, stores, and other property of the council.
- 10.65 **Councils** are thus semi-autonomous but essentially instruments for the implementation of public policy through the provision of public services. **They do not have authority to coordinate the activities of ministerial field offices represented at district level.** Thus any failure by central government field offices to collaborate or to give support to the RADP cannot be redressed by the Council Secretary. This is because the Council

- Secretary is a servant of the council, responsible for implementing its decisions and resolutions, and not coordination of overall (ministerial field unit and NGO/CBO) development activities.
- 10.66** The responsibilities of the CS include planning and administering council projects, administering the provision of services and amenities, and managing its financial and human resources. **The councils, under whose jurisdiction the RADP is implemented, lack the authority, power, and functional capability to coordinate the activities of the district ministerial field units or their extension services, and the non-Governmental organizations.**
- 10.67 **The functional relationships and coordination mechanisms between the RADP and the DDC (District Extension Team) activities are thus virtually ineffective. This is why extension support to the RADP is generally weak and uncoordinated.** It follows thus that in some cases the District Extension Teams (DETs) do not integrate RADP into “normal” development activities, nor do they readily provide extension necessary for the success of the RADP implementation. The inability of the council to integrate and coordinate RADP activities with other ministerial service and extension provision makes the delivery system for the RADP inefficient and ineffective.
- 10.68 Whereas the DA (through the DC as chair of the DDC and DOD as chair of the DET) has the overall coordinating role for ministerial, council, non-Governmental organisation and community based organisation development activities, the council’s operations are limited to council project planning and management of social service delivery.
- 10.69 The councils could only effectively organise the RADP activities and coordinate with other ministerial activities if the Act that governs their functions were amended to include the coordination of all district development activities through the DDC (a function that is currently undertaken by the District Administration through the DC and DOD).
- 10.70 The foregoing situation poses a major question of which institutional structure between District administration and District Council should be responsible for implementation and coordination of the RADP. As pointed out above, the RADP involves coordination of various council and central government ministerial or departmental activities. Under the current system, the coordination of the RADP would potentially be more effective under the office of the DOD (District Administration).
- 10.71 The lack of requisite authority means that the district councils’ effectiveness is constrained in the coordination of implementation of the RADP. Whereas the Local Government (District Councils) Act gives several powers for local governance and service provision to the councils, such do not extend to coordination of central government departments or developmental activities. Hence the problematic implementation of the RADP, which is

administered by the council but cannot guarantee extension and coordination support from the central government field units.

- 10.72 The Review Team suggests that (in line with the Government's decentralization initiatives) the long term goal should be progressive development of the councils so that they ultimately take charge of all developmental activities in the district. This will invariably involve revising the Local Government (District councils) Act. However, in the meantime, there is need to clarify and strengthen the functions, roles and responsibilities of local authorities (District Councils) with regard to the implementation of the RADP.
- 10.73 **The coordination of RADP, S&CD and the other extension services is ad-hoc and not institutionalised.** This leads to inefficiency and waste. The relative importance of the RADP varies in different districts. This manifests in two ways: first, in the proportion of the council budget allocated to the RADP. Some council that does not regard remote area dweller concerns a priority tends to allocate inadequate resources for effective implementation of the programme.
- 10.74 Secondly, the relative importance of the programme is shown in the different hierarchical ranking and reporting structures for the remote area dweller officers. For example, some district PRADOs report directly to the council secretary, implying that they are considered at par with other departmental heads, whereas in others they report to the council secretary through the Principal S&CD officer, which implies that they are considered to be at a lower rank. The lower status of the RADP officers harms morale and may be a source of inefficiency and ineffectiveness.
- 10.75 In summary, just as with the central level, RADP implementation at district level is not integrated with other ministerial services that deal with rural development and poverty alleviation. The extension services are not fully supportive of RADP implementation. The councils lack authority and functional capabilities to coordinate the RADP with other extension services.

Recommendation R29. Upgrade the RADP into a full Department in all the districts that have remote area dwellers and strengthen the coordination of the RADP, S&CD and the other extension services.

- 10.76 **The councils have inadequate capacity for implementation of the RADP. Specifically, their staffs are of low calibre.** Whereas council staff for other departments, such as economic planning and physical planning must have a bachelor's degree as a minimum qualification; the same does not apply to the RADP officers. There is a number of staff that does not have adequate, appropriate, and relevant education and training. For example, a secondary school leavers were appointed APOs and then trained for diplomas in adult education, which does not appear appropriate for the RADP where community development would be most required. Additionally, those that were trained did so in social work rather than

community development; hence there is a shortage of community development workers.

Recommendation R30. Continuous skills audits and training needs assessment should be done for RADP staff as well as other officers working in the development of the remote areas, including teachers, nurses, agricultural, wildlife and other ministerial extension workers. Specific attention must be placed on the training of all staff to become effective community development practitioners.

Recommendation R31. The RADP employees' conditions of employment should be placed at par with others in local government departments. That means their schemes of service be revised to ensure that all districts have uniformity in the ranking of these officers.

C. Community Level Organisation

i. Structure

10.77 The community level includes villages and settlements that normally have Village Development Committees (VDCs), which are lower level organisations of the DDC, and are supposed to feed into the district development planning process. Assistant Project Officers (APOs) operate at this level. They are in direct contact with the beneficiaries of the RADP, and are thus critical to the effectiveness of the programme.

ii. The importance of the Village Development Committee

10.78 The communities that were consulted emphasized the central role of the VDC, amongst other organizations that include the kgotla; Village Extension Team (VET); Parent Teachers Association (PTA); Village Health Committee (VHC); the Home Based Care Committee; Social Welfare Committee; Farmers Committee; Youth Committee; Crime Prevention Committee; Cultural Committee; Orphans Committee; Consumer Committee; Cooperative Committee; Community Wildlife Management Trust; churches; Red Cross and non-Governmental organisations.

10.79 The VDC was often described as the biggest and most important committee in the settlements. Its importance was attributed to its centrality in initiating and coordinating community development, implementation of infrastructure projects, as a consultative body for receiving the views of residents and its close collaboration with Government institutions and other extension services. The other committees, except the PTA, were less active or even dormant. However, the general perception was that some committees, such as the Home Based Care Committee and the Village Health committee were very important in the promotion of health-related education.

10.80 There was a general perception that efforts were required to build local capacities, empower local communities through ownership of the

development process and enhancing the spirit of voluntarism, in order to effectively commit human efforts for the realisation of community goals.

iii. Issues at the community level

- 10.81** Many issues, some that reflected the malaise at district level, were identified at the community level, including **confusion over objectives, goals and targets of the RADP; uncoordinated and ineffective extension services; low calibre of staff and inefficiency.**
- 10.82** **Organisational weaknesses of the community organisations, including the kgotla and VDCs.** Local organisations and leadership were perceived to be generally weak. Inactivity and dormancy characterised most of the organizations, with some respondents stating that certain organisations were present in name only, as they never seemed to perform any discernible or useful function.
- 10.83** There were reports of general apathy and low participation in community organisations, including the kgotla. This was attributed to alcohol abuse, the lack of volunteerism, inadequate leadership and the failure to represent the interests of the settlement communities. Respondents pointed out that they generally did not have incentives (some form of remuneration such as sitting allowances) to participate in local committees (apart from the VDC, which is the only committee that provides such allowances). Although women tended to be in the majority, men dominated in these organisations' decision making and operation. Similarly, marginalised groups such as the Basarwa appeared hesitant to participate, or were dominated by other groups in participatory forum such as the kgotla.
- 10.84** **Commonly, community organisations appeared to have lost direction.** The inactivity of village extension teams and the distance of extension workers from the communities were cited as contributing to this situation. Extension Officers who could help develop and give advice to local organisations were not resident in the settlements but at distant sub-district or district centres. In some cases, the existence and role of VETs was unknown to residents, with only VDC members acknowledging their supposed existence. There did not seem to be any plans to build leadership and service delivery capacity of the VDC and other community organisations. The VDCs lack visionary leadership and capacity to solve complex problems that face the communities. The VDCs also do not have well defined development plans, and measures or indicators of performance.
- 10.85** There seemed to be the **absence of teamwork and support mechanisms amongst the community organisations in general, and between the VDC and the RADP personnel. Coordination of activities was poor.** There was a perception that people elected into committees did not appreciate the need for cooperation and support mechanisms to implement community projects. For example, it was cited that the RADO is supposed to be an ex-officio member of the VDC, but their attendance of meetings is not

- consistent. The S & C/D Office which is supposed to provide training and support to VDC was visibly absent.
- 10.86 **The relationship of non-Governmental organisations and community based organisations with the RADP was unclear.** Actually, these organisations are not adequately involved in the administration of the RADP. The proliferation of community organisations, without an integrated approach to their functioning, led to each organisation's operation as an isolated unit with little or no collaboration and coordination with others, and hence they appeared unfocused on the common goal of serving the communities.
- 10.87 **Political weakness and imposition of projects on communities:** Often cited was the detachment of political representatives from communities: there were complaints that councillors and Members of Parliament were distant and seldom visited the settlements they represented. Some communities generally felt they lacked power and appropriate institutions through which their voice could be heard, for example in cases of land use conflict with powerful outsiders, such as the cattle ranch owners.
- 10.88 In summary, the community level of operations is also problematic. Although the VDCs, as coordinators of development projects, are quite active, they also have problems in their operations. Village Extension Teams appear uninformed and organisationally weak. Low participation in kgotla and other meetings further weakens the effectiveness of the local committees. Leadership capacity and community organisation are also weak.

Recommendation R32. Government should strengthen the capacity of the institutions and people in the settlements to take full charge of development planning, implementation and management functions at that level. The traditional leadership structures that exist in the various communities should be the basis for strengthening such capacity.

Recommendation R33. Government should seek to contract NGOs and CBOs that have the skills and experience of working with communities in localised projects, to augment the development activities of public sector organisations across all of the sectors in which the RADP works.

11 Summary of Recommendations for a Revised RADP and Implementation Strategy

A. *RADP Principles*

- 11.1 This chapter recommends future objectives and implementation strategy for the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP). These are proposed in the context of the National Guiding Principles of Democracy, Development, Self-Reliance and Unity, which have guided Botswana's social and economic development since independence, and the principle of Botho, which is contained in the Long Term Vision for Botswana (Vision 2016).
- 11.2 Attainment of the national principles and the ideals of Vision 2016 require critical re-examination of the objectives and strategy for the RADP. Government programmes, and supporting activities have to go beyond mere provision of infrastructure and services to remote area dwellers, in the way that it has been done since the adoption of the settlement strategy in 1987.
- 11.3 The future objectives and strategy will adopt a more holistic approach that must ensure broad-based development to combat poverty by developing sustainable livelihoods, creating economic opportunities, building local capacity, and supporting the social and political development of people in the remote areas.
- 11.4 The revised RADP will aim at promoting the social, cultural and economic advancement of people in remote areas without detriment to their unique culture and tradition. In particular, **remote area development goals, objectives and strategies will be guided by the following basic principles:**
- Promote rural development
 - Reduce poverty
 - Create sustainable livelihood systems based on self reliance and environmental conservation
 - Enhance community development
 - Implement affirmative action for the historically marginalised and disadvantaged.

B. *RADP Goals and Objectives*

- 11.5 Therefore, the overall goal of the programme, as presented in the Terms of Reference for the Review of the Remote Area Development Programme (Article 2.5) should be re-stated:

Recommendation R1. The overall goal of the RADP is to achieve sustainable social and economic development of people in the remote areas, through a coordinated and integrated multi-sectoral approach, so that they can equally benefit from the rapid economic development of the country.

The objectives of the RADP are as follows:

- To provide development infrastructure in remote communities, in accordance with the National Settlement Policy.
- To promote sustainable livelihoods for communities and individuals residing in the remote areas, to reduce dependence on Government and to promote self-reliance and sustainable utilisation of the environment and natural resources, in ways that are compatible with the skills and aspirations of remote communities.
- To encourage the direct participation of remote communities in issues concerned with their own development – in accordance with the Community Strategy for Rural Development
- To promote the development of leadership structures and representation in the remote areas that are compatible with the traditional structures and cultures of the people who live there.
- To adopt and advocate affirmative action across all sectors, aimed at providing remote area communities with equal access to entitlements under Botswana law as enjoyed by other citizens
- To promote a tolerance and understanding at national level of the unity and cultural diversity of Botswana, particularly in regard to historically marginalised people from remote areas.

C. RADP Policy Framework

Recommendation R2. The RADP is a special case of rural development and poverty reduction. Thus, the Revised Rural Development Policy (RDP), the proposed National Poverty Reduction Strategy (NPRS) and the National Settlement Policy (NSP) should provide the broad policy framework for its activities. The RADP does not, therefore, require a special policy of its own. Remote area issues should instead be mainstreamed into the RDP, the NPRS and the NSP, and where appropriate, into the National policies on Education and Housing.

Strategy Recommendations:

Strategy S1. *The Ministry of Local Government should develop clear guidelines, and provide strategic and operational direction by elaborating the objectives, targets and goals of the RADP as a special case of rural development and poverty reduction.*

Strategy S2. *Adopt the remote area development objectives, targets and goals through an Act of Parliament.*

Strategy S3. *The office of the Coordinator of the RADP should be upgraded to a full-fledged Department of Remote Area Development within the Ministry of Local government, and be provided with adequate staffing and budgetary resources to carry out its coordinating functions.*

Strategy S4. *The structures of coordination and implementation of the programme should be strengthened by establishing clear linkages between*

the RADP (Department), the Rural Development Coordination Division (RDCCD) and the Rural Extension Coordinating Committee (RECC) of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP). The Director of the RADP should be a member of the RECC to ensure that RAD concerns are directly represented, and to realise the programme's coordination with other ministerial extension services at the highest level.

Strategy S5. *The functions and responsibilities of the Rural Extension Coordinating Committee (RECC) of the RDC must be revitalised. This would involve strengthening its linkages with the DDCs and VDCs, to ensure that there is proper integration of RADP activities into the developmental plans and implementation activities of all departments at the district and lower levels.*

D. RADP Target Group

i. Means Related Criteria

Recommendation R3. The RADP should introduce poverty or means related criteria in order to ensure that the programme is targeted at the poorest members of remote communities, not on those community members who do have the means for their own sustenance.

Strategy Recommendation:

Strategy S6. *Establish criteria for eligibility to RADP assistance, based upon the level of education, income and asset holding by individuals or households.*

Strategy S7. *Specify the goals and/or expected results that must be attained within determined timeframes for the completion of stages of implementation of the Remote Area Development Programme or its components.*

ii. Affirmative Action

Recommendation R4. In view of the overall aim to promote the social, cultural and economic advancement of people in remote areas without detriment to their unique culture and tradition, the RADP should include programmes of affirmative action to assist historically disadvantaged communities to gain access to education, land and other resources.

Strategy Recommendation:

Strategy S8. *Consult with relevant Ministries such as Education; Lands and Housing; Agriculture; Minerals, Energy and Water Affairs; and Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, as well as other stakeholders, on the feasibility of affirmative action.*

iii. Graduation from the RADP

Recommendation R5. Remote settlements should be classified by age, population, the level of development, and the extent to which they are graduating to village status. The level of RADP assistance should be linked to this classification, with time bound targets for the graduation to each new stage. Those settlements that are deemed to have graduated fully to village status should then be de-linked from the RADP, through a consultative process with the members of the communities concerned.

Strategy Recommendations:

Strategy S9. *Align the RADP with relevant policies and strategies, especially the Rural Development Policy, the (Revised) National Settlement Policy, the Revised Education Policy and the proposed National Poverty Reduction Strategy. Any revisions of these should be concurrent with the revision of the RADP.*

Strategy S10. *All relevant stakeholders should be consulted in determining realistic goals and expected programme accomplishments at national and sub-national levels. The different regions and districts should be involved in devising packages that suit their particular circumstances, involving labour, education and health.*

Strategy S11. *Criteria for settlement graduation should be based on:*

- a) *Age of the settlement;*
- b) *Size of the settlement;*
- c) *The level of settlement development with respect to physical infrastructure and social infrastructure*
- d) *The settlement inhabitants' levels of education and skills.*

E. Land Use and Access

i. Preferential Allocation

Recommendation R6. Land Authorities should give priority to land applications by members of remote communities who wish to acquire land in the vicinity of their settlements.

Recommendation R7. RAD officers should provide public education about land rights and access, as well as formal advice and material assistance to members of remote communities in making applications to the Land Authorities.

ii. Land Board Membership

Recommendation R8. In Districts or sub-Districts with remote area communities, positions on the Land Board should be reserved for suitably qualified members drawn from those communities (one member for every three RADP settlements in the District). The members could be appointed for a fixed term, in rotation between the communities concerned.

iii. Land Acquisition and Community Use Zones

Recommendation R9. Government, through Land Authorities, should embark upon a programme of land acquisition in the vicinity of remote area settlements, either by reserving unallocated land, or by purchase of land already allocated.

Recommendation R10. The land thus acquired should be used in order to establish substantial community use zones through a participatory process with the members of the communities. The granting of community use zones would include the right to exclude non-members of the community from the use of the resources, and the possibility of re-zoning the land for uses deemed appropriate by the community, in consultation with Land Authorities.

iv. Participatory Processes

Recommendation R11. Before taking decisions affecting land allocation or land use in remote areas, Land Authorities should conduct thorough participatory discussions with a representative group drawn from the affected community, and from local Non-Governmental organisations (NGOs).

Strategy Recommendations:

Strategy S12. *Advocate policy changes to amend the relevant act (Tribal Land (Amendment) Act, 1993) to accommodate affirmative action. The changes should include provisions to:*

- e) *Allow preferential allocation of nearby land to poorer people living in remote settlements;*
- f) *Reserve a quota of positions on Land Boards for people from remote settlements.*

Strategy S13. *Sensitise Land Board members on affirmative action.*

Strategy S14. *Adopt the recommendations of the Botswana Land Policy-Issues Report (2002) as regards land, viz:*

- a) *In those areas where RADs form a majority of the local population, new sub-land boards or related structures could be established to regulate the use of the land. Membership of these could be made up of mainly local residents.*
- b) *New water development in RAD settlements should be put under the control of the RAD residents themselves. District Council control of these water sources has been a prime cause of invasion of RAD settlements by cattle belonging to non-RADs.*

F. Promoting Sustainable Livelihoods

i. Participatory Techniques

Recommendation R12. The RADP should adopt participatory techniques, so that all projects and schemes are locally initiated and involve beneficiaries at all levels during the identification, planning, implementation and evaluation stages. This will ensure that projects are relevant to local situations and environments. This should apply in particular to:

- Introducing or continuing livestock schemes.
- Identifying opportunities to support arable agriculture.
- Supporting projects to generate employment and income, through the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF).
- Establishing and supporting Community Based Organisations (CBOs) to manage Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) schemes.

Strategy Recommendation:

Strategy S15. *Adopt an all-inclusive participatory process in the conduct of the RADP. Such participatory process should incorporate all stakeholders, that is, the government, local authorities, the community, community-based organizations and non-governmental organizations that operate in the community. This type of consultative process (as was utilised in the formulation of the CKGR Third Draft Management Plan) is appreciated by all stakeholders, and allows for widespread acceptance and ownership of the outcomes of the consultation. This would also go a long way towards operationalising the CBNRM.*

ii. Livestock

Recommendation R13. The RADP should coordinate a detailed study to assess the impact to date of the cattle scheme on the livelihoods of remote communities, and the extent to which it is sustainable and compatible with existing land uses, particularly within Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs). This study should inform future decisions about the cattle scheme.

Strategy Recommendation:

Strategy S16. *Assemble a joint team of the RADP, Ministry of Agriculture (Veterinary Department and Integrated Agricultural Research Department) and Department of Wildlife and National Parks to determine the impact on livelihoods and the sustainability and compatibility of the cattle scheme with existing land uses.*

iii. Supporting Projects under the EPF

Recommendation R14. The RADP should intensify its support to projects funded under the Economic Promotion Fund, in particular:

- Provide support to locally based suppliers to prepare tenders to provide services or goods in the settlements.
- Advocate for a system of preferential tendering, where locally based suppliers would be given preference in all tendering procedures.
- Focus on intensifying the building of business skills, and monitoring and extension capacities.

Strategy Recommendations:

Strategy S17. *Provide support to locally based suppliers to prepare tenders for provision of services or goods in the settlements.*

Strategy S18. *Advocate for a system of preferential tendering, where locally based suppliers would be given preference in all tendering procedures.*

Strategy S19. *Focus on intensifying the building of business skills amongst prospective beneficiaries of the EPF, and monitoring and evaluation of extension capacities*

Strategy S20. *Develop systems and capacity for product quality control*

iv. Natural resources and CBNRM

Recommendation R15. In accordance with the draft or future CBNRM Policy, the RADP should provide support for establishing CBNRM projects in remote settlements, to exploit locally based natural resources and to generate employment opportunities. Attention should also be paid towards the extent to which locally available knowledge and skills can be used to generate projects, particularly with regard to tourism and culturally related activities.

Recommendation R16. The RADP should coordinate financial and other support for community based research on natural resources including that based on adding value to veldt products.

Strategy Recommendations:

Strategy S21. *The RADP should acknowledge indigenous knowledge and its utility in creating sustainable livelihoods. Wherever possible, indigenous knowledge should be exploited through synthesis with new technologies, techniques and opportunities to form the basis for innovation and development.*

Strategy S22. *The RADP and other stakeholders should develop national guidelines for the functional operation of CBO and CBNRM organisations to ensure uniformity and consistency in their operations.*

Strategy S23. *The RADP will need to establish modalities to ensure the full participation of all members of a CBO running a CBNRM scheme. In particular, this must include:*

- a) Participation in decision-making processes, and in the running of CBOs;*
- b) A fair distribution of proceeds to all members, as determined by the CBO itself.*

v. Social welfare

Recommendation R17. The RADP should promote the creation of sustainable livelihood systems aimed at self-sufficiency. The emphasis should be on developing communities to reduce dependence on Government.

Strategy Recommendation:

Strategy S24. *All RADP projects must be designed to encourage self-reliance and emphasise the need to reduce reliance on government handouts*

Recommendation R18. The RADP officers should assist with social welfare provision in two respects:

- Engage in community consultation to provide recommendations for the composition of the destitute packages in remote settlements, taking account of local livelihoods and food preferences.
- Develop a monitoring mechanism for the utilisation of destitute persons' assistance, pensions and orphans' allowances in remote communities, in order to ensure continued suitability, and to avoid waste.

G. Education

i. Participatory processes

Recommendation R19. RADP officers should initiate participatory discussion with communities in remote areas to ascertain whether changes in the timing of the school year, in hostel or school conditions, use of local language or flexibility with regard to cultural rituals would be helpful in improving the school environment for remote area children.

ii. National public education

Recommendation R20. The RADP should establish a component at National level to actively promote a tolerance and understanding of the cultural diversity in remote areas of Botswana, through public education and media, and assistance with curriculum development for schools throughout the country.

Strategy Recommendation:

Strategy S25. *The RADP should establish a new component, whose function will be to promote understanding through public education and media, and by working closely with the Ministry of Education to ensure that school curricula reflect cultural tolerance.*

iii. Educational progression

Recommendation R21. The RADP should actively assist in promoting the educational progression of students from remote communities. This could involve the following:

- Meet all of the costs of education for eligible recipients.
- Advocacy for affirmative action over education progression for people from remote areas, so they are granted preferential entry and progression in secondary, tertiary and vocational establishments.
- Assistance with development of bridging courses to ease progression through the education and training system, and to bring participants to the required standard.

iv. Use of local languages

Recommendation R22. The RADP should assist in the promotion of the use of local languages in the primary school environment in remote settlements, either for teaching, for informal interaction, or as subjects in their own right. This could be done in the following ways, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education:

- Promote affirmative action to employ people who are able to speak local languages to teach in the schools, and administer the hostels.
- Advocate for the development of the orthography and written lexicon of remote area languages.
- Advocate for the development of educational materials in local languages.

Strategy Recommendations:

Strategy S26. *A joint committee of the RADP, the Ministry of Education and other stakeholders (such as Department of Vocational Training and Education, Rural Industries Innovation Centre, University of Botswana) should jointly explore the implications and feasibility of affirmative action for disadvantaged remote people in the education system.*

Strategy S27. *The RADP, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, should support efforts such as the D'Kar project to develop the orthography and lexicon of remote area languages*

H. Health and HIV/AIDS

Recommendation R23. In collaboration with the District Multi-sectoral AIDS Coordinator, the RADP should provide resources for regular HIV/AIDS awareness workshops conducted within the remote settlements, run either by the RAD officers or APOs, or by a specialised unit operating from the District or sub-District headquarters.

Recommendation R24. In collaboration with the District Multi-sectoral AIDS Coordinator, the RADP should provide transport to HIV testing centres for those who wish to test, or to ARV treatment centres for those who require treatment for AIDS.

Strategy Recommendation:

Strategy S28. *Inter-ministerial consultation and coordination must be stepped up to fully utilise District Multi-sector Aids Committees in the fight against HIV/AIDS.*

I. Structure, Coordination and Implementation

Recommendation R25. The RADP should continue as a special programme, coordinated from a department within the Ministry of Local Government. The RADP Coordinating Division should be upgraded to a full-fledged Department of Remote Area Development, and be adequately staffed. But the programme should be reoriented to emphasise community development.

Recommendation R26. The Ministry of Local Government should provide clear operational and strategic direction by elaborating the objectives, targets and goals of the RADP as a special case of rural development and poverty reduction. A system of monitoring and evaluation should be devised to assess the implementation of the programme.

Recommendation R27. District specific objectives, goals and targets should be developed within the framework of the national guidelines. The extension services should be subjected to a system of monitoring and reporting of their functioning and performance in relation to clear goals and targets.

Recommendation R28. The RADP implementation strategy must infuse realism and flexibility into the programme and allow for the formulation of sub-programmes that recognise geographical, ecological, environmental, economic, and ethnic-cultural differences and diversity, as well as the livelihood choices of the intended beneficiaries. It is therefore important that RADP extension officers should reside in the settlements in which they work.

Recommendation R29. Upgrade the RADP into a full Department in all the districts that have remote area dwellers and strengthen the coordination of the RADP, S&CD and the other extension services.

Strategy Recommendations:

Strategy S29. *Clarify the functions, roles and responsibilities of the Council Secretary as the Chief Executive Officer of the District Council, which is a representative elected body for local governance and provision of services, amenities and facilities. The following essential functions and responsibilities of the Council Secretary should be reiterated:*

- a. Implementation of the Council's decisions and resolutions*
- b. Oversee the administration of Council affairs*
- c. Supervision of Council provision of social services, amenities and utilities*
- d. Management of Council human resources*
- e. Planning and implementation of Council projects*
- f. Integration and coordination of council programmes (including the RADP) with other development activities through the DDC.*

Strategy S30. *Strengthen the district councils' implementation of the RADP by:*

(a) determining clear policy, operational and strategy guidelines for implementation;

(b) determining specific objectives, goals and targets for each district;

(c) developing a system of monitoring, reporting and evaluation relating to the specified goals and targets;

(d) providing adequate staffing (and budgetary resources) for the council RADP Department;

(e) capacity-building through equipping staff with relevant and appropriate education, training and skills for developing communities.

Strategy S31. *The ministerial heads of department must be compelled to attend meetings of, and submit their project and programme plans and reports to the DDC, so that they can be effectively integrated and coordinated with the RADP programme, which as a special case of rural development, involves cross-cutting inputs.*

Strategy S32. *Strengthen the Village Extension Teams (VETs) by appointing a coordinator of extension at that level. This should be done by the District Administration office (DC/DOD as coordinator of the DDC and chair of the DET).*

Strategy S33. *VETs should be subjected to a system of monitoring of functioning and performance, in relation to clear goals and targets. This should be reinforced by a reporting system to the DDC.*

Recommendation R30. *Continuous skills audits and training needs assessment should be done for RADP staff as well as other officers working in the development of the remote areas, including teachers, nurses, agricultural, wildlife and other ministerial extension workers. Specific attention must be placed on the training of all staff to become effective community development practitioners.*

Strategy Recommendations:

Strategy S34. *Conduct a skills audit at the central level, in the districts and the remote settlements, and provide appropriate capacity building to fill the skills gaps. Social work practitioners should be clearly distinguished from community development practitioners (although their work may be complementary).*

Strategy S35. *Conduct an education and training needs assessment to identify appropriate and relevant capacity-building programmes, and to upgrade the capacities of RADP and other extension officers. The emphasis of RADP officer training should be on community development practice. A cadre of Community Development Officers should be developed to ameliorate the skills gap that apparently exists at district and community levels.*

Strategy S36. *The district extension officers' training should emphasise an integrated approach to extension so that extension staff appreciate the multi-faceted nature of development.*

Recommendation R31. The RADP employees' conditions of employment should be placed at par with others in local government departments. That means their schemes of service be revised to ensure that all districts have uniformity in the ranking of these officers.

Strategy Recommendations:

Strategy S37. *Develop schemes of service for the cadre of community development practitioners so that the career is recognized for its critical importance in developing communities, and to make it attractive.*

Strategy S38. *RADP employees' schemes of service and conditions of employment should be upgraded to be at par with others at the districts and community levels.*

Strategy S39. *Develop a system of monitoring, assessing and reporting of District Extension Team functioning and performance in relation to clear goals and targets. This should be accompanied by a performance management system for staff, aimed at promoting their effectiveness and efficiency.*

Recommendation R32. Government should strengthen the capacity of the institutions and people in the settlements to take full charge of development planning, implementation and management functions at that level. The traditional leadership structures that exist in the various communities should be the basis for strengthening such capacity.

Strategy Recommendations:

Strategy S40. *To strengthen the capacity of the institutions and people in the settlements to own and manage the development process, the following measures are required:*

- a) *Members of the VDCs and other community organizations must be trained about their functions, roles and responsibilities prior to taking up office;*
- b) *Participatory planning and project management skills should be taught to all community organization members;*
- c) *The management of committees, keeping of minutes and financial records must all be taught to community organization members.*

Recommendation R33. Government should seek to contract NGOs and CBOs that have the skills and experience of working with communities in localised projects, to augment the development activities of public sector organisations across all of the sectors in which the RADP works.

Strategy Recommendation:

Strategy S41. *Guidelines should be formulated to clarify the framework for relationships of the VETs, NGOs, CBOs and the communities.*

12 Bibliography

1. Arntzen, J, 2003: *An Economic View on Wildlife Management Areas in Botswana*, CBNRM Support Programme Occasional Paper No. 10, IUCN/SNV, Gaborone.
2. ATSIC (1997) *The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission*, ATSIC's Office of Public Affairs, Australian Capital Territory
3. BIDPA, 2001: *Review of the Rural Development Policy*, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, RDCD, Gaborone.
4. Bird, K.; Hulme, D.; Moore, K.; Shepherd, A. (2002) *Chronic Poverty And Remote Rural Areas*. Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC), UK also in <http://www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/rra.pdf>
5. Brown R.P.C. (1997) *Estimating Remittance Functions for Pacific Island Migrants* in *World Development* Vol. 25. No. 4 pp 00-00
6. Campbell, Main and Associates (1991) *Socio-Economic Survey Remote Area Development: Western Sand veldt* Remote Area Dwellers Report Submitted to the MLGL&H and NORAD
7. Cassidy, L (2001) '*National Overview*' in Cassidy, L, Good, K., Mazonde, I and Rivers, R (2001) *Regional Assessment of the Status of the RADs in Southern Africa: An Assessment of the Status of the RADs in Botswana* Legal Assistance Centre, Windhoek pp 17-40
8. Cassidy, L (2000) *CBNRM and Legal Rights to Resources in Botswana* CBNRM Support Programme Occasional Paper No 4
9. Cassidy, L, Good, K., Mazonde, I and Rivers, R (2001), *Regional Assessment of the Status of the RADs in Southern Africa: An Assessment of the Status of the RADs in Botswana* Legal Assistance Centre, Windhoek
10. Central Statistics Office, (various years), *Statistical Bulletins*, Government Printer, Gaborone
11. Chr. Michelsen Institute, (1996), *NORAD Support of the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) in Botswana: An Evaluation*, The Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway.
12. Ciriacy - Wantrup S.V. and Bishop R.C. (1975) *Common Property as a Concept in Natural Resources Policy* *Natural Resources Journal* 15: 713-727
13. Cukuri, Tshau F. and Kiema, Kuela, (2000), *Naro Language Project of the D'Kar Reformed Church in Education for Remote Area Dwellers in Botswana, Problems and Perspectives*, by University of Botswana and Working group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa, 2000, Windhoek, WIMSA.
14. Dugupta, P. (1993) *An Inquiry into the Well - Being and Destitution* Oxford: Clarendon Press, Chap. 6

15. Economic Consultancies; Environmental Services Pty, Ltd; Data Handle Pty Ltd; Maendeleo (Botswana) *Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme: A monitoring Programme for the Settlements at Thankane, Kokotsha, Inalegolo, Monong, Ngwatlhe and Groot Laagte*, Gaborone
16. English, M; Claus, B; Swartz, W; Xhari, J (1980), *"We the people of the Short Blanket" Development Proposals based on the needs and aspirations of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve*, Population Remote Area development Office , Ghanzi District Council
17. Food Studies Group (1990) *Report on the Evaluation of the Drought Relief and Recovery Programme 1982-1990* for Government of the Republic of Botswana. Gaborone, Government Printer
18. Ghanzi District Council, Relocation Task Force, 2002, *Inquiry Report: Why People are Going Back to Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve*.
19. Good, K (1993) *At the Ends of the Ladder: Radical Inequalities in Botswana*, Journal of Modern African Studies 31 (2) pp 203 230
20. Good, K (2001) *'Review of Government Policy' Overview' in Cassidy, L, Good, K., Mazonde, I and Rivers, R (2001) Regional Assessment of the Status of the RADs in Southern Africa: An Assessment of the Status of the RADs in Botswana* Legal Assistance Centre, Windhoek pp 17-40
21. Government of Botswana, 1965, *Local Government (District Councils) Act of 1965*
22. Government of Botswana, 1975, *National Policy on Tribal Grazing Land*, Government Paper No. 2 of 1975, Government Printer, Gaborone
23. Government of Botswana, 1980, *Town and Country Planning Act*, Government Printer, Gaborone
24. Government of Botswana, 1981, *Government Paper No. 1 of 1981 (Local Government Structure in Botswana)*
25. Government of Botswana, 1984, *Towards Improving Extension Services in Botswana. An Implementation Plan*, (Report by B Hughes) , Rural Development Unit, Gaborone
26. Government of Botswana, 1989, *Government Responses to the Report on the Review of Inter-Ministerial Committees and Institutions for the Coordination of Rural development*, Government Printer, Gaborone
27. Government of Botswana, 1990, *National Conservation Strategy*, Government Paper No. 1 of 1990, Government Printer, Gaborone
28. Government of Botswana, 1990, *Tourism Policy*, Government Paper No. 2 of 1990, Government Printer, Gaborone
29. Government of Botswana, 1991, *National Agricultural Development Policy*, Government Printer, Gaborone
30. Government of Botswana, 1993, *Report of the National Commission on Education*, Government Printer, Gaborone

31. Government of Botswana (SIDA), 1993, *Decentralisation in Botswana: Policy Paper and action Plan*
32. Government of Botswana, 1994, *the Revised National Policy on Education*, Government Printer, Gaborone
33. Government of Botswana, 1997, *Long-Term Vision for Botswana: Towards Prosperity for All, Presidential Task Group for a Long Term Vision for Botswana*, Government Printer, Gaborone
34. Government of Botswana, 1998, *Botswana National Settlement Policy*, Government Paper No 2 of 1998
35. Government of Botswana, 1998, *National Settlement Policy*, Government Printer, Gaborone
36. Government of Botswana, 2001, *Botswana National Ecotourism Strategy: Record of Stakeholder Consultations*.
37. Government of Botswana, 2001, *Revised Monuments and Relics Act*, 2001, Government Printer, Gaborone
38. Government of Botswana, 2002, *Botswana Land Policy-Issues Report*, Government Printer, Gaborone
39. Government of Botswana, 2002, *Botswana National Ecotourism Strategy: Final Report*.
40. Government of Botswana, 2002, *Revised National Policy on Destitute Persons*, MLG Social Welfare Division, Gaborone, Botswana
41. Gulbrandson, O, Karlsen, M, Lexow, J, (1986), *Remote Area Development Programme*, Gaborone Government Printer
42. Hardbattle, J *The 'Show the Land' Pilot Project in Lane, P, Hermans, J and Molebatsi, C (eds) (2001) Proceedings from the Basarwa Research Workshop 24-25th August 1995 pp 31-32*
43. Hitchcock, R (1988), *Monitoring, Research and Development in the Remote Areas of Botswana*, Report to the MLGL&H and the Ministry of Development Cooperation, Norway
44. Hitchcock, R and Holm, J. (19?) *Political Development Among the Basarwa of Botswana* CS Quarterly 9(3)
45. Hitchcock, R and Masilo, R (1995), *Remote Area dweller Special Game Licence Utilisation, and Alternative Management Strategies in Botswana*, A Report to the Department of wildlife and National Parks and the Natural Resources Management Project
46. Inter-Ministerial Drought Committee (IMDC), Early Warning Technical Committee (EWDC), *Drought and Household Food Security Outlook for the Year 2002*, February 2002.

47. Inter-Ministerial Drought Committee (IMDC), Early Warning Technical Committee (EWDC), *Drought and Household Food Security Outlook for the Year 2003*, February 2003.
48. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (2003). *Indigenous People and Sustainable Development*. (Discussion Paper, February 2003).
49. Jensen R (1996) *Social Issues in Spatial Economics* in *Journal of Social Economics*.
50. Jones, B.T.B. (2002), *Chobe Enclave, Botswana. Lessons Learnt from a CBNRM Project 1993-2002*. (CBNRM Support programme Occasional Paper No. 7) (IUCN - The World Conservation Union/SNV CBNRM Support Programme).
51. Kann, U.Mbere, N. Hitchcock, R. (1990), *Let Them Talk: A Review of the Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme*, Ministry of Local Government Lands and Housing and Norwegian Agency for International Development
52. Kiema, K (2001), *The Impact of Tswana Education to RADs Students under hostile cultural, Social Political and Linguistic Environment : My experience Through the System*, (Unpublished paper presented at the Tromso Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples
53. Koketso G. (2000) *The Remote Area Development Programme of the Ministry of Local Government in Education for Remote Area dwellers in Botswana: Problems and Perspectives* edited by the research and development Unit of the UB and the Regional san Education project of the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA)
54. Le Roux (2000) *Torn Apart: San Children as Change Agents in a Process of Acculturation in Education for Remote Area dwellers in Botswana: Problems and Perspectives* edited by the research and development Unit of the UB and the Regional san Education project of the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA)
55. Maendeleo (Botswana), *Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme: A monitoring Programme for the Settlements at Thankane, Kokotsha, Inalegolo, Monong, Ngwatlhe and Groot Laagte*, Gaborone
56. Mapitse, O.T. (1993) *Legal Status, Land, Access to Development and Natural Resources in Proceedings of the Regional Conference on Development programmes For Africa's San/Basarwa Populations*. Common Access to Development , 11-13th September 1993 Gaborone pp 56-57
57. Masilo-Rakgoasi, R 2003, *An Assessment of the Community-Based Natural Resource Management Approach and Its Impact on the Basarwa: A case Study of Xai Xai and Gudigwa Communities*, An Unpublished Dissertation in partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies

58. Mazonde, I (ed) 2002, *Minorities in the Millennium: Perspectives from Botswana*, Lentswe la Lesedi, Gaborone
59. Mazonde, I 'The San in Botswana and the Issue of Subjectivities- National Disintegration or Cultural diversity? in Mazonde, I (ed) 2002 *Minorities in the Millennium: Perspectives from Botswana* Lentswe la Lesedi, Gaborone pp 57-71
60. Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, (various years) *National Development Plan 5, 6, 7, 8*, Government Printer, Gaborone
61. Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1997, *Community Based Strategy for Rural Development*, Government Printer, Gaborone
62. Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2002, *Revised National Policy for Rural Development*, Government Printer, Gaborone
63. Ministry of Local Government and Lands, (1989), *Guidelines for the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF) Under the LG 32 Remote Area Development Programme.*
64. Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1989, *Guidelines for the Economic Promotion Fund under the LG 32 Remote Area Development Programme*, Government Printer, and Gaborone
65. MLG (2002), Terms of Reference for the Review of the Remote area Development Programme, (September 2002).
66. Moeletsi, B (1993) *The San of Botswana: Legal Status, Access to Land, Development and Natural Resources in Proceedings of the Regional Conference on Development programmes For Africa's San/Basarwa Populations.* Common Access to Development , 11-13th September 1993 Gaborone pp 48-55
67. Moeletsi, B and Ng'ong'ola, C (1996) 'The Legal Framework for the Assessment of Land rights for Basarwa and other Marginalised Ethnic Groups in Botswana.' Annex 5 to CMI, 1996
68. Moepeng P. T. (1994) *Can relief Interventions be Targeted: the case of Supplementary Feeding in Botswana* in SC 29 Food Security in Africa: Policy, Planning and Interventions – IDS, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK
69. Moepeng P.T. (1996) *Common Property Resources in Botswana: Can they provide income sources to the rural poor?* A Special Project: Master of Agricultural Economics, University of Queensland, Brisbane. Australia.
70. Moepeng P.T. (1997) *Land/Labour Relations in Arid and Semi-Arid Regions: The case of Botswana.* A Research Project: Master of Agricultural Economics, University of Queensland, Brisbane. Australia.
71. Molebatsi, C. (forthcoming) *The Remote Rea Development Programme and the integration of Basarwa into Mainstream Botswana Society: A case Study of Mabesekwa and Manxotae'* In Pula Journal Special Issue (in Press)

72. Ndozi, C (1991), *The Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme A Socio Economic, Population, and Land Use Survey for Ncojane Ranches: Ghanzi District*, Applied Research Unit, Gaborone
73. Ndozi, C. and Toteng, N (1989), *A Socio Economic Survey of Selected Central District Remote Area Settlements: Kedia, Khwee, MmaKgama and Mmiya*, Applied Research Unit, Gaborone
74. Programmes for Africa, *RADs/Basarwa Population Common Access to Development*
75. Rural Development Council (RDC), 1999, *Report on Resolution (1.3)- Review of the Terms of Reference of the RDC*
76. Saugestad, S (2001) *The Inconvenient Indigenous*, Nordiska African Institut
77. Temane B, KC Sharma and B Dintwa, 1988, *Report on the Review of Inter-Ministerial Committees and institutions for the Coordination of Rural Development*
78. Toteng, N. (1991), *The Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme A Socio Economic, Population, and Land Use Survey for Kweneng District and Central Kalahari Game Reserve*, Applied Research Unit, Gaborone
79. Vision 2016 (1997), *Report of Consultations in Remote and Small Settlement Areas*, BIDPA, Gaborone.

13 Members of the Review Team

A. Consultancy Team

Team Leader

Dr. R. A. Greener BIDPA

Team Members

Dr. J.M. Kaunda BIDPA
 Dr. C. Molebatsi University of Botswana
 Mr. P. Moepeng BIDPA
 Ms. K. Masetlhe BIDPA
 Ms. M. Sengwaketse BIDPA
 Mr. G. Kaboyakgosi BIDPA
 Mr. L. Batsetswe BIDPA

Field Consultation Team

Ms. K. Gouwe
 Mr. T. Jensen
 Mr. K. Seeletso
 Mr. C. Adjah
 Mr. M. Pillar

B. Reference Group

Mr. Eric Molale Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government,
 Chairperson
 Mr. T.Y. Raphaka Coordinator of the Remote Area Development
 Programme, Ministry of Local Government
 (Secretariat)
 Mr. C.T. Mothakaja Senior Development Officer, Remote Area
 development Programme, Ministry of Local
 Government (Secretariat)
 Mr. R. Segodi Director, Department of Town and Regional Planning,
 Ministry of Lands
 Ms. T. Ndzinge Director, Department of Tourism, Ministry of
 Environment, Wildlife and Tourism Parks
 Mr. L.K. Theophilus Deputy Director, Department of Wildlife and National
 Parks, Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism
 Parks

Mr. W.S. Ongadile	District Commissioner, Kgatleng District
Mr. B. Hobona	District Commissioner, Ngamiland District
Mr. I. Phatshwane	Council Secretary, Kweneng District
Ms. D. Valela	Council Secretary, Kgalagadi District
Mr. N. Macala	Commissioner of Cooperatives, Ministry of Agriculture
Ms. N. Gaetsewe	Chief Economist, Rural Development Coordinating Division, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning
Ms. S.M. George	Chief Lands Officer, Department of Lands, Ministry of Lands
Mr. R.M. Kwerepe	Chief Forestry and Range Ecology Officer, Ministry of Agriculture
Mr. B.C. Malatsi	Land Board Secretary, Ghanzi
Mr. B.R. Mogome	Land Board Secretary, Ngwaketse
Ms. H. Nthibe	Principal Research Officer, Ministry of Local Government
Mr. S.K. Ramahobo	Principal Education Officer, Dept of Primary Education, Ministry of Education
Mr. O.B. Maruapula	Manager, Environmental Heritage Foundation
Mr. R.S. Clark	General Manager, Permaculture
Mr. D.S. Lecholo	Ag. Executive Secretary, Botswana Community Based Organisations Network (BOCONET)

14 List of Officials Consulted during the Review

BOBIRWA SUB-DISTRICT

Ms. G Seitshiro - DO
Ms. Moatshe - ACS
Mr. Molefe - RADO
Mr. Mokobi - DAHP
Mr. Malope - DWNP
Ms. Selofetse - ADOD
Ms. Muzila - Physical Planner

BOTETI SUB-DISTRICT

Mr. Motlogelwa - Physical Planner
Mr. Israel - Economic Planner
Ms. Gulubane - RADO
Land Technical Office Representative.

TSHOKWE

Mpho Tebalo - SRADA
Oathotse Seosupeng - Kgosana of Phalaetona Ward
Olefile Oagile - VDC Member and Chairperson Home based Care
Mrs. Mpona - Primary School head teacher
Kelebogile (Male) Moitsisi (Female) - Tshokwe Youth representatives

SEROWE PALAPYE SUB-DISTRICT

MALATSWAI

Ms B. Gaotilwe – Senior Remote Area Development Officer
Ms D. Jaba - Remote Area Development Officer
Kgosi Ketsieditse Bosigo
Mr. Security Tshekoeng - VDC member
Tumediso Tumelo - VDC Treasure

NORTH WEST DISTRICT COUNCIL

Ms. Morris - Principal Remote Area Dwellers Officer
Ms. Seretse - Principal Social and Community Development Officer
Assistant Council Secretary
Ms Hobona - DC. North West District
Mr. U.M. Maswibilili - D.O. (L) North West District
Ms. Makgasa - D.O (L) Okavango District
Ms. S. Nkwane - D.O. (D) Okavango
M.O. Modise - WOI Dept. of Wildlife
J. Matsheng - Regional Tourism Officer
R. Maphakwane - Maun Technical College
A.P. Koswane - Regional Agricultural Officer
K. Mathefeni - District Agricultural Officer

L. Leloba - Industrial Officer II
S. Mooketsi - Regional Education Office (Senior Education Office)
For Conservation International:
I. L. Magole -Country Director
M.G. Rantsudu - Community Conservation Officer

TAWANA LAND BOARD

Rampha-Assistant Board Secretary
Mr. Mokibelo-Senior Technical Officer

NEW XADE

Joel Moragoshele - APO
New Xade Councillor
Roy Sesana - FPK
Kgosi Beslag

CKGR

Kgosi Molaodi Moipolai of Xere
Moruakgomo Zaedo - Settlement Elder from Molapo in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.
Xere Youths - Goitshephamang 16yrs (F), Kagisano 14yrs (F).

GHANZI DISTRICT

Mr N. Macheke - DC
Mr D.C Otumile - DOL
Mr B.C. Malatsi - LBS
Mr N. Malibala - Deputy LBS
Mr P.T Joao - Dept. of Water Affairs
Mr R.M Ipotseng- CS
Ms I. Serole - Principal RADO
Ms K.P Moilwa - Chief S&CD Officer
Mr Mosarwa - CPO
Ms K. Katjipaha - Water Dept
Mr K. Matsapa - Land Board Technical Officer
Mr D. Makwati - Permaculture
Mr R. Sesana- FPK
Mr M. Ngakaeaja - WIMSA
Ms G. Thupe - BOKAMOSO Pre-school Project/Kuru
Ms B. Thamae- Ghanzi Craft
M. Katongo - TCM
Jonas, Tumelo - Wildlife Officer
Ms L. Tumelo - Community Extension Outreach/CBNRM
Mr G. Seitshiro - IFS Officer

KGALAGADI DISTRICT/HUKUNTSI SUB-DISTRICT

Mr N.M. Dibe - DO
Mr C.K. Kahuku - Animal Health and Production
Mr B. Moagele - DWNP
Mr M. Madongo - DWNP
Mr G. Tautona - CP &F
Mr K.N Ramantsima - AH&Prod
Ms R. Keetsaletswe - IFS
Ms S.I. Tshipinare - Primary Education
Mr G.B. Kenosi - DOL
Ms G. Sebopelo - Food Relief Services
Mr A.K. Molatole - ACS
Ms M. Manama - Senior RADO
Mr S. Koolebetse - T.O.W/Water
Mr C.L. Ramontshonyana- PWE/Water
Mr K.R. Sekisang - Principal RADO
Mr S.L. Kojane- DCS
Mr M.N. Mutauiwa - Acting Senior Economic Planner
Ms A.B. Manthe - CDO
Mr Sento - Land Board Committee Secretary

LETLHAKANE SUB-DISTRICT

Mr. Maano-Assistant Council Secretary
Ms Chere - Wildlife Officer
A representative of Letlhakane Senior Secondary School
Mr. Mabe - Livestock Officer

CENTRAL DISTRICT COUNCIL

Mr. M. Letina - DC
Mr. M. Ramashaba - District Officer Development
Mrs S. Makgosa - District Officer Lands
Mr. Molatlhegi - Remote Area Development Officer
Mr. M. Phiri - Land Board Secretary
Mr. N. Nagafela - Wildlife Coordinator
Mr. Bantsi - Wildlife Officer
Dr. Segale - Principal Veterinary Officer
Ms N. Sesupo - Crop Production and Forestry Officer

NGO CONSULTATIVE WORKSHOP ATTENDANCE LIST

Mr Ernest Tshamekang - BOCOBONET
V. S Chimela. World view
Mr Tebogo Matlhare - Thusano Lefatsheng
Charity Gaesepe - BNYC
Moses Chimbombi - BNYC
Comfort E. Ramatebele - BNYC

Mr Simon Thaga - CORDE
Mr Tshepo Kobue - CORDE
Mr David Inger - Veldt products
Maureen Akena - Ditshwanelo
Mr R Clarke - Permaculture
Alice Mogwe - Ditshwanelo

CENTRAL LEVEL

- Honourable B. Mokgothu, Member of Parliament, Kweneng West
 - Mrs T. Ndzinge, Director of Tourism, Department of Tourism
 - Mr. W. Tema, Deputy Director, Department of Tourism
 - Nonfo Mathibedi, Curator, Archaeology Division, National Museum
- Wednesday 9th April 2003

Members of the Rural Development Coordinating Division

- Mr. N.J. Manamela Coordinator of Rural Development
- Mrs. B.M. Malala Deputy Coordinator of Rural Development
- Mrs. N. Gaetsewe Chief Economist (Rural)
- Mrs.C. Koketso Chief Food Policy Coordinator
- Mr. N. Koontse Principal Rural Extension Coordinator