

merchants in their areas, there are certainly military, civilians, religious sects and pseudo-ecological groups spread over their territory. And this is because the government and, above all, the native proprietors accept it.

In spite of all these, we are witnessing today an explosion of territorial, cultural, socio-economic and political claims, which are expressed in a more and more threatening way, sometimes even through violence.

Although there is no chance these demands can be satisfied by our society the way it is organised, we think it is important that the concerned parties and the Bolivian nation work out a special law where the ethnic minorities' rights are defined clearly, both as individual rights and rights as specific nations. They must also be guaranteed inviolable rights to their territories and their socio-economic development, and respect for their cultural traditions.

With regard for the right to life and security, the disregard these people have suffered must be made the object of parliamentary and trade union investigations in order to establish who is responsible. Furthermore, with regard to the right to health, there must be permanent medical care set up with strict control for the sale of medicines (like antibiotics), which are sold without restrictions in indigenous territories. And also, with regard to freedom of worship, missionary work should be forbidden in all the areas where it takes the form of ideological aggression.

And finally, the Bolivian Nation should demand that the entire immigration project be cancelled and demand a solution to our internal problems.

To proceed in this way we will be more in pace with our country where the ideal of State-Nation has never been realised, and where a "Pluralistic Bolivia" is emerging, which many people find difficult to assume.

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## Botswana:

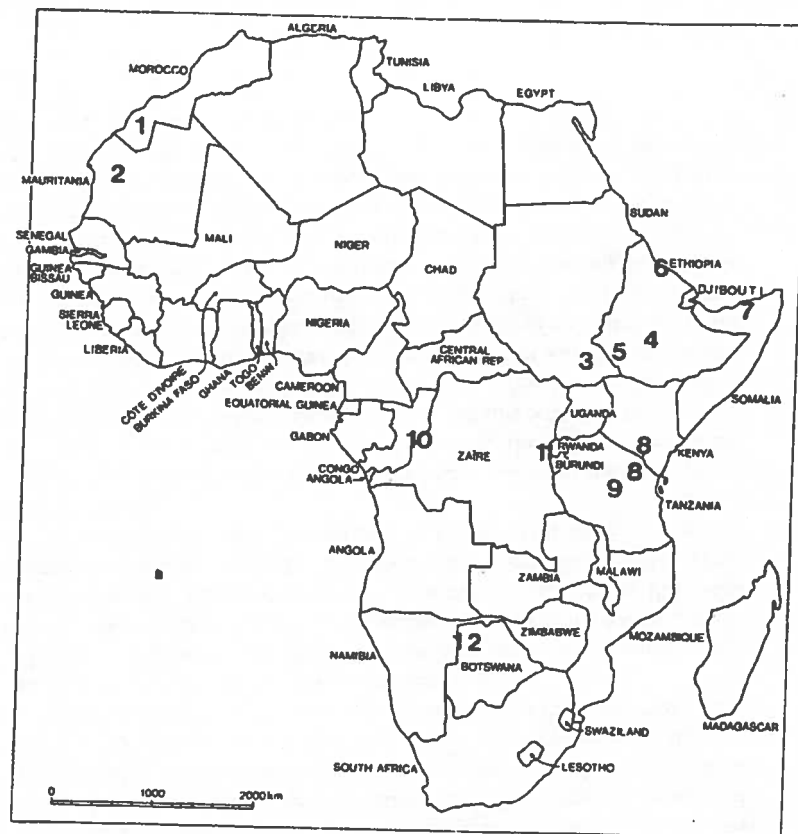
### Indigenous peoples and wildlife utilisation schemes

By Robert K. Hitchcock

The Republic of Botswana in Southern Africa is noted for its diverse and abundant wildlife resources and for the fact that it has a fairly substantial number of people who are heavily dependent upon these resources for their livelihoods. Over the past few decades Botswana has come to be recognised for its strong emphasis on conservation, as indicated by the significant percentage of land which has been set aside as parks and reserves. In 1986 the Botswana Government published a White Paper which announced a new Wildlife Conservation Policy, part of which was devoted to future plans regarding wildlife management, consumptive utilisation, and the establishment of a new land category known as Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs). In this section we will review past and present efforts at wildlife utilisation as they affect indigenous peoples in Botswana.

Approximately 80 per cent of Botswana's population is rural. Many of these people utilise wild plants and animals for subsistence and income generation purposes. This is particularly true for the San (Basarwa, Bushmen) and Bakgalagadi who occupy the Kalahari Desert portions of the country. In some areas, up to half the diet is derived from wild foods, though the percentage fluctuates, depending on environmental, economic, and political conditions. Recent estimates indicate that there are 160 species of mammals, 157 reptiles, 38 amphibians, and over 500 different birds in the country. Data on subsistence ecology reveal that the !Kung San exploit 29 species of mammals while the Tyua of the northeastern Kalahari utilise 52 species. Groups in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (for example, the G/wi and G//ana) utilise as many as 33 species of mammals. Reptiles, amphibians and insects are also exploited by remote area populations.

In the past, indigenous people's hunting activities were restricted by game laws. As far back as the 19th century Tswana chiefs imposed regulations which were designed to prevent people from utilising what was termed "royal game" (e.g. elephant and giraffe). Under the Fauna Conservation Proclamation of 1961, traditional foragers were to be allowed the right to continue to hunt without fear of penalty. In practice, however, game scouts and police sometimes arrested people who hunted without licenses even if they were members of hunting and gathering communities. This situation led to difficulties for indigenous peoples, who felt that they were "being deprived of their hunting rights", as they put it.



*Map of the African continent showing the Republic of Botswana at its southern tip.*

In the 1970s there began to be less of an emphasis on preservation of wildlife and more concern with wildlife utilisation. While there has been much discussion in Botswana about promoting better management and increased utilisation of game resources, relatively few efforts have been made to enhance wildlife utilisation and promote the incomes of rural people as they related to wildlife. One of the problems that people in remote areas of Botswana face is that there are major marketing constraints which affect the potential for the commercialisation of hunting. In most cases, people who do sell meat or game skins do so locally. There are restrictions on the taking of wildlife products across international borders (e.g. in to South Africa). When foot-and-mouth disease was found in Botswana in October

1977, the movement of animal products from one veterinary control zone to another was stopped completely. If wildlife utilisation is to be enhanced, efforts will need to be made to ensure transport and marketing opportunities and veterinary approvals for rural people.

Efforts were made in 1979 to revise the hunting regulations for Botswana. Because of efforts of wildlife biologists, anthropologists, government officers in the Remote Area Development Programme, and, significantly, rural people themselves, it was decided to create a "Special License" for subsistence hunters. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks issues these special licenses to people who qualify on the basis of their membership of communities which are largely dependent upon foraging for their subsistence and income. People, who in the past were arrested for violating hunting laws theoretically, would now have protection if they had one of these licenses in their possession at the time they were checked by a game scout or policeman.

The late 1970s and early 1980s saw some significant changes in faunal numbers and distributions in Botswana. Because of droughts in 1979 and 1982-1987, the numbers of animals declined precipitously. It became increasingly difficult for people to obtain animals, particularly if they lived in areas with large numbers of people. A whole series of technological and strategic changes occurred in hunting, with an increase in the use of horses, dogs, and, importantly, guns. It should be stressed, however, that these hunting methods were by no means new; in many areas they had been used for generations.

Because of some of the problems facing rural peoples in Botswana, the Remote Area Development Programme and various NGOs began to devote greater attention to promoting wildlife utilisation efforts. In one case, a wildlife harvesting scheme was initiated in the western part of Kweneng District as part of the Kalahari Settlements Project (KSP). Department of Wildlife personnel along with people from the Kweneng Rural Development Association (part of what is known as the Brigades in Botswana) were involved in providing advice and training for local hunters in shooting and game processing. Some of the game products were sold in Molepolole, the district capital. The scheme lasted for a relatively short time and currently there are no further wildlife-related efforts in this area.

In 1978 a gemsbok domestication scheme was recommended for implementation in the Kgalagadi District in southwestern Botswana. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks and the Remote Area Development Programme in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands discussed this scheme for several years. A much-revised wildlife scheme was finally established in the early 1980s in the northeastern Kweneng District in what used to be part of the Lephepe Sandveld Pasture Research Station. The scheme has a number of hartebeest and eland which are contained

within a fenced area in which water is available. As yet, few animals have been cropped, and remote area dwellers have not been part of the scheme, which is managed by personnel from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks.

The only scheme which is currently in operation in Botswana which has direct benefits for rural poor people is that at Kedia in the western part of Central District. Kedia is a settlement of over 800 people which was established in the late 1970s by the Remote Area Development Programme and the Central District Council. The settlement has a school, a health post, staff housing and storerooms, some of which were constructed as part of the labour-based drought relief projects which have been implemented in rural Botswana during the drought period of the 1980s. A game harvesting project was initiated as part of the remote area development efforts at Kedia in mid-1987 after lengthy planning and discussions both at the national and district level.

The game harvesting scheme has several components: 1) the establishment of a project management position with an office and transport made available, 2) training of hunters, 3) the issuing of special hunting licenses by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks to local hunters and 4) storage, processing and marketing of wildlife products. A storehouse was built at Kedia for purposes of keeping game skins. The project is supported financially under a small village selfhelp effort known as LG 17, funded in part by the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD). Local people contribute 10 % of the cost of each project they undertake, and the balance is paid for by the District Council.

Thus far, approximately fifteen hunters have been able to generate income from sale of meat to people both locally as well as in the towns of Orapa and Letlhakane. Disbursements of funds range from P45 to P21, with the average being approximately P140 (the Pula is worth about 80 American cents). It is anticipated that the number of hunters will increase over the life of the project.

While the Kedia Game Harvesting Scheme has been useful in terms of providing a number of families with income, there have been some difficulties. An initial problem facing Kedia residents was that the Department of Wildlife and National Parks issued only a few licenses to hunters in the area. A second problem was that the numbers of animals in the area was extremely low. Local people attributed the dearth of wildlife both to the recent drought and to the large numbers of cattle which compete for grazing in the area, as well as to the significant amounts of hunting being done there by local cattle owners as well as non-local safari companies. This problem will be exacerbated if the planned movement of people out of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve goes ahead, since there are at least 200 people at Molapo in the northeastern corner of the reserve who could potentially be placed in the area close to Kedia.

The Project Manager has noted that the area which people are allowed to hunt in is too small to permit people to obtain sufficient numbers of animals for income generation purposes. Local people note that the game is extremely shy due to the high hunting pressure and that as a result traditional weaponry (bows and arrows and spears) is not capable of procuring game. Another problem according to local informants, is that some members of the community who are not part of the scheme are engaging in hunting, and that as a result, competition for produce and marketing opportunities is significant. But perhaps the most important problem, according to local hunters is that there are too few animals left in the area to make hunting a profitable exercise.

The Kedia Game Harvesting Scheme is a useful case to examine for those people who argue for enhanced wildlife utilisation for indigenous peoples. It is clear that more attention will have to be paid to the placement of such schemes. Careful surveys will have to be done of the wildlife resource to ensure that there will be sufficient numbers of animals to allow an expanded offtake. Another area of concern has to do with participation of local people in decision-making, concerning project implementation and management. Local hunters say that they do not have a large-enough role in the administration of the project. As a result, they feel that they should have the right to assess the direction the project is taking, and make recommendations as to changes.

An important area of local concern relates to training, which they feel should be expanded if wildlife management and utilisation efforts are to function properly. It is clear that greater participation of local people in development schemes relating to wildlife would facilitate the chances for positive impacts on the livelihoods of rural poor people.