

### 3. SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, QUALITY OF LIFE AND DEVELOPMENT AMONG SAN POPULATIONS IN BOTSWANA

Robert K. Hitchcock (USA)

#### Introduction

The United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank maintain that one of the most important challenges facing the world today is the alleviation of poverty (UNDP 1997; World Bank 1990, 1997). While many countries have made remarkable social and economic progress over the past 50 years, some countries have seen poverty increase and, along with it, a decline in standards of living. Poverty and hunger are widespread and getting worse in some parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Central America. Millions of people are having to contend with low incomes, poor nutrition and health conditions, limited access to clean water, inadequate housing and physical insecurity.

On March 17, 1996, there were meetings in which the United Nations, the World Bank and other intergovernmental organizations took part where it was decided to establish a large-scale fund (of US\$ 1.5 billion) for purposes of assisting Africa. Currently Africa has all but two of the world's poorest countries, with some 220 million people in absolute poverty (World Bank 1997). A number of African countries are debt-ridden and the combined total of debt for Africa as a whole is some US \$313 billion. The cost of imports to Africa is two and a half times export earnings and there is a significant trade imbalance between Africa and the developing world (International Fund For Agricultural Development 1993; World Bank 1997). Efforts are being made to promote new kinds of development strategies in Africa and other parts of the developing world, including micro-lending programmes and participatory community-oriented development (Cornea 1991; Tender 1997).

Among the difficulties facing people residing in remote areas of Africa are that they are long distances from markets, they have relatively limited access to social services and they generally have to pay higher prices than is the case for people living in more densely settled areas. Employment opportunities tend to be more limited and the wages paid to people for their work are generally lower than is the case in more urbanized areas.

It is naive to believe that economic growth automatically results in a trickle-down of benefits to the poor. In fact there is growing evidence that countries with smaller disparities between the poor and wealthier social strata, have the best potential for sustainable economic progress (United Nations Development Programme 1997). As the gap between mean household income and the poverty line is small in countries such as Botswana, a large number of households are likely to be affected by recession and economic adjustment. Botswana has severe income skewing, (as indicated by the Gini coefficient), indicating disparity between various strata of society (see Central Statistics Office 1976; Salkin *et al* 1997). Of further concern within remote areas is the large number of female-headed households, high levels of migration and the limited potential for sustainable agriculture. High levels of communicable disease, substance abuse and violence are inextricably linked with poverty. Local health services in remote areas often face severe budgetary constraints and have limited facilities to deal with the consequences of endemic poverty. This paper examines poverty, socioeconomic status and the quality of life among remote area populations in Botswana in southern

Africa. In this paper I examine case material from remote area settlements in the Kgalagadi District of Botswana in order to illustrate some of the constraints that local people face in terms of raising their socioeconomic statuses and ensuring a higher quality of life for themselves and their descendants.

### **The Socioeconomic Situation in Remote Areas of Botswana**

An examination of the socioeconomic situation in the Republic of Botswana reveals that there are several groups who have significant numbers of people living at or below the Poverty Datum Line (PDL). This figure is equivalent to the "minimum income needed for a basic standard of living" and is used by some economists as a means of determining household socioeconomic status relative to other households. These groups include freehold farm workers, landless labourers, female headed households and ethnic minorities (see Gulbrandsen, Karlsen and Lexow 1985; Kann, Hitchcock and Mbere 1990; Chr. Michelsen Institute 1996; Nteta and Hermans 1997).

A fairly substantial number of the households in remote areas of Botswana lack some or all of the necessary means of production. Some households have too little land to provide for their needs, others lack livestock which are crucial to making up a plowing team and which provide at least a certain amount of subsistence and, in some cases, income. Still other households do not have sufficient cash to pay for inputs such as seeds and fertilizers. The lack of male labour is also an important variable in some of the households lowest on the income scale (Chernichovsky, Lucas and Mueller 1985).

Freehold farm workers and cattle post labourers in Botswana tend to have relatively low incomes, uncertain access to land, small numbers of domestic stock, low levels of literacy and education, low to moderate health standards

and limited access to development assistance (Childers 1976; Hitchcock 1978). Many of these people are at least partially and sometimes totally dependent on livestock owners for their subsistence and income. Some cattle post households supplement their income through foraging, doing temporary work in lands areas or villages and selling handicrafts, meat, thatching grass and firewood (Hitchcock 1978). While the average wages paid to farm and cattle post workers have increased somewhat, they generally have not kept pace with inflation. The average monthly wage in 1998 paid to freehold and TGLP farm workers is below that which would be required to ensure that individuals were making enough to support themselves and their families. The result is that a fairly sizeable proportion of the freehold farm and cattle post population is having to diversify their activities so as to supplement their incomes.

### **Assisting Remote Area Populations in Botswana**

The sector of the population that has been identified as having the lowest standards of living and the poorest quality of life in Botswana is that of the indigenous minorities (Kahn, Hitchcock and Mere 1990; Hitchcock and Holm 1993). San in Botswana tend to have relatively low incomes, limited access to employment opportunities, uncertain access to land, low levels of literacy and education, low to moderate nutritional and health standards, moderate to high infant mortality rates and limited access to development assistance (Gulbrandsen, Karlsen and Lexow 1985).

The government of Botswana has attempted to assist San and other Remote Area Dwellers in part by establishing settlements in the rural areas where water, social services (such as schools and health posts) and extension assistance are provided (Wily 1982; Hitchcock and Holm 1993). The people in the settlements are supported by the district councils' assistance from Remote Area Development Officers (RADOs) who work for the various district councils in the Remote Area Development Programme. Assistance is

also provided to Remote Area Dwellers and others who have specific needs (e.g. pregnant and lactating mothers, individuals designated as destitutes, children under five) in the form of food aid which is channelled through the Food Resources Department (FRD) of the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing.

A primary strategy for assisting Remote Area Dwellers was to establish settlement schemes. Several reasons have been given by government officials for the setting up of settlement schemes for remote area populations in Botswana. First of all, according to some government planners, it is easier to provide water and social services to people if they are concentrated in limited areas. Secondly, settlements are viewed as a means of encouraging people to settle down and to integrate themselves into the national economy and society of the country. A third benefit of settlement schemes is that they provide a focal point for targeted development assistance. An additional benefit of such a strategy, from the perspective of livestock owners, is that it can serve to reduce the numbers of people who reside on farms, ranches or cattle posts but who are unemployed. This was seen in Ghanzi District where the idea of settlements was greeted by some of the freehold farmers as a welcome strategy, since it provided alternative places for people to reside. The people residing in these settlements have a number of features in common, although it must be stressed that there are also significant differences among them. A significant proportion of the people in the settlements live below the Poverty Datum Line; the degree of impoverishment of settlement residents is on the increase in spite of efforts to enhance their socioeconomic statuses; some settlement residents obtained at least some of their food through government drought relief and labour-based development programmes. In the mid-1980s it was estimated that over 90% of the Remote Area Dweller population of Botswana was receiving food from the government (Gulbrandsen, Karlsen and

Lexow 1985). The drought-relief programmes were relatively successful in preventing starvation and reducing stress, although they did not address as effectively as they might the problems of poverty in rural Botswana.

The government relief programmes sometimes led to a certain amount of dependency on the part of rural people on food and jobs from the government. For example it was noted by some government officials that some members of rural households invested less energy in their own activities such as agriculture when they had alternative sources of food and money available to them. From the local people's perspective, problems with these programmes were that they did not always get the food and work opportunities that they were promised or the assistance was late. Questions were sometimes raised about the criteria used for determining who should receive the benefits of these programmes. Some RADs felt that they should qualify as destitutes and thus receive additional rations. One way that the government got around this problem was to declare all remote areas in the western part of the country as drought-afflicted areas, thus making them eligible for Drought Relief Programme (DRP) assistance.

A major problem facing San and other Remote Area Dwellers in Botswana is that local authorities, including District Councils and Land Boards, have taken the position that these settlements are open to anyone in spite of the fact that they were developed with support from the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) and various international donors (e.g. Swedish SIDA and Norway's NORAD). The argument offered by Botswana government officials is that under the Constitution, citizens of Botswana have the right to live anywhere they choose. In practice, what this has meant is that a fairly sizeable number of non-Remote Area Dwellers have moved into RAD settlements. In many cases these individuals have taken over the water points and have turned the domestic water sources into

livestock watering points. As some settlement residents have pointed out, the settlements have become the equivalent of cattle posts where larger stock owners get free water paid for out of donor funds or Domestic Development Funds (DDF). Their animals not only get access to grazing but also, in some cases, to veterinary and agricultural extension assistance. One of the advantages of having their cattle in the settlements, according to some of the people who were interviewed in 1995, 1997 and 1998, is that they can employ local herders fairly cheaply.

The tenure rights of Remote Area Dwellers in the various settlements remain uncertain. While individuals have been allocated residential rights and rights to arable land (fields) by Land Boards and Sub-Land Boards, the rights over water and grazing in the RAD settlements remain in the hands of the government. Remote Area Dwellers in the settlements do not have the right to control who enters the settlements. As a result, many RAD settlements have seen outsiders come in only to establish bottle stores and small general dealerships which charge high prices to people. A major concern of settlement residents is that these outsiders will later claim residency status if the settlements are able to get support for establishing community-based natural resource management projects. Efforts to get the immigrants and their livestock to leave have generally been unsuccessful, in part because the people to whom local residents must appeal (those on the Land Boards and District Councils) are sometimes the ones who have moved into the settlements to take advantage of the grazing, water and labour available there.

In some areas of the country Remote Area Dwellers have left the settlements partly, they say, because of the high levels of social conflict there and because they feel that they do not have access to resources and employment opportunities. Some of them noted that they were not able to take part easily in *kgotla* (local council) meetings and that

they have little, if any, opportunity to play an active role in local institutions such as Village Development Committees (VDCs). For example in the Kedia area of western Central District, just to the east of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve it was noted that there were as many as 600 people who have left local cattle posts and the Kedia settlement in 1994-95 (van der Maas et al 1995).

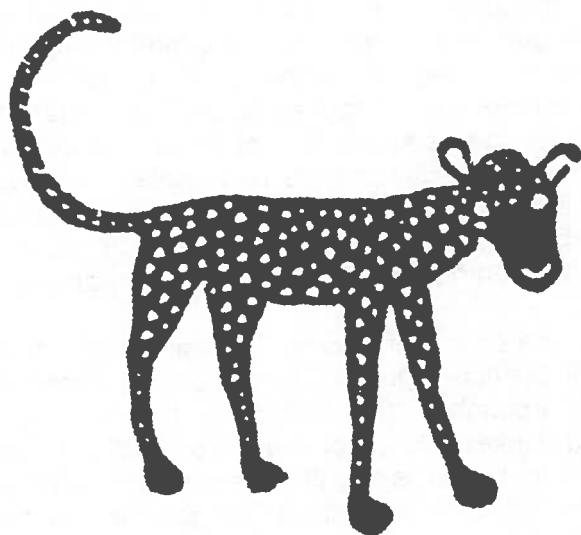


*Braam Leroux (1)*

It is likely that many of these people went back to the bush or to cattle posts and made a living through a combination of foraging, food production and small-scale wage labour. At least some of them went to towns such as Rakops orapa, Letlhakane, Serowe and Francistown. In these areas, they work in a variety of different situations both in the formal and informal sectors.

Remote Area Development Programme personnel and other people working in rural Botswana realize that efforts will have to be made very quickly to provide the neediest members of remote area communities with livelihood supports. These supports could come in the form of cash income obtained as part of a flow of benefits from community-based natural resource management projects (CBNRMPs). Such benefits include household-level or individual payments (e.g. from safari hunting or ecotourism activities), sales of handicrafts and employment.

A major concern of the people residing in other remote areas in Botswana is whether or not they will be able to continue to hunt using Special Game Licenses, the licenses given to subsistence hunters under current Botswana fauna conservation legislation. In 1996 the Regional Wildlife Officer in North West District decided not to give out any Special Game Licenses to people in remote areas. The same was true in 1997 and 1998. The problem with this decision is that people in remote areas of Ngamiland could experience potentially severe nutritional and socioeconomic difficulties.



## Overcoming the Problems of Destitutes and Subsistence Producers

People who are classified as destitutes usually have few or no means of support. This was true of virtually all of the people interviewed in the communities of Ukhwi in western Kgalagadi District and Phuduhudu and /Xai/Xai in Ngamiland in September-October 1995 who were receiving destitute support. Most of these individuals were elderly and had little in the way of access to sources of protein (Hitchcock and Masilo 1995). Destitutes are defined as those people without assets, as "people who are physically or mentally incapable of working" or as people "who are rendered helpless due to a natural disaster or temporary hardship" (Republic of Botswana 1980). Destitutes are given a P30 coupon monthly which they can redeem in a local shop. The coupon can be used for a basket of goods including maize and/or sorghum meal, flour, sugar, tea, salt, soap, oil and matches. The number of people defined as destitutes doubled in the 1984-88 period because of the drought.

One of the changes that has occurred in the remote areas of Botswana is that some members of the population have dropped below subsistence level and thus are having to depend on the government in order to survive. A criterion for a subsistence producer in Botswana is whether or not the person obtains or produces sufficient goods to meet basic domestic needs. During the drought some Remote Area Dwellers experienced nutritional stress because they could not obtain sufficient resources either through foraging or through transfers from people for whom they worked such as cattle owners. Buffering strategies used in better times, such as going to agricultural areas (the lands) to assist in harvesting and processing of crops or engaging in the sale of thatching grass, were not as available during the drought.

In order to illustrate some of the issues concerning poverty and socioeconomic status in Botswana, I examined the

case of the Kgalagadi District in south-western Botswana. I used this district as an example because nearly three quarters of the population of Kgalagadi were receiving food rations in the period between 1984 and 1988. This district has a significant percentage of people who are classified as Remote Area Dwellers: 15% or some 4,000 people (see Table 1 at the end of this article for a list of the RAD settlements in Kgalagadi District and their population sizes). The majority of the RADs are Basarwa although some, such as those in Ukhwi and Zutshwa, are Bakgalagadi. Ukhwi is located in a Wildlife Management Area (WMA) KD/1 which is 12,255 square kilometres in size. Two other Remote Area Dweller communities, Nwatile and Ncaang, are also in KD/1. Some of the residents of Ukhwi extend their hunting ranges into KD/2, a WMA containing Zutshwa which covers 7,148 square kilometres. According to the Kgalagadi District Land Use Plan two thirds of the district is devoted to wildlife-related usage, with nearly 40,000 square kilometres devoted to WMAs (see Table 2). Some of the district is made up of national park land (27,350 square kilometres). The balance of the Kgalagadi District is made up either of commercial ranches or communal land, with some areas devoted to use by Botswana Government ministries such as the Ministry of Agriculture. A small portion of land is devoted to communal service centres which generally average approximately 40,000 square kilometres in size.

The Kgalagadi District is relatively heterogeneous from a socioeconomic standpoint. A number of Kgalagadi District residents depend to a certain extent on dryland agriculture, often supplemented with income obtained through rural industries and wage employment. In this sense they are mixed producers. The Basarwa, on the other hand, tend to depend on foraging to a more significant degree than do the Bakgalagadi.

In the past few decades, the numbers of wild animals in Kgalagadi District have declined, arguably as a result of a combination of drought, habitat deterioration, overgrazing and hunting pressure. The depletion of game and wild

plants in the south-western Kalahari has made it more difficult for people at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale to continue to subsist as foragers. One response has been for them to increase their dependence on wealthier people or, alternatively, to obtain support from government through its drought relief feeding, cash-for-work and other assistance programmes.

The Kgalagadi District Council, the Remote Area Development Programme and other Botswana government departments have put in place a number of programmes aimed at assisting groups and individuals facing socioeconomic or nutritional difficulties. One of the most important of these programmes was the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs' (MLHA) Social and Community Development Department's destitute assistance effort which provides food, oil, soap and sugar worth 70 Pula to individuals who qualify under the government of Botswana's National Policy on Destitutes (Republic of Botswana 1980). Other programmes that benefited people in Kgalagadi District included: (1) food for children under the age of five years, (2) food for underweight infants and (3) assistance to pregnant and lactating mothers. In the case of Ukhwi there were three people who were receiving food through drought relief (*namola leuba*). The Ministry of Agriculture's Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP) offered cash subsidies for the establishment of fields and purchase of tools and seeds. A few people had applied for assistance through the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP) or had requested support through the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF) of the Remote Area Development Programme.

Livestock is a source of income for some people in western Kgalagadi District. Eight of the ten people interviewed at Ukhwi in September 1995 had stock of their own, mostly goats and donkeys (Hitchcock and Masilo 1995). Livestock ownership in Ukhwi is highly skewed, with cattle mainly being in the hands of Bangaloga (Bakgalagadi). Only one of the people interviewed performed livestock-related labour



for other people but he maintained that he was not paid for this work. A major complaint of some people was that livestock consume much of the water that is supposed to be for domestic usage, making it particularly difficult for people on the outskirts of the village, some of whom are the poorest ones in the community. Gathering of wild foods was done in a significant percentage of these households. As is the case with many rural Botswana settlements, employment levels are low. Only two of the people interviewed had jobs. One of them was the headman of the village and the other was working as a translator for the SNV researcher engaged in studying the Ukhwi community.

The most significant unit of production in Ukhwi is the extended family or household. There are 51 households in Ukhwi, with an average household size of 7.4 persons. Ownership of livestock and fields are usually vested in the extended family. Labour inputs in herd management and agriculture are generally provided by household members or, in some cases, by people whose services are engaged in exchange for payment in cash or in kind. Households without livestock are sometimes able to get access to stock for transport, ploughing or hunting purposes through various kinds of reciprocity relationships or through borrowing. Sharing of resources is thus a key means of survival in the western Kalahari.

Over half of the people in the Ukhwi still hunt for part of their subsistence. The main source of subsistence for most Basarwa households in Ukhwi is foraging, combined with some income from crafts. 32 Special Game Licenses were issued at Ukhwi in 1995, an increase from as few as 1 in 1990-91 and 3 in 1992-93. Six of the ten people interviewed had a current SGL. The people with SGLs did not all hunt. Two of the SGL-holders were elderly and said that they had given up hunting. One of these men was disabled and could not walk very easily. In these cases the individuals would sometimes have other people hunt for them. Hunting provided protein to most of the households either directly through household members obtaining animals or indirectly

through sharing of meat, something that was done by most of the people at Ukhwi.

There has been a reduction in the numbers of people with whom individual households share, something that is reflected in the declining size of households and in the numbers of conflicts over failure to share food that were reported to us. Not all of the people with an SGL who undertook hunts shared meat with members of other families. The number of people falling below the Poverty Datum Line in Ukhwi is on the rise in part because of this lack of access to shares of wild meat, and also because of declining numbers of wild resources due to competition with other people and with livestock. The problems facing RADs in Kgalagadi District were especially severe in the mid- to late 1980s, when sizeable numbers of people had to rely almost totally on food rations and other forms of assistance provided through Government of Botswana channels. Table 3 presents the numbers of people who were receiving rations in the period from 1983/84 through 1988/89. It can be seen that sizeable numbers of people were reliant on food rations.

Even though people received food and other forms of assistance they still suffered some difficulties. People in Monong, for example, sometimes went thirsty when the water trucks did not show up. A number of RADs in some of the settlements also experienced micronutrient deficiencies. This was in part due to the nutritional balance of the commodity package. It lacked Vitamin A and C, something that RADs were able to obtain from wild plant foods in the period prior to the drought.

In Ukhwi Special Game Licenses were used not only to obtain meat but also to procure wildlife products that are then turned into crafts (e.g. karosses or skin mats, bags, hats). Most of the SGL-holders in Ukhwi engaged in craft manufacture and marketing. A popular item offered for sale at Ukhwi were dancing skins, items worn by traditional healers and trance dancers as well as by those who danced for tourists. Some SGL-holders made skin bags for hunting

sets which they then sold to tourists or to government workers in Ukhwi.

Gantsi Craft, a non-government (NGO) handicraft purchasing organization based in Gantsi, purchases crafts at Ukhwi as do Kuru Development Trust (KDT) and Maiteko Tshwaragano Development Trust (MTDT). Average household income per annum from crafts in Ukhwi as a whole was P12, according to van der Jagt (1995:72). For the SGL-holders interviewed, the income from craft sales was somewhat greater, averaging around P20-P30 (Hitchcock and Masilo 1995).

The manufacture of beads from the eggshells of ostriches (*Struthio camelus*) is a common activity in Ukhwi. Ostrich eggs were gathered in the bush either in the form of eggs from nests or broken shells. The beads were manufactured by women who broke the shells into small uniform square pieces, drilled holes in them and then rubbed the beads with a stone to round off the sharp edges. The bead necklaces are important heirlooms, but they are also exchanged with other people. According to the representatives from the three NGOs purchasing crafts at the time we were in Ukhwi, ostrich eggshell items are crucial in terms of providing income to a substantial number of households engaged in marketing wildlife products.

Nearly all of the people interviewed stressed that they wished to be able to continue to sell ostrich eggshell products and other handicrafts as a means of earning income. They pointed out, however, that they faced some major constraints in marketing certain crafts, especially those made from ostrich eggshells. They argued that one problem they had, was the lack of clarity about government policies on the collection and sale of ostrich eggs.

The DWNP has an ostrich management plan which it put in place in 1994 that has implications for craft activities involving the collection and use of ostrich eggshells (Republic of Botswana 1994). One stipulation of the DWNP is that ostrich shells are to be collected only from April to

August and must be done under the authority of a valid permit. A further stipulation is that a fee is to be paid for the permit. Another stipulation is that organizations involved in ostrich egg collection must establish a facility where the shells are kept and the premises will be inspected on a regular basis by the DWNP (DWNP file WP UTI, Vol. VI, 2. Game Farming, 3. Ostrich).

The DWNP has argued that women's groups have to be organized before they will grant them an ostrich egg collecting quota. The East Hanahai Women Ostrich Eggshell Collecting Group was formed in 1993 and made a formal request for a quota in November, 1993. This request was not acted on until 1995 and a permit was issued on 8 June 1995 (DWNP file WP UTI 2/3, Vol. VI, 2). In September 1994, Maiteko Tshwaragano Development Trust (MTDT) sent a letter to the DWNP in which they asked about the policy concerning ostrich eggshell collection. Subsequently on March 31 1995 they made a formal request for a Directors Permit to Collect Hatched Ostrich Eggshells. DWNP granted them this permit on May 5, 1995 (DWNP file WP UTI 2/3, Vol. VI, 2). What this means, in effect, is that MTDT can potentially serve as a repository for ostrich eggs which can then be allocated to individuals for craft production purposes.

There was uncertainty over the timing of egg collection, general reporting procedures and the rights of people to collect eggs in the field. One of the Regional Wildlife Officers that we interviewed argued that the manufacture of ostrich eggshell products by NGOs was illegal because it would contravene Section 65 of the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act of 1992 (Republic of Botswana 1992). This section states that "No person other than the holder of a trophy dealer's license shall employ or engage any other person to manufacture any article from any trophy" (Republic of Botswana 1992:A.155). A difficulty for SGL-holders is that they are not allowed under current law



to hold any other licenses besides their SGL. Thus they could not legally be given an ostrich egg collecting license. If hatched egg pieces are considered to be trophies, which the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act appears to suggest, then this would mean that women in craft groups in western Botswana are potentially breaking the law. Ironically the Ostrich Management Plan Policy (Republic of Botswana 1994) maintains that wild ostrich eggs can be harvested for food and as the raw material for traditional craft items. The conflict between the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act and the Ostrich Management Plan Policy leaves ostrich eggshell collectors and craft producers in a position where they could be viewed as violating the law on the one hand or complying with it on the other. This policy conflict must be resolved in order to safeguard the rights of people in Ukhwi and other rural areas in Botswana.

Judging from the situation in Kgalagadi District, the rural economy is varied and complex. There is a variety of sources of subsistence and income. This variety is diminished somewhat in drought periods, something that leads to people seeking alternative sources of support. The government of Botswana has been successful in mounting food aid and other kinds of assistance programmes (e.g. Labour-based Relief and Development Projects) which have enabled people to survive and, in some cases, even improve the quality of their lives. This was possible for some RADS who, for example, invested their earnings from their work for government in small businesses. The people at Ukhwi have applied to become a community-based organization (CBO) with a formal institutional structure, a trust, in the hopes that they will be able to gain access to the rights over the KD 1 Wildlife Management Area. If they are successful in their efforts they will not only be able to have greater security of tenure over the area where they reside but they will also be in a position where they can form business partnerships or get financial assistance from

international donor agencies in order to expand their economic activities.

### Development Initiatives

As some of the development initiatives in rural Botswana have demonstrated, it is possible to enhance the quality of life of people while at the same time helping preserve their cultural traditions. This can be seen, for example, in the work of Kuru Development Trust (KDT) which has been involved in a multifaceted development effort in the Ghanzi district of western Botswana. As Le Roux (Le Roux 1996) has stressed, development must be community-owned; it must address issues of equity, participation, cultural awareness and the meeting of the various needs of people, including spiritual ones. The diverse approach of Kuru Development Trust has sought to address issues ranging from ecotourism and craft marketing to training and pre-school education for young children.

Kamana Phetso (1996:1) points out that not long after Kuru was formed in 1986, the participants discovered that "with this kind of work it is better to focus on the culture, history and art as part of the development programme." Now, after a dozen years, development initiatives are being implemented throughout Ghanzi district and currently there are plans to extend the work into North West District (Ngamiland). There are still constraints to overcome including those related to the complexity of the programmes being developed and implemented and the need for ensuring a regular flow of information to households and individuals.

The utility of the Kuru approach to development is that it is built on the customs and values of the people concerned and it draws on their methods of dealing with one another, including consensus-based decision-making, the assurance that all people have their say regardless of age, gender or social affiliation and their emphasis on balancing spiritual

and material needs in their everyday lives. Judging from the progress made in the efforts to bring about balanced and sustainable development in the western Kalahari, it is likely that Kuru will serve as a model for other community-centered development initiatives. The Botswana government and both international agencies and non-

**Table 1. Remote Area Dweller (RAD) Settlements in Kgalagadi District, Botswana**

	<i>Location</i>	<i>RADP</i>	<i>1981</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>CHA</i>
		estimate	population	population	
1.	Inalegolo	200	-	-	KD/12
2.	Kokotsha	642	-	874	KD/15
3.	Khawa	441	177	424	KD/15
4.	Lokgwabe	172	-	A	KD/12
5.	Lotlhake	252	-	A	KD/12, 6
6.	Maake	257	-	182	KD/6
7.	Masatleng	-	187	-	KD/1
8.	Monong	300	100	232	KD/1
9.	Ngwatle	220	-	92	KD/1
10.	Ncaang	205	29	100	KD/1
11.	Palamaokwe	108	-	89	KD/6
12.	Ukhwi	427	274	340	KD/1
13.	Zutshwa	277	-	203	KD/2
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,501</b>	<b>767</b>	<b>2,536</b>	

(Note: Data obtained from the Remote Area Development Office, Kgalagadi District Council)

The designation "CHA" stands for Controlled Hunting Area and "A" stands for abandoned.

The missing data are either a result of the settlement not having been enumerated separately or the settlement had not yet been established.

government organizations could learn some useful lessons from the participatory and culturally sensitive strategies employed by Kuru and other indigenous organizations.

**Table 2. Land Use Zoning in the Kgalagadi District, Botswana**

<i>Land Use Zone</i>	<i>Area (km<sup>2</sup>)</i>	<i>Area (% of District)</i>
Communal Grazing	43,310	42.2%
Commercial Grazing (Tribal Lease)	2,500	2.5%
Commercial Grazing (Freehold, State Land Lease)	6,490	6.1%
Wildlife Management Area (WMA)	39,358	38.3%
National Park	27,350	26.7%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>102,590</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

(Note: Data obtained from the Kgalagadi District Council, Botswana)



**Table 3. Food Ration Values for Remote Area Dwellers in Kgalagadi District, Botswana**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Remote Area Dwellers</i>	<i>Value Per Beneficiary</i>	<i>Total Value of Food Aid</i>
1983/84	NA	NA	NA
1984/85	NA	NA	NA
1985/86	2,022	P203.89	P412,274
1986/87	2,751	P239.45	P658,718
1987/88	1,895	P246.13	P466,409
1988/89	2,239	P556,820	P248.69

(Note: NA stands for not available)

Data obtained from the Food Resources Department (FRD),  
Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing, Government of Botswana

