

# **Final Report Volume 1**

## **Annex 1 to the Main Report: Rural Development Policy Review Nationwide Consultations**

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## Introduction

This study was carried out by Social Impact Assessment and Policy Analysis Corporation (SIAPAC), a Botswana-based social survey research firm, for the Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis (BIDPA) on behalf of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Government of Botswana. It presents findings from field consultations held as part of the **Rural Development Policy and Strategy Review** conducted by BIDPA on behalf of Government. While this report presents details of the field consultations, the information collected was shared with the full set of team members who carried out their own analysis, and SIAPAC also conducted a review of the main report and commented on the incorporation of field study findings in the main document. Therefore, field findings can be found throughout the full report. This specialist report is a sub-report to the main submission, and forms Annex 1 thereof. It should therefore be reviewed as an annex to the main report, and not as a 'stand alone' document.

The report is organised into four chapters and three appendices as follows:

- Chapter 1: Introduction - This chapter provides introductory information on the study, overviews the approach used, and gives summary information on the sample.
- Chapter 2: Livelihoods - This chapter presents findings from interviews and group discussions about current household status.
- Chapter 3: Changes in Household Status and Coping Preferences - Building on the previous chapter, this chapter presents respondents' opinions about how livelihoods have changed over time, and how things could be improved.
- Chapter 4: Opinions About Government's Strategy on Rural Development - This chapter presents respondents' opinions about how the rural development strategy to date has performed, and what might need to be changed.
- Appendix A: Detailed Field Study Findings from the Quantitative Survey - This appendix presents detailed findings from the quantitative survey for each of the four strata and for the merged dataset overall (see discussion of the sample frame below).

- Appendix B: Detailed Dissemination Findings - This appendix presents details of the findings from dissemination activities (see below).
- Appendix C: Field Instruments - This appendix includes all field instruments used in the field consultations.

### **Rationale for the Field Consultations**

The rationale for the field consultations was to **provide a mechanism to give voice to those directly affected by rural development in any possible re-design of the policy and strategy**. This was meant to compliment the investigations of the various technical experts on the team.

### **Approach**

Four approaches were used in the investigation:

- Literature review
- Quantitative survey
- Participatory appraisals
- Feedback

### Literature Review

The literature review was conducted at study start-up to inform the preparation of the field instruments. The initial policy document and the related Government White Paper were reviewed, as were a variety of specialist studies and planning documents. Reviewed documents are included in the bibliography included in the main report.

### Quantitative Data Collection

The design of the quantitative questionnaire was guided by the livelihoods framework outlined in the Inception Report submitted by the team in November, 2000, as well as follow-up inputs by Team Members. This livelihoods framework is described in full in

the main report. Versions 1-7 of the quantitative questionnaire were developed prior to enumerator training, and versions 8-18 were created based on training and pre-testing findings, as well as team review; version 19 was finalised and used in the field, and is included in Appendix C.

A total of twelve quantitative enumerators were identified from fourteen trainees, themselves screened from over one hundred interviewees and almost four hundred applicants. Sets of four quantitative enumerators traveled with each of three field teams. All three field teams started their work in the Kanye area in the south, following which they divided into teams covering the south and south central portions of the country, the northeast and north, and the west.

Altogether a total of 900 quantitative interviews were conducted across four rural strata, indicated on the map at the front of this report:

- 1) **large villages**, comprising those locations that were classified as 'urban villages' in the 1991 census, such as Serowe, Mahalapye, Maun, Mochudi, Molepolole, Kanye, Moshupa, etc.;
- 2) **rural hardveld**, comprising all locations not otherwise defined as urban or large villages in the eastern hardveld portion of the country (including medium and small settlements, communal farms and commercial farms);
- 3) **west**, comprising all locations in the sandveld western parts of the country excluding large villages (including commercial farms in the west), covering the districts of Ghanzi and Kgalagadi, as well as western Ngwaketse, western Kweneng, and western Central Districts;
- 4) **north**, comprising all locations in Ngamiland and Chobe Districts, excluding large villages and urban areas.

These four strata were identified by the full team, in consultation with the Client, and represented rural

Levels of co-operation were extremely high for both survey and consultative field activities.

populations that were affected in one way or another by rural development policy and rural development programmes, but faced different circumstances based on the natural environment and settlement patterns. The same number of interviews were conducted in

each of the four strata, allowing for analysis by strata. The dataset was also weighted and 'national rural' merged findings from across the four strata were also prepared.

### Participatory Data Collection

While quantitative studies can provide statistically generalisable data, it is limited in two respects: 1) it does not adequately engage the respondent in dialogue; and 2) it does not give the respondent sufficient scope to explain their opinions and make recommendations. Therefore, a second strategy was also employed to compliment the quantitative findings, within which four approaches were used:

- Focus Group Discussions
- Story With A Gap
- Local Level Key Informant Interviews
- Oral History

Focus group discussions (FGDs) involve the assembling of homogeneous groups of some 5-9 people and holding detailed discussions surrounding a limited set of issues. Group interaction arising from the use of effective, open probing techniques allows the focus group to discuss and debate issues in some detail. Such discussions were held with groups such as the youth, women, the unemployed, rural employed, community representative institutions, local associations, etc. Key issues measured included attitudes about the best approaches to rural development, in particular community-based approaches, the need for change, as well as issues in the arenas of the natural environment, society and culture and leadership structures, local economic development opportunities, self-reliance, etc.

Story With A Gap (SWAG) is one of the best approaches to get people to compare their current situation to an ideal one and plan, practically, how to move from a less desirable situation to a more desirable one. Carefully structured, SWAG is particularly important in getting people to consider what role community-based approaches could play, shifting the discussion away from 'wish lists' and towards critical thinking about the role of

communities in their own development. Scenarios are considered, and various 'paths' towards goals identified, along with the varied constraints.

Perhaps one of the greatest yet consistently under-valued sources of information about needed reforms is older community members who have seen, have participated in, and have been affected by the many changes facing rural Botswana since independence. Indeed, even when interviewed, the discussion is often about a single issue area or a single, fairly narrow expanse of time. Oral histories, derived from anthropological approaches and increasingly important in participatory approaches, were therefore carried out with older males and females who have had a long history of living in rural Botswana. Such an approach was particularly important in measuring perceived changes, and causes for these changes, with regard to the natural environment.

As the views, experiences and expectations of community opinion leaders (e.g., traditional leaders, extension officers, local activists, etc.) are key to understanding how local communities view rural development, and how they believe that rural development approaches need to be changed to better serve the needs of community members across social position, social class, and gender lines, a number of key informant interviews were conducted nationwide.

Altogether a total of thirty focus group discussions were held, as well as fifteen story with a gaps, thirty local level key informant interviews, and fifteen oral histories.

### Feedback

While quantitative approaches can extract useful data, and while participatory approaches can help to create a dialogue to engage people in the consultative process, without a feedback phase there is no clear mechanism for those in the study population to hear and consider the interpretation of, and the recommendations arising from, the findings. Therefore, for the policy review five feedback approaches were utilised:

Feedback activities took place throughout June-July, 2001.

- *Kgotla* meetings in a subset of communities that participated in the field study:
  1. Mabalane
  2. Kavimba
  3. Shakawe
  4. Sepopa
  5. Shorobe
  6. Pandamatenga
  7. Mahalapye
  8. Sefhare
  9. Gulubane
  10. Nkange
  11. Mogobane
  12. Sesung
  13. Moshupa
  14. Kanye
  15. Serowe
  16. Tsamaya
  17. Lebogang
  18. Good Hope
  19. Werda

It should be noted that *kgotla* meetings were attempted in other locations as well, but due to lack of attendance were cancelled. Nevertheless, at the above locations, attendance was high and participation good.

- Consultative workshops in three locations covering the south/southcentral and southeast, central/northeast, and north/west.
- Public display of the draft report in the following locations from 20 June for a month:
  1. District administration offices in Gaborone, Tlokweng, Jwaneng, Kasane, Ghanzi, Francistown, Mahalapye, Masunga, Maun, Mochudi, Molepolole, Ramotswa, Selebi-Phikwe, Serowe, Sowa, Lobatse and Kanye.
  2. The University of Botswana library.
  3. The Botswana College of Agriculture.
  4. BIDPA.
  5. Botswana National Library, Gaborone.
  6. Botswana National Library Service branches in: Maun, Francistown, Kasane and Ghanzi.
- A 'road show' where summary, user-friendly presentations were taken to the following communities:
  1. Francistown
  2. Mahalapye
  3. Serowe
  4. Bobonong
  5. Kasane
  6. Maun
  7. Gomare



8. Mochudi
9. Ramotswa
10. Molepolole
11. Ghanzi
12. Salajwe
13. Kanye
14. Hukuntsi
15. Tsootsha

- Radio interview and a call-in show in Setswana. This took place in mid-July.
- Secondary school essay competition. A total of sixteen essays were received.

These approaches overcome the tendency to extract data without feeding information back. Beyond avoiding the negative extraction tendency, participatory feedback approaches also supported the review process by doing the following:

- It acts as a mechanisms to 'check' the validity of findings and, more importantly, the validity of inferences made in reaching these conclusions;
- It serves to 'bring people more actively into the listen-learn-act process that community-based approaches are based on;
- It serves to raise opinions and concerns made in smaller groups in an anonymous fashion in a larger settling, allowing all to examine how rural development attitudes and intentions get 'translated' into action points when various, stratified actors are brought into the process; and finally
- It strengthens the credibility of the entire exercise, with Government and its partners in development beginning a larger process of direct consultation on rural development policy issues with affected parties.

By putting into place a two-stage process of consultation and feedback, the initial consultation process turned into a more detailed participatory activity which involved consideration of the findings and recommendations of the investigation by those most affected by, and involved in, rural development in Botswana.

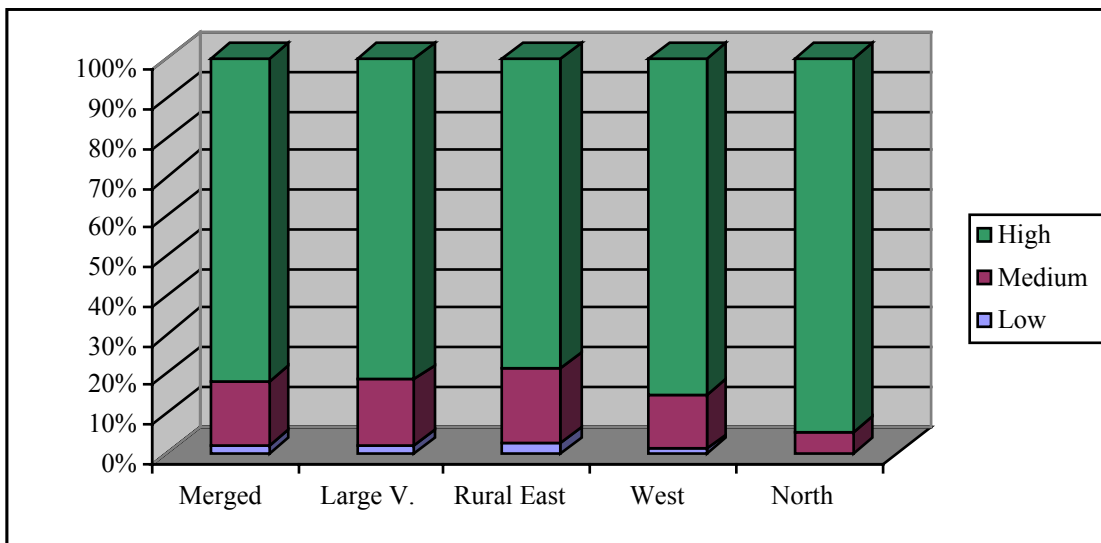
### **Demographic and Background Information**

Background information on the participants in the quantitative and participatory field activities is offered in this section.

## Level of Co-operation

Level of co-operation in both the quantitative and participatory exercises was extremely high. Indeed, in the quantitative study only 2% of the respondents were marked as 'low' in terms of levels of co-operation. Findings are indicated in the following figure:

**Figure 1.1: Level of Co-operation**



\* See Table A1, Appendix A.

Level of co-operation were high across all locations. No problems arose with regard to co-operation in the qualitative exercises, with one exception of a single community that would not let the team enter the community (which was, therefore, substituted).

## Description of Interviews

The median length of quantitative interview was 40 minutes, ranging up to 50 minutes in the north. Two-thirds of all interviews were conducted with the household head, and most of the remainder with the spouse of the head, speaking on behalf of the full household. The median number of household members was seven, holding at seven for the large village, rural east and west strata, but at a significantly higher nine in the north. 99.6% of all household members were extended family members, and only 0.4% were non-relatives.

Group interviews lasted an average of 3-4 hours, with a break in the middle during which snacks and cool drinks were provided.

### Household Demographic Structures

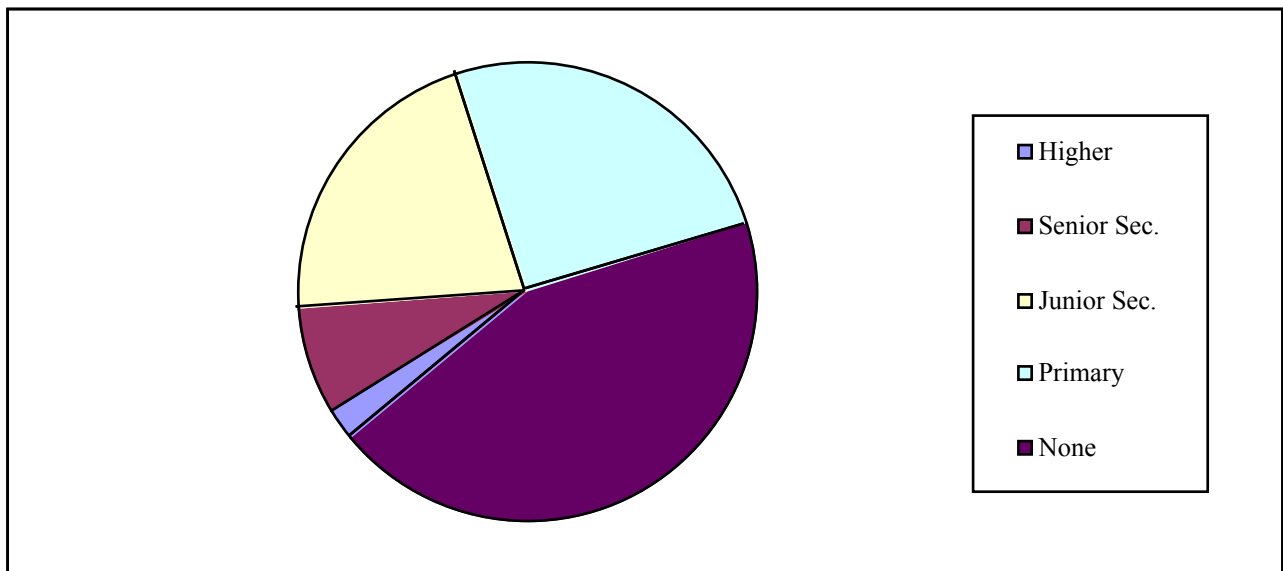
There were numerous demographic differences among households across the four strata, reflecting the varied conditions and economic circumstances facing different parts of Botswana.

Over half of all household members were females (54.5%), ranging up to 55.5% for large villages and down to 52% for the north, likely reflecting male out-migration. Less than half of all households

were headed by males (48.3%). Male-headed households tended to be larger than female-headed households (chi-square significant at the .1 level).

Excluding those still in school (enrolment rates in Botswana exceed 90%), a surprisingly high half of household members in the sample had no education, as indicated in the following figure:

**Figure 1.2: Level of Education of Household Members (those not currently in school)**



\* See Figure A2, Appendix A.

The median age of household members was 28 years, ranging significantly from 29.6 years in large villages down to 25.1 years in the north, again likely reflect male out-migration, particularly among those aged 15-34. One-third of all household members (36.4%) in the north were under the age of 15, compared to 29.6% nationally.

Regarding the main occupation of household members, with regard to all household members of all ages, 34.9% of all household members were economically active, with figures lowest in the west. An average of 16.5% of those belonging to the interviewed household (referring to those living in the interviewed household and away) were in formal employment, not surprisingly lowest in the west (10.8%) and north (11.6%), and highest in the rural east (17.4%) and large village (18.8%) strata. Informal employment, including small enterprises, was considered to the main occupation of 6.6% of all household members, and was higher in the north and west than in the other two strata. Of interest, however, subsistence agriculture represented the second most common self-identified main economic activity of household members in the merged dataset (11.8% compared to 16.5% for formal employment, and 6.6% for informal employment). This did vary significantly across strata, lowest in the west where climate and soils are most problematic for arable agriculture and where levels of poverty are highest, and highest in the rural east.

Respondents were asked to indicate what restrictions there were to economic activity among household members. Almost one-third were either 'too young' or 'too old' to be considered economically active, while two-thirds indicated that there were no restrictions to their ability to be economically active. However, 4.8% of those in the age range of 15-54 were 'regularly ill', ranging from a high of 9.1% in the west to 2.4% in the north. As a percentage of the economically active population (that is, excluding those aged under fifteen and over sixty), the economically active population aged 15-59 rises to 5.9%.

Across strata, households indicated that they had been established in their community of current residence for a number of years. Indeed, the mean number of years a household was established in a community was 25.2 years, ranging from 27.1 years in the large village strata to 21.2 years in the west and north strata.

#### *Consultative Group Discussion Demographics*

Oral history respondents were normally significantly older than other the average community member, for the reasons noted above. The aim was to gain insights from someone who had been a participant observer for years in their community, and could therefore comment on how things had, and had not, changed over time. Summary demographic information on the oral history participants are as follows:

- Location: Charles Hill. Age: 76. Length of time in community: 'long time'.
- Location: Letlhakeng. Age: did not know. Length of time in community: 20+ years.
- Location: Kanye. Age: 55. Length of time in community: entire life.
- Location: Mochudi. Age: 70. Length of time in community: entire life, except left for work in South Africa for 'many years' in the 60s and 70s.
- Location: Molepolole. Age: unknown. Length of time in community: entire life.
- Location: Moroka. Age: 80. Length of time in community: entire life.
- Location: Moshaneng. Age: 76. Length of time in community: entire life.
- Location: Nkange. Age: 75. Length of time in community: entire life.
- Location: Nojane. Age: 76. Length of time in community: entire life.
- Location: Omawehelo. Age: unknown. Length of time in community: entire life.
- Location: Ramotswa. Age: 76. Length of time in community: unknown, but 'a long time'.
- Location: Sehitwa. Age: 79. Length of time in community: unknown, but 'a long time'.

- Location: Sepopa. Age: 65. Length of time in community: 39 years.
- Location: Tonota. Age: 61. Length of time in community: entire life.
- Location: Kavimba. Age: 60. Length of time in community: entire life.
- Location: Tshare. Age: 77. Length of time in community: entire life.

Local level key informants (LLKIIs) were identified from opinion leaders in a number of locations, with a total of thirty carried out nationwide. LLKIIs included the following:

- Location: Gathwane. Position: extension officer.
- Location: Good Hope. Position: traditional leader.
- Location: Gulubane. Position: political leader.
- Location: Kanye. Position: 'opinion leader', member of YWCA.
- Location: Rappels Pan. Position: headman.
- Location: Mabalane. Position: police officer, VDC member.
- Location: Matolwane. Position: traditional leader.
- Location: Mochudi. Position: political leader.
- Location: Molepolole. Position: private entrepreneur.
- Location: Moshaneng. Position: VDC chairperson.
- Location: Salajwe. Position: headmaster, head of AIDS committee.
- Location: Serowe. Position: private entrepreneur.
- Location: Sojwe. Position: political leader.
- Location: Lephephe. Position: PTA member, orphans committee.
- Location: Tsabong. Position: political leader.
- Location: Tsamaya. Position: private entrepreneur.
- Location: Tutume. Position: Kgotla elder, VDC.
- Location: Charles Hill. Position: traditional leader.
- Location: Kachikau. Position: political leader.
- Location: Kopong. Position: private entrepreneur, youth advisor, board governor.
- Location: Nojane. Position: VDC.
- Location: Otse. Position: traditional leader, ex officio member of VDC, PTA, CJSS.
- Location: Pandamatenga. Position: wildlife officer, member of natural resource organisation.
- Location: Ramotswa. Position: private entrepreneur.
- Location: Sepopa. Position: private entrepreneur.
- Location: Shakawe. Position: extension officer.
- Location: Shorobe. Position: headman.
- Location: Toteng. Position: police officer.
- Location: Werda. Position: extension officer.
- Location: Xhumo. Position: traditional leader.

A total of thirty focus group discussions were held nationwide with the following:

- Location: Pandamatenga. Group: women from poor households.
- Location: Ramotswa. Group: women from non-poor households.

- Location: Shakawe. Group: opinion leaders.
- Location: Shorobe. Group: older people from non-poor households.
- Location: Gathwane. Group: men from poor households.
- Location: Good Hope. Group: women from poor households.
- Location: Gulubane. Group: young people from non-poor households.
- Location: Kanye. Group: young people from non-poor households.
- Location: Kavimba. Group: women from poor households.
- Location: Kolongwane. Group: young people from poor households.
- Location: Kopong. Group: older people from non-poor households.
- Location: Lesenapole. Group: men from non-poor households.
- Location: Mabalane. Group: men from non-poor households.
- Location: Mochudi. Group: opinion leaders.
- Location: Molepolole. Group: women from poor households.
- Location: Motshaneng. Group: opinion leaders.
- Location: Rappels Pan. Group: men from non-poor households.
- Location: Salajwe. Group: women from poor households.
- Location: Sojwe. Group: young people from poor households.
- Location: Tsabong. Group: young people from non-poor households.
- Location: Tsamaya. Group: opinion leaders.
- Location: Werda. Group: older people from poorer households.
- Location: Xhumo. Group: women from poorer households.
- Location: Charles Hill. Group: opinion leaders.
- Location: Nojane. Group: young people from non-poor households.
- Location: Otse. Group: opinion leaders.
- Location: Sepopa. Group: opinion leaders.
- Location: Tutume. Group: young people from poorer households.

## Summary

This report presents findings from a field survey, consultative exercises, and feedback activities as part of a wider review of Botswana's rural development policy and strategy. It is an annex to the major report, and is therefore *not* a stand alone document. It has been incorporated, where relevant, into the main report, while it has also fed into various aspects of the main investigation itself.

A quantitative questionnaire was administered to 900 households covering some 5000 people, while 90 consultative group discussions were also held throughout the country. The country was divided into four strata for sampling purposes: north (Chobe and Ngamiland Districts), west (sandveld areas covering Kgalagadi and Ghanzi Districts, as well as the western part of Central, Kweneng, and Ngwaketse Districts), small village/rural hardveld, and large village hardveld; no urban areas were covered in the

survey or consultative activities. The 90 consultative exercises included Focus Group Discussions, Story With A Gap, Local Level Key Informant Interviews, and Oral Histories.

Feedback activities involved nineteen *kgotla* meetings, consultative workshops, public display of the draft report, a 'road show' of findings that reached some 1000 people, radio interviews, and a school essay competition.



Quantitative interviews lasted an average of 40 minutes, while group interviews lasted 3-4 hours (including a break where refreshments were provided). Levels of co-operation, as is regularly the case in Botswana, were extremely high. Less than half of all household members were classified as economically active. When asked to identify the *main* source of livelihoods of various household members, agriculture was most commonly mentioned, followed by formal employment and informal employment. There was significant variation across strata, reflecting differing circumstances. Over 5% of household members classified as economically active were identified as 'regularly ill' and therefore unable to contribute regularly to household income.

## Chapter 2: Livelihoods

### Introduction

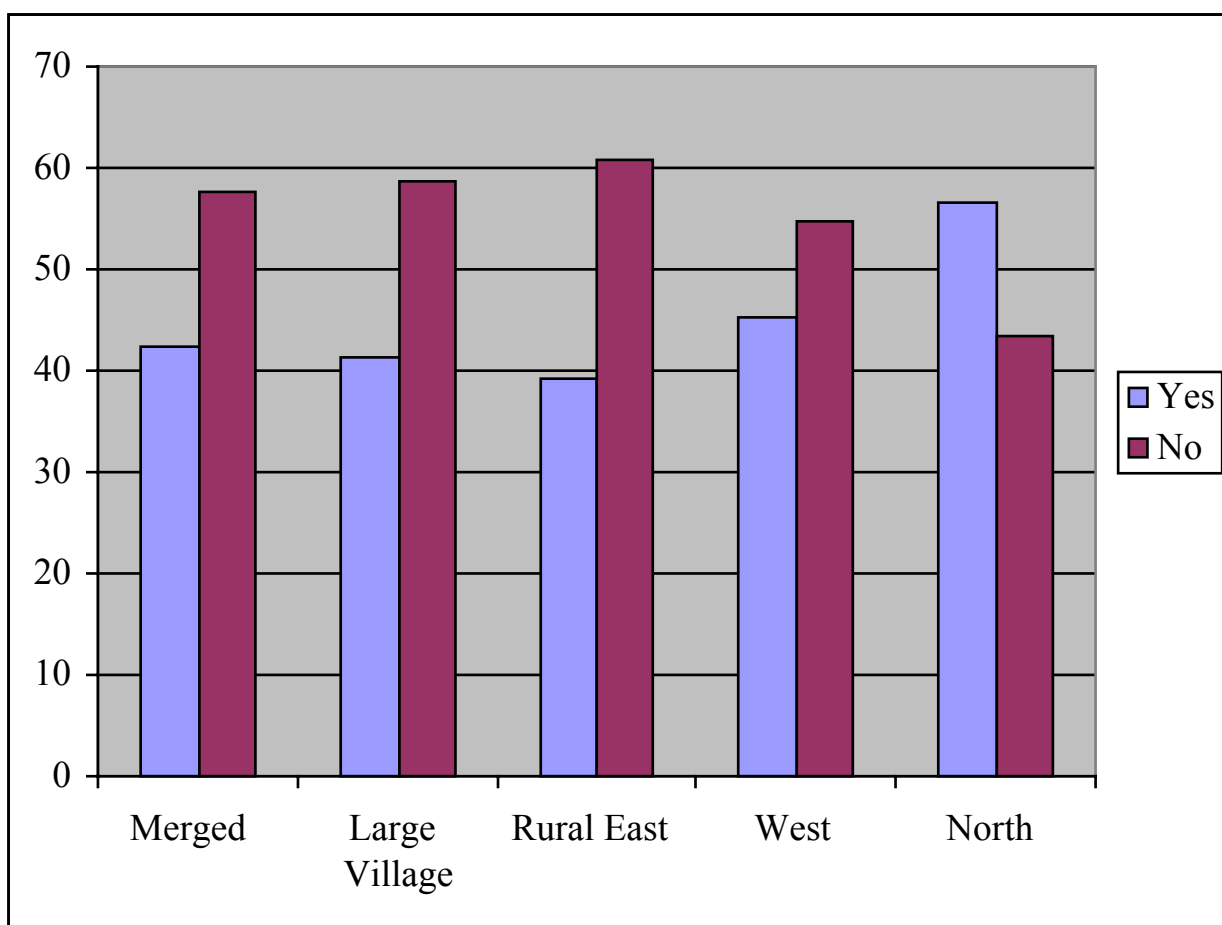
A number of questions were raised in the quantitative questionnaire and the participatory assessments about how households currently met their needs, and where they fell short.

### Household Economic Status

#### Basic Needs

Respondents were asked whether their households were able to meet their basic needs during the year prior to the survey. Findings are indicated in the following figure:

**Figure 2.1: Ability to Meet Basic Needs**



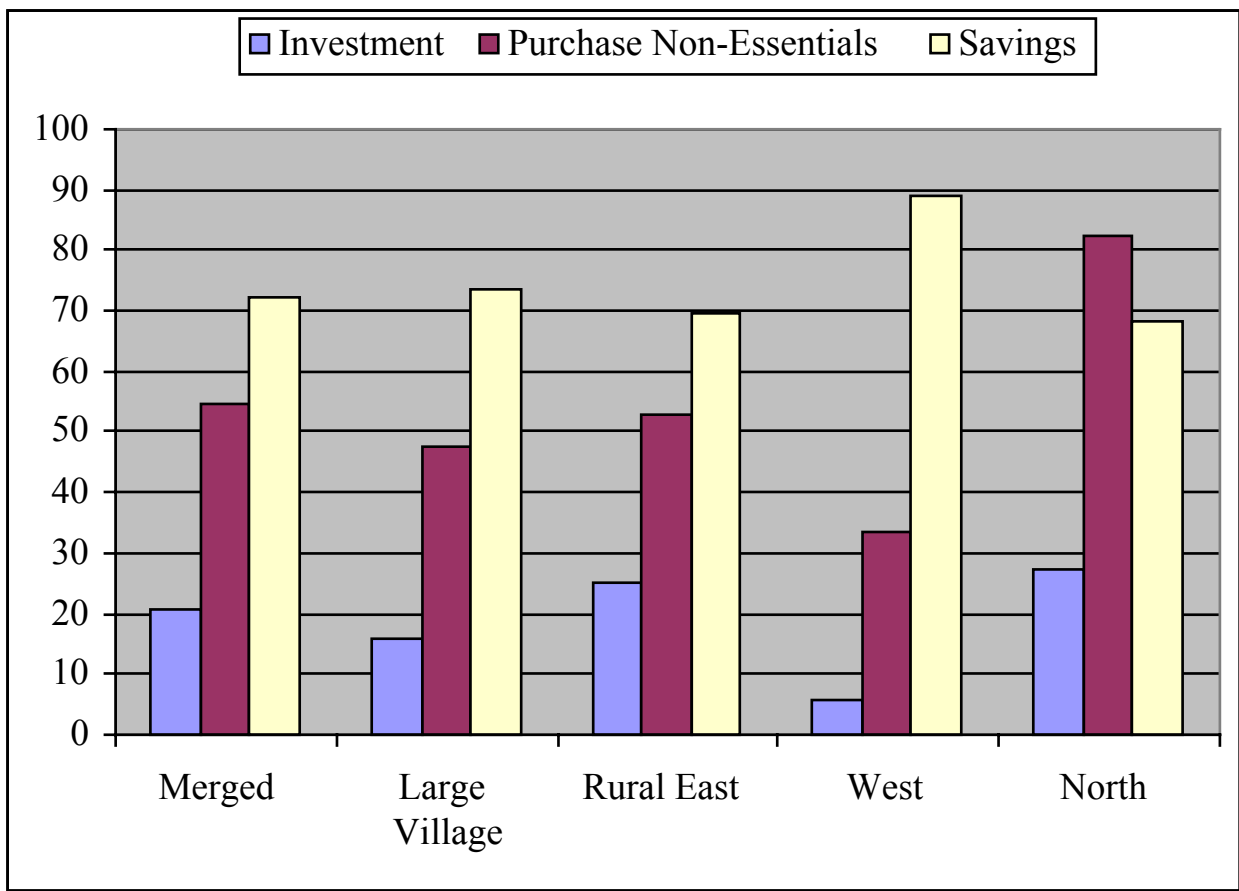
\* See Table A18, Appendix A.

Less than half of the interviewed households felt that they were able to meet their basic needs in the year prior to the survey (42.3%), largely consistent with findings on levels of poverty. Of interest, however, was the distribution of perceived ability to meet basic needs, as northern and western households were most likely to feel that basic needs are met (chi square test significant at the .1 level). Of interest, there was no variation across gender of household head (chi square test insignificant at the .1 level), nor size of household.

For those who indicated that they were able to meet basic needs, 41.7% indicated that they had a surplus beyond basic needs, ranging from 57.5% in the north to 33% in the west and 37.9% in the rural east strata. Patterns of investment of surpluses for those households meeting basic needs and obtaining a surplus are indicated in the following figure:

Over half of the households in the survey felt that they were regularly unable to meet even basic needs.

**Figure 2.2: Use of Surplus Income**



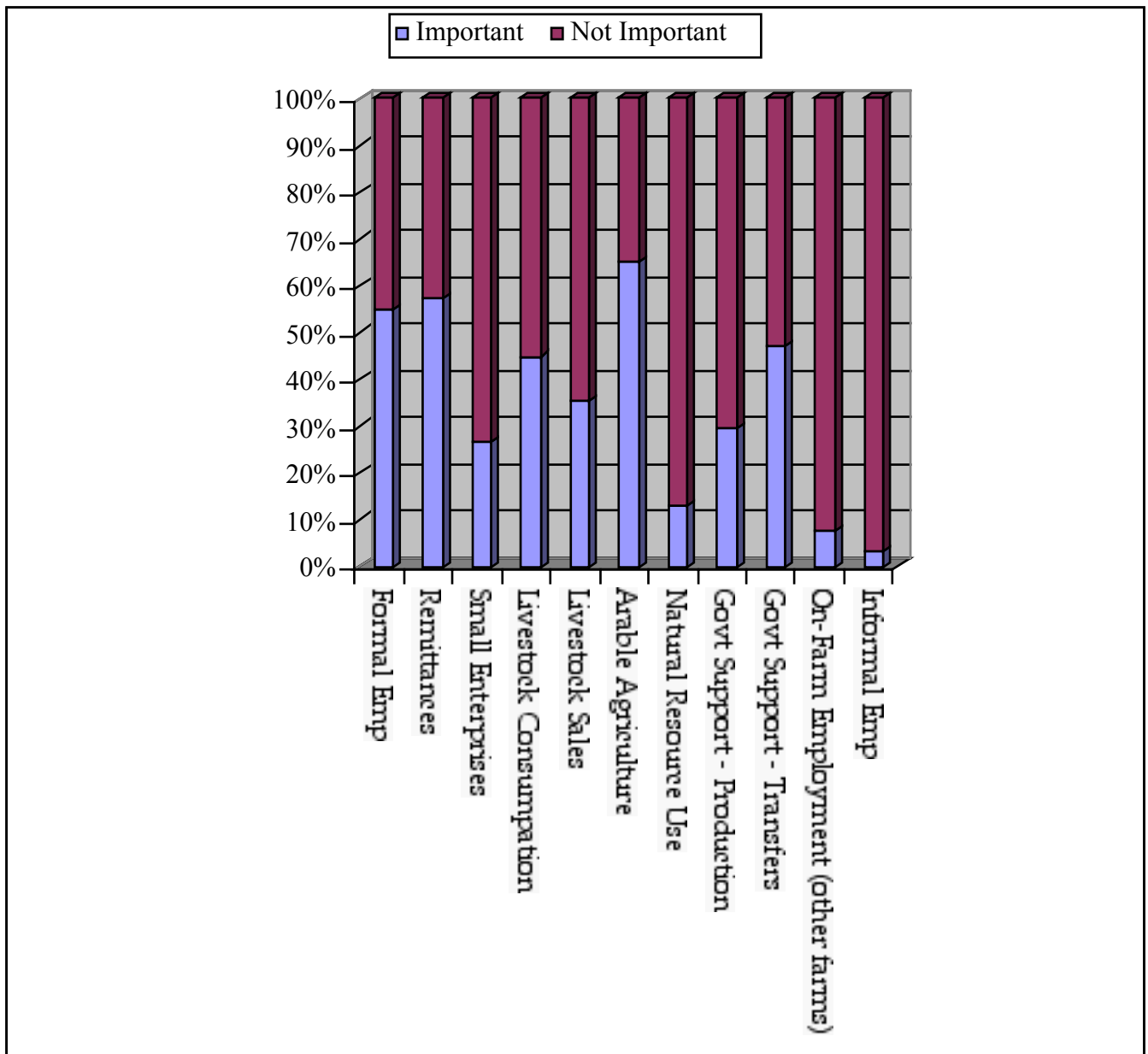
\* See Table A18, Appendix A.

Of those households that had a surplus, most put the money into one form or another of savings, and much of the remainder was used to purchase non-essentials. Just over 20% of the surplus was invested into a productive activity. In the west, money tended to be put into savings, compared to the north where purchasing non-essentials was most common.

### Income Sources

Households were asked to categorise the importance of various forms of income, ranging from formal employment to arable agriculture, from veld product harvesting to Government programmatic support. The following figure indicates which households felt that various forms of income were either 'not important' (0%) or had some importance (1% or more):

Figure 2.3: Importance/Non-Importance of Various Sources of Household Income



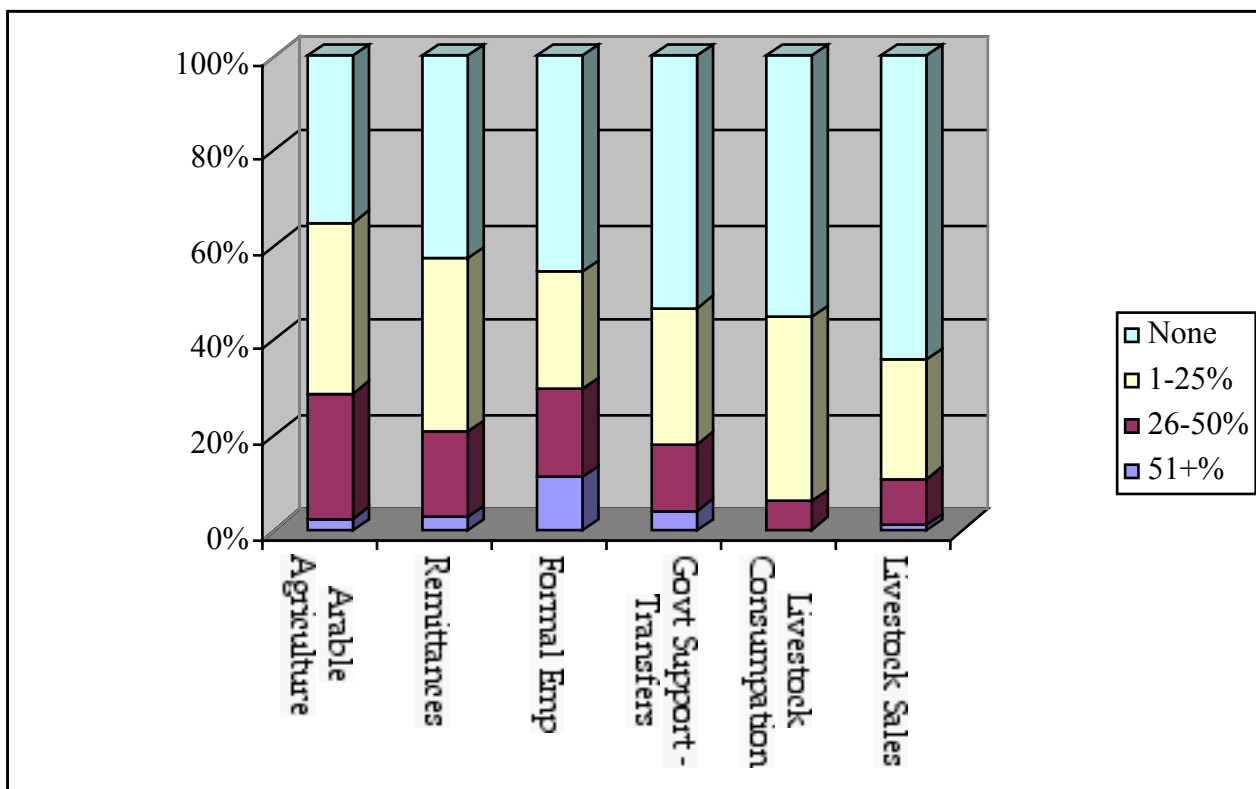
\* See Table A14, Appendix A.

Two-thirds of respondents ranked arable agriculture as important as having some level of importance for their households, as did over half with regard to remittances and formal employment. Government support was important to household income, particularly transfers. Male-headed households tended to be more reliant on the direct employment of a household member than female-headed households (chi-square significant at the .1 level), while female-headed households tended to be more reliant on remittances from outside (chi-square significant at the .1 level). Female-headed households were also significantly less likely to rely on livestock consumption (chi-square significant at the .1

level) or sales (chi-square significant at the .1 level), but significantly more likely to rely on arable production (chi-square significant at the .1 level). Of interest, there was no variation across gender of household head and the importance of small enterprises (chi-square insignificant at the .1 level).

The question further broke the findings down by grouped percentages. Either the particular activity was 'not important' (0%), covered 1-25% of household income, 26-50% of household income, 51-99% of household income, or the household's entire income (100%). For those where the income source provided at least some support for 30% of the households, the following figure indicates the relative importance of each:

**Figure 2.4: Importance of Income Sources (those mentioned by at least 30% of respondents)**



\* See Table A14, Appendix A.

The figure illustrates what is commonly mentioned about households in rural Botswana, that is, that they rely on multiple income/own production resources to make a living. The

figure also suggests that arable agriculture, remittances, formal employment, government support, and livestock all play important roles. Arable agriculture was noted as playing perhaps the

Arable agriculture and livestock were noted as key livelihood strategies among many respondents, supported by remittances and formal employment, as well as Government transfers.

most important role in the ability of households to meet their needs, followed by remittances from non-household members and the formal employment of household members. If the two livestock columns are grouped together (consumption and sales), they play a role equal to that perceived to be paid by arable agriculture.

Looking at the figure a bit differently, 35% of all households interviewed did not view arable agriculture as playing a significant role in their households livelihood status, rising to 42.8% for remittances, 45.1% for formal employment, 70.5% for government support, 55.1% for livestock consumption, and 64.1% for livestock sales.

Story With A Gap (SWAG) findings provide additional insights into income sources. In looking at the rankings across poor and non-poor households, across sandveld and hardveld areas, and across remote and non-remote locations, the following can be concluded:

- Formal employment was rated as important by almost all groups, although poor households placed more importance on formal employment than non-poor households.
- Non-poor households tended to mention livestock production as of key importance.
- Orphan and old age pension support was mentioned by both poor and non-poor households.
- Veld products were not commonly mentioned.
- Arable agriculture was consistently mentioned, but was felt to be declining in importance. On-farm employment was also consistently mentioned.
- Informal transfers within extended families and within communities, such as cash and in-kind gifts, mafisa, etc. were not ranked as of key importance, but were regularly mentioned.
- Small enterprises were mentioned by about half the groups, across poor and non-poor.

## Agriculture

Respondents were asked whether their households had planted arable crops in the current cropping season. As the interviews took place in January and February, it was expected that this would pick up current practices. However, the early rains had been poor, and some households did not plough and plant until rains in February. Therefore, findings for 2000 were grouped together with 2001, assuming that those who planted in 2000 would again plant in 2001. Using these criteria, 59.8% of all households had planted. This figure is, however, artificially lowered by the inclusion of the western strata, where planting occurred only among 38.1% of sampled households. For the large village strata, 50.2% had planted in one year or the other, compared to a much higher 66.3% for the rural east strata and an even higher 82.6% in the north. An additional 19.7% nationally had planted in 1999 but not in 2000 or 2001, and most of these did not plant in the last two years due to poor rainfall. 18.5% of all households (13% for large villages, 17.5% for rural east, 36.4% for west, and 26.5% for north) had never planted, and an additional 13% had abandoned agriculture before 1990. Of interest, while on average female-headed households felt that arable agriculture was more important in terms of household income than male-headed households, fewer had been involved in planting. Lack of draught power for ploughing and lack of implements were more commonly mentioned by female-headed households than male-headed households, although lack of labour as a concern did not vary across gender of household head.

While it is commonly noted that arable agriculture is in secular decline in Botswana, many households are still involved in the practice, particularly in the more poverty-stricken districts in the north, but also in smaller communities in the east.

As noted, lack of rainfall was a key reason why a household stopped planting, but unfortunately this was partially due to the delayed rains for 2001. Looking at constraints to arable production, lack of sufficient amounts of quality arable land was mentioned by 17.6% of all respondents, especially for the north and west where fields are quite small. Lack of draught power was also an important constraint, at 17.4%, ranging to a high of 22.7% in the north strata. 20.2% of all respondents in the north who had not ploughed/planted indicated that 'lack of implements' was a problem, compared to under



10% for the other strata. 'Illness in the household' was a reason for not ploughing/planting in 13.4% of large village households, compared to 8.8% nationally.

Two-thirds of all households in the sample indicated that they owned at least some livestock (cattle, goats or sheep) (67.9%). This was consistent across strata. Of those who owned some livestock, 68% owned cattle and 74.9% owned goats. 11.2% of livestock-owning households had obtained at least one of their cattle via mafisa, and 5.5% had sent some cattle to other households via mafisa. Mafisa was least common in the north. Female-headed households were significantly less likely to own livestock than male-headed households (chi-square significant at the .1 level), but were more likely to have received mafisa cattle. One-third of female-headed households owned at least some cattle, compared to over half for male-headed households (chi-square significant at the .1 level).

The SWAG group in Gathwane noted that arable agriculture 'used to be important', but that 'the

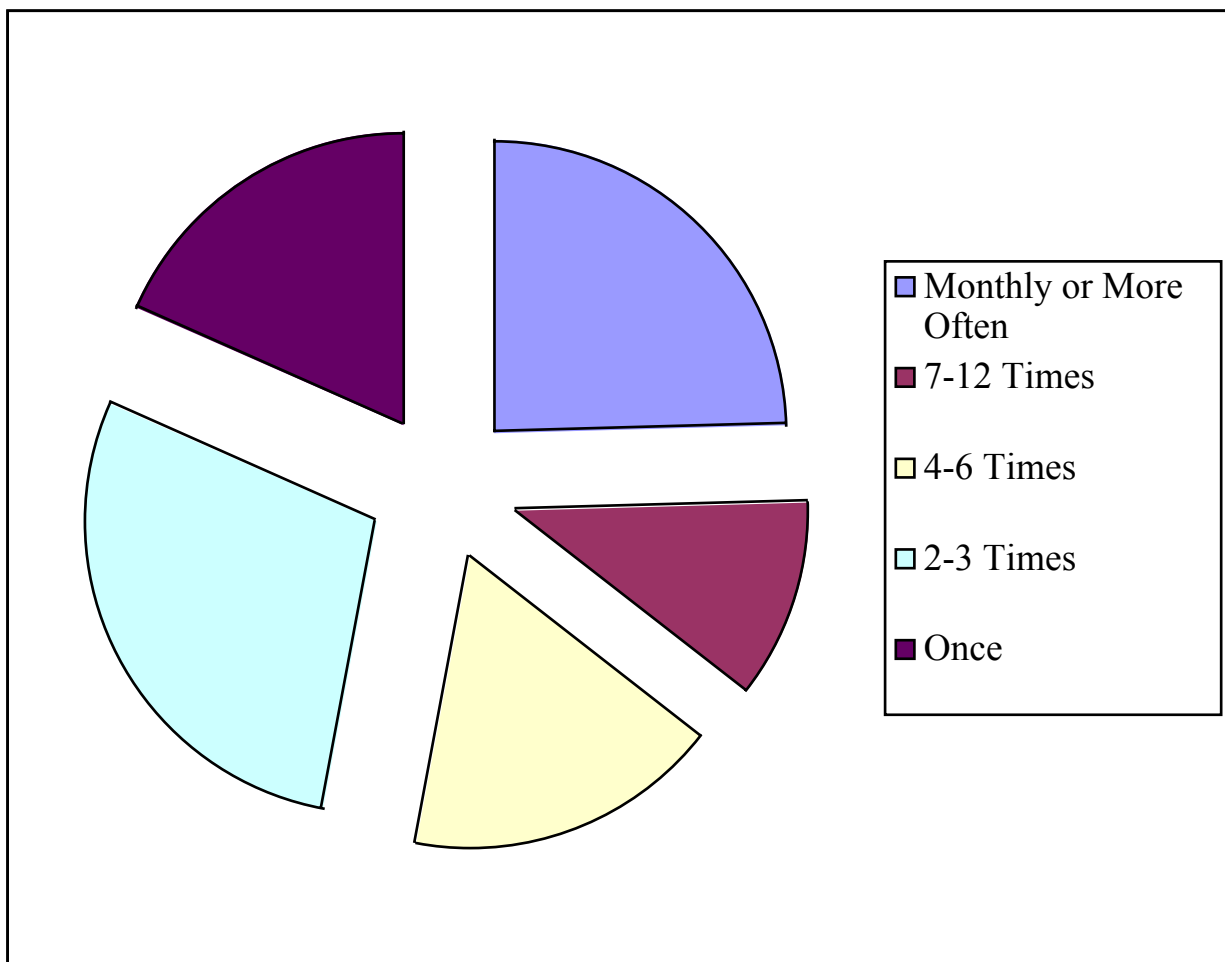
Of all rural households, 46.2% owned cattle and 50.9% owned goats.

future is in formal employment'. The SWAG in Salajwe with men from non-poor households noted that, while more people were looking for work, it was indeed the case that many new jobs were coming available than in the past. Oral history respondents all noted that rains did not fail in the 1970s 'like they do nowadays'. Technology was noted to be 'low', but harvests were still good and people were said to be committed to agriculture. However, a number of the respondents argued that there were few markets outside of local sales (except Kavimba which noted sales to Namibia), and in some areas lack of land was reported to be a problem (South East and North East Districts). The reverse was true with regard to livestock, with oral history respondents often arguing that the situation with regard to livestock quantity, quality and markets all better now. A few did note that grazing was more problematic now than before (Mochudi, Moroka, Omaweeho, Tonota), linking this to poor rainfall. None specifically linked the problem with overgrazing. When asked specifically about overgrazing, responses were mixed. Some argued that there was a problem with overgrazing because the number of animals had increased, while others argued that the issue was poor rains and, therefore, more livestock being confined to a smaller area where there was some grass.

### Remittances

60.1% of all households had received at least one set of remittances over the year 2000. This ranged from a high of 69.3% in the large village strata and 58.8% in the rural east strata, down to 46.5% in the north and 50% in the west (chi-square significant at the .1 level). Perhaps not unexpectedly, these figures coincided with the percentage of households who viewed remittances as important sources of household income, suggesting that the remittances were regular and substantive. This conclusion is borne out when looking at the frequency of remittances, shown in the following figure:

**Figure 2.5: Frequency of Remittances During 2000**



\* See Table A15, Appendix A.

One-quarter of households receiving remittances had received remittances on a monthly basis, or more frequently, and an additional one-quarter had received remittances at least quarterly. There was considerable variation across location, with west strata households receiving

Remittances were received by a majority of rural households, with remittances both regular and important to livelihoods. Not surprisingly, many of those remitting did so from urban areas, but the *majority* came from non-urban areas. Patterns of variation across strata highlight the complexity of remittance patterns in Botswana.

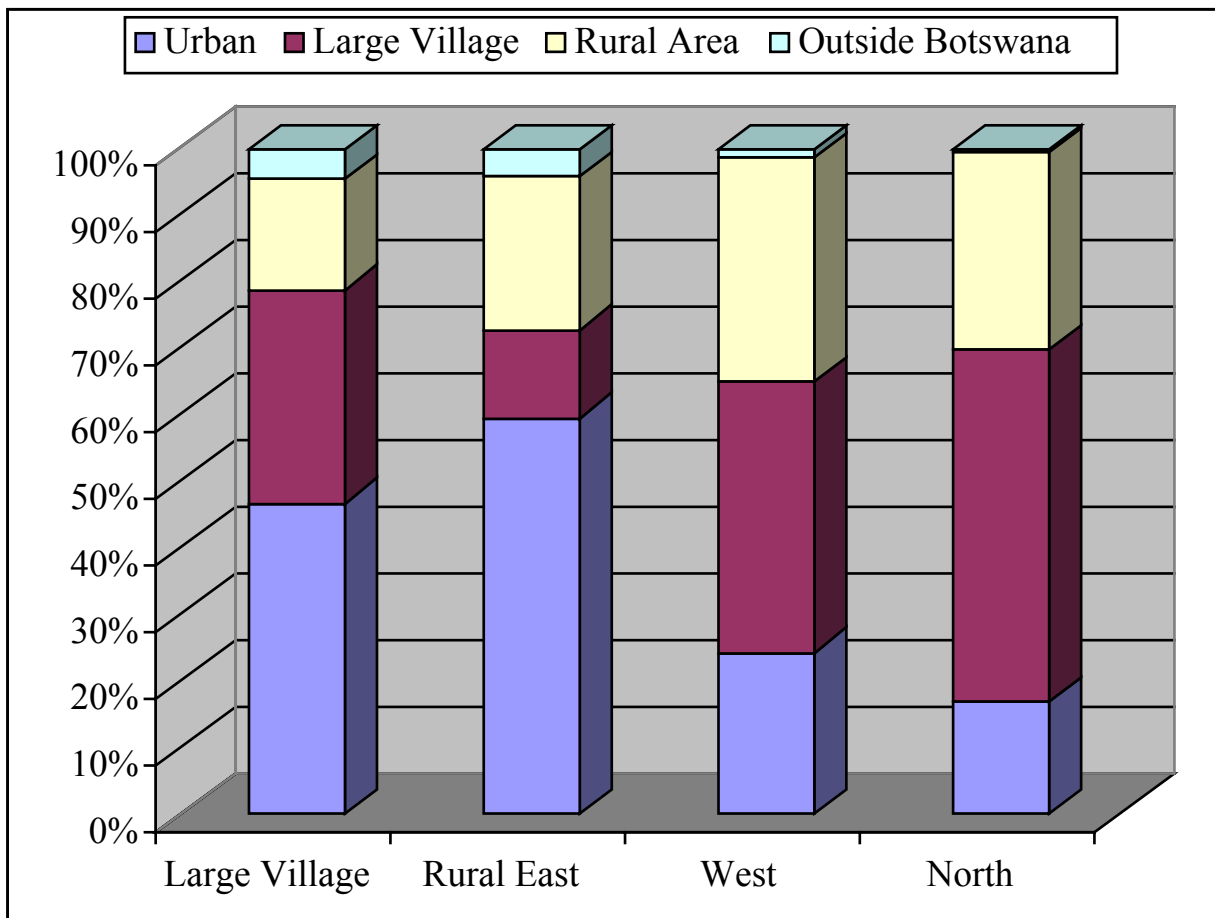
remittances on a much less frequent basis than households in other strata, followed by the north strata.

Female-headed households were significantly more likely to have received remittances than male-headed households (chi-square significant at the .1 level), consistent with the varied rating of importance the two groups gave remittances in terms of household income. Larger households tended to be more likely to receive remittances than smaller households.

38.6% of households receiving remittances had received remittances in cash, followed by food (29.8%), clothes (14.9%), and covering various household expenditures (6.3%). Of interest, this also varied by strata, with the large village and rural east strata focused most specifically on cash transfers and the west and north strata focused as much on food and clothes as cash. There was little variation across male- and female-headed households in terms of the types of remittances received.

The source of remittances is also interesting. Just over half were from a non-urban area (48.8%), compared to 46.8% from an urban area. Location of individuals remitting to the interviewed households receiving remittances by strata is shown in the following figure:

**Figure 2.6: Location of Those Remitting to Sampled Households**



\* See Table A.15, Appendix A.

Sources of remittances varied across strata, although not across gender of household head. Of interest, households in the rural east strata were more reliant on urban remittances than large village strata households. In contrast, households in the north and west were more reliant on remittances from large villages, presumably large villages in the north and west, respectively. Large village strata households themselves appeared to rely on both urban-sourced remittances, but also from other households in large villages (presumably many of these from the same villages they live in). In 4.4% of all remittance-receiving households in the rural east strata, remittances are received from outside Botswana.

In the majority of cases the remittances come from individuals who are perceived to 'belong to' the household being interviewed (81.8%). This was consistent for the large village, rural east and north strata, but was much lower in the west (63.2%), where 14.4%

indicated that a non-relative remitted (compared to 3.7% for the merged dataset). Findings again highlight the importance economic linkages within extended family structures.

### Ill Health

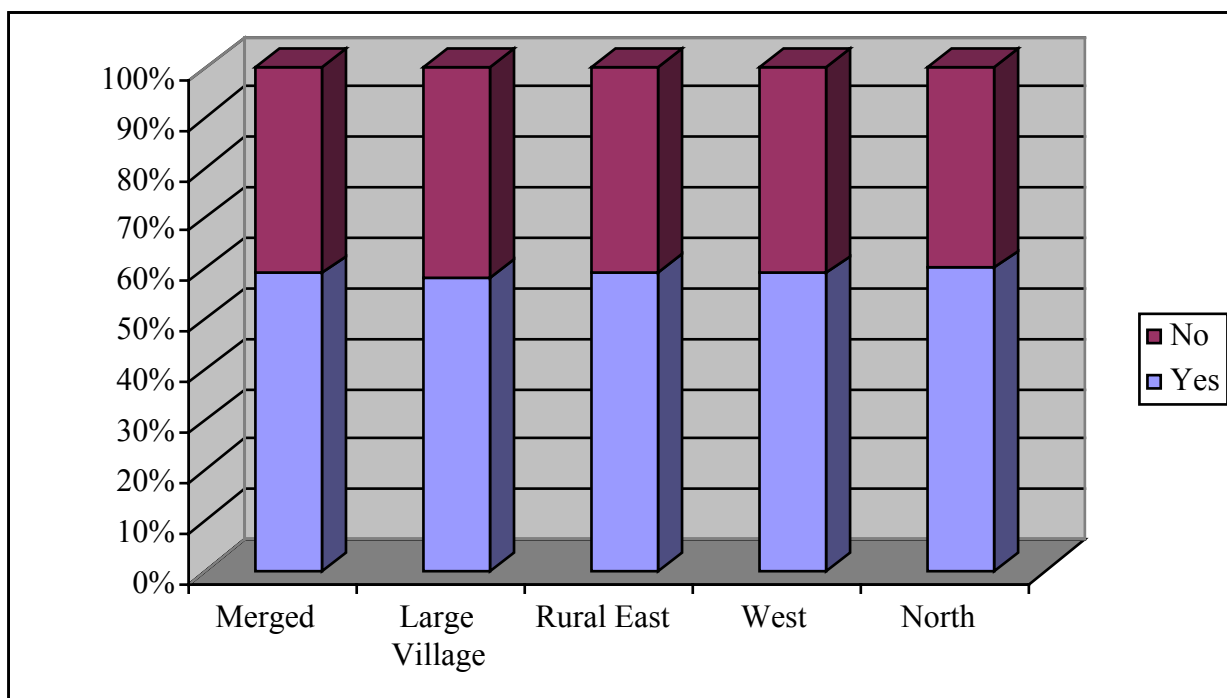
It was not possible, in the context of a study on rural development, to probe in detail into direct HIV/AIDS effects on interviewed households. Instead, the survey asked about an increase in ill health and premature death in recent years.

“In the past there were no diseases that ended up causing lots of things like people dying and leaving orphans behind and lots of poverty because those that are dying are the breadwinners”. SWAG in Kisa village. A second group in Kalongwane also noted that there were ‘many deaths nowadays and they are leaving many orphans behind’.

Given Botswana’s progress in reducing morbidity and mortality rates over the past few decades, including major diseases such as malaria, it was felt that measuring an *increase* in ill health and premature death would form at least a partial measure towards the effects of HIV/AIDS. Findings are indicated in the figure on the following page.

59% of respondents indicated that their households had been affected by increased ill health and premature deaths in recent years, with little variation across the four strata (chi-square insignificant at the .1 level). Adding weight to the findings, 80.3% argued that the negative impact was very severe, again consistent across location. Female-headed households were significantly more likely to indicate that higher levels of illness than usual was affecting their households, compared to male-headed households (chi-square significant at the .1 level).

**Figure 2.7: Has the Household Been Affected by Ill Health on a Regular Basis in Recent Years?**



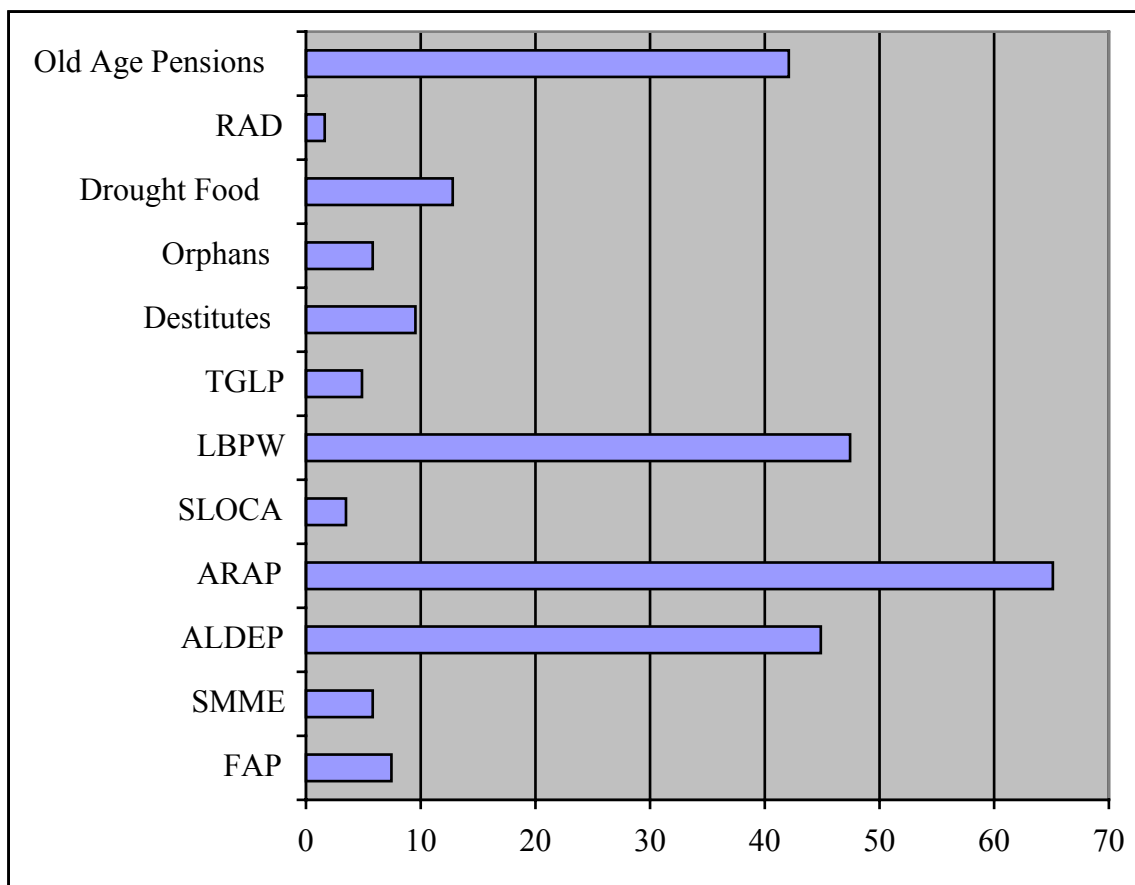
\* See Table A19, Appendix A.

Elsewhere in the questionnaire almost all respondents strongly agreed with the statement 'increased HIV/AIDS infection rates and AIDS deaths', with agreement levels strongest in the east and north, and lowest in the west. Of interest, only 2.2% indicated that they 'did not know' the impact of HIV/AIDS on their community and area. Female-headed households were also more likely to rank the impact of illness more severely (chi-square significant at the .1 level). There was no variation across household size.

### Access to Government Programmes

Respondents were asked which Government programmes they had ever accessed. Findings are summarised in the following figure:

**Figure 2.8: Access to Government Programmes**



\* See Table A21, Appendix A.

Two-thirds of all households had participated in the arable agricultural support programme ARAP, and almost half of all households had participated in ALDEP. ALDEP update figures were highest in the north and west, but still reached one-third of households in the sandveld west strata. Labour Based Public Works (LBPW) had reached almost half of the households, and drought feeding programmes had reached just over 10% (likely excluding the school feeding programme, which covered a much broader population).

Of interest, over 40% of households were receiving old age pensions, despite the newness of the programme. For those not accessing the pension scheme, virtually all respondents were aware of the scheme and knew that, in their current circumstances, they were not eligible. Almost all SWAG groups of varied income levels throughout Botswana mentioned old age pensions as an important source of income.



The other recent programme targeting households looking after orphans had reached 5.7% of all households, ranging from 3.7% in the large village strata up to 11.1% in the north. Only 2.4% of respondents who thought they might be eligible were unaware of the programme. Perhaps not surprisingly, households with orphans tended to be significantly larger than households without, with an average of 2.5 additional household members.

Regarding FAP, access averaged 7.4%. Of those who had not applied, one-quarter indicated that they were not aware of the programme, and 5.5% indicated that the programme would not be of interest to their household because it was 'not in an area we need support in'. Fully 47% were sufficiently aware of the programme and felt that they might need its support but that they 'could not afford our contribution', and a further 27.8% did not feel that they would know how to effectively utilise the FAP support. Lack of affordability was most commonly cited as a problem in the north.

Despite its newness relative to FAP, the SMME programme was known by a majority of households, of whom 5.9% had obtained SMME support. While 31.3% were unaware of the programme, 30.7% indicated that they could not meet the security requirements of the scheme, and 25.1% felt that they would not know how to effectively utilise the SMME support.

Almost all SWAG groups mentioned orphan support and old age pensions as of critical importance. These overcame the declines in informal transfers and arable agriculture.

Male-headed households were more likely to have accessed productive programmes such as FAP, ALDEP, ARAP, and TGLP (but not SMME), while female-headed households were more likely to have accessed SLOCA (for smallstock), destitutes support, and orphans support. There was no variation across male- and female-headed households with regard to access to drought relief feeding or employment, nor access to old age pensions.

The SWAG in Kalongwane village with men from non-poor households noted that, while arable agriculture had been in serious decline and livestock as well, and while this had made their lives much more problematic, there were protected somewhat by Government

support, 'things like the old age pension, destitutes support and orphan support are the only way that we are coping now'.

Focus group discussion participants were asked to name and explain available Government programme, and how important these programmes were. Summary findings are as follows:

Pandamatenga Women from poor households

ALDEP - Assists with livestock, farming machinery and donkey carts.

SLOCA - Funding for farming groups to assist with things such as digging wells.

FAP -

LG19 - Funds the VDC in projects such as building a hall. They also helped build a post office.

ARAP - It was a government funding and compensation scheme.

Orphans Support - It is a very good programme, orphaned children are given food, toiletry, and they go to schools, all their basic needs are attended to.

Old Age Pensions - Its good, but its too little money.

Destitutes - This helps the poor and homeless with food, clothing and shelter. The Council assesses names on the list given by the social worker and assists those involved accordingly.

Ditshwanelo - The human rights organisation helps the oppressed to express their views and rights.

Ramotswa Women from non-poor households

FAP - Applicants are expected to make a contribution. But, after the probation period expires they tend to sit back and expect the project to proceed on its own, and that marks the downfall.

LG17 - Projects were invited and meetings called at *kgotla* to inform people about them. We would then be hired. This programme speeds up development in the area.

ALDEP - Helps us with farming machinery, seeds and fertilisers for only a very small contribution. The scheme does not discriminate.

ARAP - We had help with cultivation and ploughing for no charge to ourselves.

SMME - We have only heard about this, we have not accessed it.

Old Age Pension - The amount is so small that, when old people get it, its finished in a day.

Destitute Support - We are happy for the support, but why should other destitutes be discriminated against. Those who deserve to be on

the list have been left out, and some of those who should not be on the list are there.

Orphans Support - Orphans are well looked after and are given food, clothes, and were taken to school free.

Red Cross - They help victims in times of disaster like floods and fires. They give out food and clothes to victims and also help the destitute and poor.

Shakawe

Community opinion leaders

ALDEP - Is important for assisting with farming machinery, fences for fields, seeds, and cattle and donkeys for ploughing.

ARAP - Encouraged farming because people were paid for ploughing their fields.

LBPW - Comes up with projects and employed labour here in the community.

FAP - This has enabled people to go into business, but the contribution demanded was too high.

Old Age Pension - This helped the parents.

Orphan Support - Orphans are given food, clothing, and are taken to school.

Destitutes Support - The poor are given food only.

Tegnyanateng - Helps Basarwa children, they are taken to school and the Council pays.

NGOs - There aren't any here.

Serobe

Older people from non-poor households

ALDEP - Helps with farming machinery. At first it was for everyone but when the land board was introduced one had to have a certificate in order to access the scheme.

FAP - One had to have security to succeed. Those who accessed it were small enterprise owners because there was no room for bigger business ventures as most of the people in the community were unemployed.

LBPW - The problem is low wages paid for labour. The scheme was nevertheless good because it did not discriminate.

Orphans Support - At times the provisions were insufficient and they resulted in the orphans suffering.

Red Cross - They help with wood and threads so that people can make clothes for selling, and they train people with small projects. If someone's proper is burnt or one was a flood victim, they would be provided with a tent, food and toiletries.

Gathwane

Men from poor households

Drought Relief - It is especially important because it ensured that one could earn wages every month end and therefore be able to support their family.

ALDEP - It provided farmers with seeds, fencing, ploughing, and paying tractor owners who had ploughed their fields.

SMME - This could help the community, as business could be built. However, they could not benefit because they could not afford the contribution and had no property to secure the loan.

Old Age Pension - This is important because it is helpful to those who have nothing at all. However, the amount needs to be increased. Further, the payment timing was not always certain.

Destitutes Support - This is unimportant, food provided is not enough for the entire month. People should get relish, shelter and clothes.

Orphan Support - This is very important because orphans are given food and P200 that they could use to buy food, clothes, etc.

## Good Hope

### Women from poor households

FAP - This is important because it has helped create jobs for others and teach those who do not know how to sew and run businesses. But, on the other hand, it is unimportant as there is no market to sell things here. Further, some people who really need the help cannot afford the contribution, and those that do often go into the same business so there is too much competition.

ARAP - ARAP was important because the Government provided farmers with seeds. However, where people had to make contributions (e.g., ploughing 10%, school cart purchase 10%) it was not helpful. Some people did not have lands, because in the old days unless a woman was married she did not have rights to land.

ALDEP - ALDEP is important because it provides farmers with fences for their fields. However, as with ARAP, if a woman was not married she did not have land, and therefore she could not accept ALDEP.

SMME - Same as FAP.

Old Age Pension - This helps old people add on to what their children could provide. However, the money was not enough, particularly for the poor who did not have other sources of income.

Destitutes Support - This is very helpful to both the old and the needy, and for parents who come from poor families, where the programme helps them with their children.

## Gulubane

### Young people from non-poor households

ALDEP - Gave inputs for farming.

ARAP - Gave money for production. It encouraged people to plough. It also provides some temporary employment to those measuring fields.

FAP - This programme is not accessed in this area.

SMME - Also not accessed in this area.

LBPW - This is important because it helps the unemployed and brings development to the community and incomes to households.

## Kanye

### Young people from non-poor households

FAP - This helped people to start businesses and therefore get jobs.

ALDEP - This helped as farmers were given seeds. If the field owners hired someone to clear the fields the Government would pay such a period. People were given fences, but the tractor owners were not ploughing very deep if they were booked by many people to plough.

ARAP - This helped a lot, we got cows from them cheap. It also provided employment to people to look after livestock.

SMME - Payment installments were high and one would not receive the money they need.

Orphans Support - Orphans are helped with food. However, some of those looking after orphans were not doing the right thing to support the children, for example, not supporting them in school.



Kavimba

Women from poor households

Old Age Pensions - The money is too little, but people manage to purchase basics with it. Even then, husbands spend the money on themselves.

ARAP - Very helpful, it encourages arable farming. Farmers were rewarded for row planting and removing stumps.

LBPW - The scheme is our 'pillar of development'. We were hired by the VDC to build houses for rental purposes and they used the meagre pay for school fees and purchasing food supplies.

FAP - This has helped those who have accessed it, but we have never tried.

Kolongwane

Young people from poorer households

FAP - This is important because people can improve their living standards by starting their own businesses. However, most people do not know about it and how it operates, and who qualifies and who does not. Also, there is no electricity here so some businesses cannot take place. Infrastructure is poor and markets are far. People also misuse the money, they must be trained in how to use it properly.

Drought Relief - Creates jobs for the community and brings us development.

Old Age Pension - This is important as old people can have money to buy groceries or pay for burial societies. However, the money is too little, especially in the west where goods are very expensive.

Orphan Support - This is important because it helps the orphans to look like all other kids, as they are provided with food, uniforms, and school fees. However, they do not receive clothes and blankets.

Destitutes Support - This is very useful as the needy are supply with food and P200 each month. However, the food was not enough for the whole month, and the p200 could not fill the gap.

Kopong

Older people from non-poor households

FAP - This supported people who wanted to go into business.

ALDEP - Supplies farmers with farming inputs like fencing, scotch carts and donkeys. However, some do not use the inputs for the correct purposes.

Drought Relief - This brings development to the community and helps households get an income. The programme helped our community build a *kgotla* and community hall. The problem is that wages are too low.

ARAP - This is important as it provides farmers with seeds. However, some of those who used the programme did not take their agriculture seriously, and did not look after their fields. Such support should only be offered to serious farmers.



Old Age Pensions - They use this to support their families, but it is little. The amount of money should be increased and the age should be reduced to 60 'because people die younger now'.

Destitutes Support - Officers are there to assess who is eligible and who is not, and this helps to avoid jealousy. But, some are left in need.

Orphans Support - This is new and good, as it helps orphans and the community would not complain as we are all aware of the orphans situation. Some are complaining, however, that the food is expired. At some stage people had misunderstood this support as only applying to orphans whose parents have died of AIDS.

SMME - This is helpful as it improved small business owners. The problem is that some misuse funds, and would therefore not be able to pay back the loans.

Home-Care Volunteers - They wash patients, do their laundry, clean their houses, cook and plant vegetables for them.

## Good Hope

Women from poor households

SMME - This is important because if a person uses it properly they could succeed and later create jobs and income for their households.

ALDEP - This was important because a person could get what they wanted or needed in agriculture products and it did create some jobs because people put up fences. This did hurt the environment, however, because people cut down trees.

ARAP - This was of great importance because it encouraged people to plough by paying them for it. On the other hand, people became lazy because they began to plough just for money. Government did not plan on how to actually use the ARAP money effectively.

LBPW - It provided some jobs and kept people busy and brought some income into the community.

LG1109 - This is important and created jobs because when they wanted to build they hired builders and this brought income into the area and did not hurt the environment.

SLOCA - This helped us by fencing areas and it saved livestock from poisonous plants.

FAP - It helped those who did access it a great deal because they were getting bricks nearby, as well as uniforms, and there are bakers.

## Mabalane

Men from non-poor households

Destitutes Support - It did not create jobs nor bring development, but it did help some people.

FAP - This supported production and development in the community.

LBPW - This is of great importance, it brought development to the community.

ALDEP - This programme helped a great deal because people managed to fence their fields and some obtained scotch carts. Not all got help, but those who were reached were certainly helped.

ARAP - People got seeds and were encouraged to plough.  
 Old Age Pension - This helps the old because at least they get something to support themselves, although its too little.  
 Orphans Support - It is of great help but now the wrong people are being supported.  
 Destitutes Support - As with orphans support, it is of great help but now the wrong people are being supported.  
 VDC - They bring development to the community and create jobs whenever they do projects.  
 VHC - While they bring no jobs and no income, they keep the environment clean and there are always there to help.  
 Crime Prevention Unit - They help prevent crime in the community and therefore also help in development but protecting everyone.  
 Burial Society - They are of great help to those who cannot afford funerals.

Molepolole Older people from poor households

FAP - It is important because it creates opportunities for small businesses to hire others.  
 Drought Relief - It is important in helping people in rural areas to be employed.  
 ARAP - This was important because no one had farming equipment, so Government paid those with tractors to plough.  
 SMME - It is helpful for those who use it properly. However, people misuse the money sometimes (e.g., purchasing a cell phone).  
 Old Age Pensions - This is important because if someone is old and their children cannot afford to help, the pension helps them buy food.  
 Orphan Support - It supports the needy. Sometimes, however, people who receive the food sell it.

Motshaneng Women from poor households

FAP - This created jobs for those who were unemployed and was an alternative to agricultural production. Since the rains failed, this was a good alternative.  
 ALDEP - This was important because it provided fencing.  
 Drought Relief - This provides money to help poor households cope with life. Even though payment is little, it is important because poor households have nothing. However, when drought relief work came during ploughing people moved away from arable farming and became lazy.  
 ARAP - ARAP was important because households obtained many cattle from it.

Rappels Pan Men from poor households

FAP - This is not important because it takes so long to have applications approved.

SLOCA - This is not important because one has to be in a group to get the loan. 'It is extinct here'.

Old Age Pension - Is important because old people can make a living with the money. On the other hand it is not important because money is not enough because things are so expensive.

Destitutes Support - This is very important because people were given food and clothes.

Orphans Support - This is important because it helps the child and family to make a living.

Salajwe

Women from poor households

ALDEP - If one was poor one would be able to gain from the programme, because ploughing would be paid for. They were also given seeds and their fields were fenced.

SMME - This helped by giving people credit to start a business, one could make a profit and improve oneself.

Thusang Basadi - They have a savings scheme whereby each contribute a small amount and later can borrow the full sum.

Old Age Pension - Some could save money, purchase food, improve their houses.

Destitutes Support - At least they had food at the end of the month.

Orphans Support - If the mother was late and the father not supportive, the child would be supported by the Government.

Serowe

Older people from non-poor households

ARAP - Of great importance because it provided fences and brought jobs and incomes.

ALDEP - It was important because we got cattle.

LBPW - It was important because the unemployed got temporary jobs and hence brought income.

Old Age Pensions - It is very important.

Orphans Support - Government helped them support the orphans because the cost of living is so high.

Destitutes Support - They are able to get food and other things that they need.

Tsabong

Young people from non-poor households

Old Age Pension - It is important because old people can buy food. The pension reduces the burden from the breadwinner in the extended family.

Orphan Support - This is important because the mother's love was gone, and the food and clothes offered would make them feel needed and loved and would give them hope for the future.

Tsamaya

Older people from poor households

ALDEP - It has helped with fencing, donkeys, cows and some other things for fields. Cattle was particularly important.

ARAP - Provided seeds.

LBPW - Helped us with the building of houses. However, if you wanted to work in your fields this was not for you.

Werda

Older people from poor households

ARAP - It was useful and it helped encourage farmers to plough by providing them with seeds.

Drought Relief - Creates jobs for those in rural areas.

Old Age Pension - This is a Government gift to the old who could no longer work. It helped to increase the amount of money they could work with. If the old age food ratio was finished the money could be used to purchase more.

Destitute Support - This helped the needy who would have been killed by hunger. The problem is that the food and money is not enough for the whole month. Both the food and money only covers two weeks. Further, 'the maize meal provided is covered with pests because the food has been lying around a long time'.

Xhumo

Women from poor households

LBPW - This was very important Not only was development brought to the village, but people learned building skills.

ALDEP - This was very important because Government used to pay half and we paid half.

ARAP - This helped people with income from ploughing.

Destitutes Support - This is very important because it gives the very poor among us food and clothing.

Charles Hill

Older people from non-poor households

ALDEP - People were helped with farming machinery like planters, donkey carts, and animals like cows and donkeys. Men contributed 15% and women 5%.

ARAP - People were paid for removing stumps and plant in rows. It was stopped because some farmers cheated, they just cultivated without planting seeds. People were also paid for weeding their fields.

Orphans Support - The scheme really helps those in need. However, for those who have lost their fathers there is no support, this is discrimination.

SLOCA - People are not able to access the scheme because the land board blocked applications for boreholes and wells. The application process was also long, and there were many requirements.

Old Age Pension - A good scheme, but the money is too little.

LBPW - This comes and goes, 'we hope it has not gone for good'.

Destitutes Support - This scheme is lagging behind. Some pit latrines are not completed, even though the group had been prepared long ago. Some destitutes still do not have a roof over their heads.

FAP - Those who had accessed the funds had made visible progress. Why doesn't Government reduce the contribution so that those who only have little can be able to access the scheme?

Nojane

Young people from non-poor households

FAP - The money is used to buy machinery for those who want to start a business.

SMME - Helped those who underwent relevant training. 'Some of us have applied but we are still waiting for certificates before we can receive loans'.

Old Age Pensions - This helped old people to purchase necessities, but it was not enough.

Destitutes Support - They were given food and tents, and blankets and clothes during winter. The scheme did not discriminate as it involved the chief, the social worker and the council.

Orphans Support - The provisions are adequate.

The following points are of particular interest from the above:

- There are relatively clear patterns of variation across poor and non-poor households. Business support schemes appear to be perceived as accessible by the non-poor, but not the poor who raise concerns about collateral and repayment of loans.
- A number of the respondents were particularly positive about the role of arable agricultural support programmes. There was, however, considerable confusion about what ALDEP offered versus what ARAP offered.
- Virtually all respondents indicated that old age pensions were insufficient, even to supplement other sources of income.
- Virtually all respondents believed that the orphans support programme was reaching its target and that support was sufficient. A few raised concerns, but the concerns were minor.

## **Land Tenure**

Oral history respondents were asked about how land was allocated in 1973. Responses appeared to revolve around two interlinked issues: 1) shifting from chiefs to land boards in terms of allocation; and 2) the growing shortage of land. Respondents noted considerable freedom in being able to access land where they wanted it in the past, with some arguing that land boards were now allocating smaller pieces of land in less desirable locations. In Kavimba the respondent noted that even foreigners could be allocated land, the case would be brought before the chief and considered on its merits. Of interest, when asked to compare 1973 to 2001, a number of the oral history respondents argued that the creation of the land boards had made things harder for them, 'things were better before when the chief allocated land'.

SWAG participants were asked to discuss the effectiveness, efficiency, and fairness of the land tenure system. The discussion evoked strong feelings. Respondents felt that the system of land boards introduced an element of fairness in the land allocation system, but that the system needed to be more efficient. Some groups noted that the system of land allocation was confusing. Examples of opinions included the following:

- Gathwane Poorer households, women - 'People are being fired for illegally increasing their allocated land for a maximum of P1000 depending on the amount you have. Otherwise, the land board is doing very well by settling disputes property.'
- Kisa Poorer households, young people - 'Land allocation is discriminating, because you have to be twenty-one to get land. This is not fair, because there are those of us under 21 who want land'.
- Kalongwane Non-poor households, men - 'A person must first apply and the application must be signed by the head of land and then to the land board. They will then have to assess the land and see if there is enough, if there is, the applicant is invited for an interview and to take an oath. It takes three months before a piece of land can be allocated and this is done four times a year, which is not bad. The only delay is in allocating land for boreholes. If you inherit a piece of land, you must have a letter from the parents or whoever gave the land, together with a certificate of ownership and a witness. For the resolution of disputes, the land board settles the dispute. If a person increases his or her land illegally, the land board will go back to the records consults on the initial measurement of the land and, if the land is suddenly bigger, then it will be remeasured and goes back to its original size'.
- Letlhakeng Poorer households, older people - 'The land tenure system is not effective because they take a long time to respond to applications. They do not consult anyone, not even the chief. Regarding inheritance, they will take the land, even if you have a certificate they will not give it to you. This land board is very irresponsible. Even if you apply for a piece of land that you really want, and have even talked to the neighbours and they welcome you, the land board won't even care. They will allocate you land anywhere they like, if you are lucky to get any land'.
- Salajwe Non-poor households, men - 'The land board discriminates, you are allocated land depending on who you are. If you are from poorer households, the land board takes a long time to reply to your application, but if you are well known or well off, you are given land immediately. Some tribes get preference over the Basarwa and Bakgalagadi. Inheritance depends on whether the original owner is known, but if he is not, the one who inherits the land will take long to claim the inherited land even if he has witnesses. There are irregularities. Sometimes when the dead are buried you are told that the land is gone, it has been given to someone else. Sometimes you do not get the land you applied for'.
- Serowe Non-poor households, women - 'The system is efficient but when it comes to fairness there is a problem. For example, there is a plot which was reserved for commercial use, but only the wealthy people have access to it. When it comes to land allocation, you as a poor person will have to undergo unnecessary long procedures. They do, however, resolve

conflicts, for example if someone owns land and someone is trying to allocate part of that lands for him the land board resolves that.



Tsabong	Non-poor households, women - 'The maximum length of time to process an application is five months, which is not bad. People apply, but first they have to talk to their potential neighbours. If they are welcomed then they can apply to the land board for land allocation. If the new neighbour does not welcome you, you cannot set up a house there, so the land will be sold. Disputes are effectively settled and people tend to reconcile. Land inheritance, one has to bring the certificate and witnesses to prove that it is true that the land was inherited'.
Tutume	Non-poor households, older people - 'The land tenure system is effective, its now better than in the past because certain people were allowed to occupy a large space of an area but, currently, we are now all the same, we are equal. Land is allocated fairly. Everyone has the right to access land. There is no corruption. There are problems of efficiency, however. It takes long before land is allocated and this is what is causing land conflicts and self-allocation of land. If there is a conflict over land allocation, the land board is brought in. If they don't solve it, its taken to the chief.
Masunga	Poor households, women - 'There are some problems with the current land tenure system because, if you look at it from the point of view of inheritance, you will found that the land board does not appreciate this, so it does not solve the dispute. The land that is given is very small and with small space to build a house or make a yard. The land board does not, however, discriminate in terms of gender'. Further, 'the land board should continue to allocate land because if they do not, some people would just get big pieces of land and that would lead to shortages'. 'If you are an immigrant you should ask for land from the community, the community can discuss it and then talk about it. Only then should it go to the land board'.
Nojane	Poorer households, older people - 'In the past, allocation of land was done according to which ward one belonged to. Since the land board was introduced, we are allocated land irrespective of which ward one belongs to and where we want to be placed. When we were growing up, we inherited land from our parents today, we are forced to give up some of that land for reallocation by the land board. We are crowded into small places. Parents look after children and the other way around, if a child is allocated a piece of land far from his or her parents, how are they expected to look after each other? We are now so mixed, this makes it difficult for us to follow our culture'.
Ramotswa	Poorer households, older people - 'In the past our plots were small but acceptable, at 60x40. Today, however, they are now 38x21, which is too small'.
Shakawe	'Our land board is useless, we don't know why, maybe there are class differences in land allocation. There are powerful people who are

controlling things, and therefore the situation is not fair. The VDC should be addressing our grievances, but instead they have turned their backs on us'.

Shorobe 'The land board allocates land unfairly. We are expected to fit into small spaces between plots and these plots are too small. The rules governing the land board should be reviewed because they are not operating in accordance with what the people want. What type of houses can be built on such small land?'

Respondents were asked whether perceptions of the 'value' of land had changed over time. Has a market for land emerged, even if land is not paid for? Have new demands, particularly from outsiders coming to the area, affected land allocation? Have people transferred to others the right to use certain pieces of land? If changes are underway, what did this imply for the community? Most groups only responded in general to the queries. Groups argued that land shortages were becoming more and more problematic, and some argued that Chinese and Afrikaner settlers were taking more and more land (mentioned in Kisa, Kolongwane, Letlhakeng, and Tsabong). The issue of land use by outsiders was felt by more communities, arguing that land shortages were worsening. In Salajwe, for example, participants noted that 'there is nowhere that one can place their livestock, boreholes and arable fields, and no where for homes. The Government is making matters worse by getting land, which is for wild animals and privatising it for private owners'. In Letlhakeng, the participants noted that 'there is no land due to a lot of foreigners'. Business land was felt to be under particular pressure. As the group in Kolongwane noted, outside settlement 'has affected the community because we cannot get land for markets, we are being overpowered economically'. The SWAG in Shakawe stated that there was now a market for residential and commercial plots, illegal of course because land is communal. A person will take you to an undeveloped piece of land and tell you that it is selling for P1500'.

In terms of how the land tenure system might be improved, the respondents made the following recommendations:

Gathwane Poorer households, women - 'The land board works, if more land can be made available the problem will be solved'.

Kisa Poorer households, young people - 'Land should be remeasured after fencing to make sure that people don't increase the portion illegally'.

Kolongwane	'The land board should limit their land allocation to the foreigners who want land for businesses'.
Letlhakeng	'The land board should work hand in hand with the community, it should not work in isolation'.
Salajwe	'Rather than getting people to move from where they were to the centre of villages, they should let them stay'.
Serowe	'The land board should be taught to be fair to all, not just the economically powerful. They should be more efficient in processing applications, because delays result in people self-allocating land and then fighting about it'.
Tutume	'They should speed up land allocation'.
Zwenshambe	'People should not sell land at all even if the land board delays, we should just try to be patient with them. They do the best they can, they are fair and efficient'. 'There is increased pressure on commercial land allocation, therefore the community via the <i>kgotla</i> should have more say'.
Nojane	'Farm plots should also be increased in size, as the current ones are too small for livestock'.
Shakawe	'The land board needs to be independent of pressure from other village authorities'.

Respondents were asked "If there was a need to radically transform rural areas to effectively, for example, commercialise agricultural production and raise rural living standards, would similarly radical transformation of the land tenure system be required?" Probes focused on a commercial land tenure system, community management of community-owned land, and joint ownership. Almost all respondents argued that the development of a commercial market for land in their areas would be a good idea. They felt that this would bring development to the rural areas. Specific comments included 'tourist developments would occur', argued one group, and another argued that 'this would create employment'. The idea of a commercial market for land meant, some groups felt, that those who were currently getting land that should be set aside for citizens would be forced to purchase land on the commercial market.

Regarding community management of community-owned land, many groups tended to put this in the context of VDC management, and thereafter responded in light of their

current views about the effectiveness and fairness of their VDCs. Most were favourable to the idea, but argued that the VDCs and communities needed to be strengthened to effectiveness take on such a role 'or we might get cheated'. Others responded more generally, with some arguing that such an approach would be consistent with 'how things used to be done'. Respondents did not feel that there would be different effects of such changes on different groups in the community, 'no more so than currently'.

### **Perceptions of Poverty**

Oral history respondents were asked to discuss poverty, how one knows that someone is in poverty, and what it implies. In Letlhakeng, the respondent argued that poverty meant having nothing, while those not in poverty had cattle and money. 40% of households were estimated to not be in poverty, 60% were estimated to be poverty stricken. This was an improvement, historically those in poverty were felt to be some 80%. For those in poverty, the problem was often laziness or lack of skills. In Charles Hill, people who were felt to be in poverty were those who 'don't have anything like livestock and arable land, people who are too lean, who don't dress well, who have no shelter or only very poor shelter. People who are not in poverty 'are those who dress well, whose live well, who are healthy, who can put food on their tables. They have more than 20 cattle and had arable land'. '50% of the people are now in poverty here, before it was only 10%'. The respondent in Kanye noted that someone in poverty is someone who cannot meet basic needs such as shelter, food and clothes, and livestock, and who doesn't have a job. 'They are usually shy and marginalised'. In Mochudi, the respondent noted that one could tell the rich and poor by their appearance. The respondent went on to report that the problem is that 'the rich now enjoy being rich without helping the poor'.

In Molepolole, the respondent argued that the key indicator of poverty was an inability to take care of a problem situation if it arose. In Moroka, the respondent said that those in poverty did not have adequate food and no assets. 'I am poor, all I have are donkeys'. Those not in poverty look 'fresh and healthy and they own everything concerning livestock and ploughing equipment. Of interest, the respondent later went on to note that

those in poverty were there because of laziness, the non-poor are hardworkers. 70% of the population in the area was felt to be in poverty, 30% not in poverty. 'Long ago the non-poor were so many, this is so because people were hardworkers and hence ploughed their fields and produced a lot of crops for their consumption. They 70% were non-poor and 30% were poor'.

The Nojane respondent said that 'poverty is when we have nothing of our own, and no jobs'. The respondent noted that 80% of the population in the area was in poverty, only 20% were not poverty stricken. The respondent noted that being in poverty now was worse than in the past: '... in the early days all people, though not equal, had something to eat. There were informal transfers like *mafisa* to enable them to produce food for themselves'.

The Kavimba oral history respondent linked poverty to extended family ties, and links with other community members, in addition to their economic circumstances. The contention was that these linkages protected households.

In terms of 'shocks' or 'major negative events' that had affected the lives of the communities, many mentioned consistent poor rains, life being 'more demanding now than in the past', an increased reliance on employment when jobs were not plentiful, and the decline in arable agriculture. When asked about changes in human capital, respondents noted the many positive changes had occurred that have helped mitigate the effects of poverty. 'Government helps us with food, education. There are programmes that ensure that we are well looked after'. It is at this point that a number mentioned AIDS, with the consequent increase in the number of orphans 'to be looked after by old people who do not have the strength to work and make a living. Thus they fall back into poverty'. Respondents consistently mentioned an increase in formal employment, but often argued that more people were looking for jobs than could be employed.

## **Culture and Society**

Local level key informants were asked the following question: “In thinking about changes over the past few decades, how do you think that your community’s culture, that is its values, beliefs and practices, has allowed your community to adapt to the challenges it has faced, and where has it been unable to help you cope with these changes?” Many of the respondents commented on the widespread tendency of Batswana youth to migrate to urban areas to seek work, and the consequent perceived breakdown in family ties and Setswana culture. A number also noted the trend of households moving away from a focus on arable agriculture. Respondents felt that a number of the elements that supported Setswana culture were being undermined, even local technology change had a negative impact. The shifting away of time and resources from arable agriculture was felt to have a particularly negative impact, as the cultural activities and socialisation surrounding arable agriculture were important in keeping communities together. Sharing labour across smallholder farms was said to be non-existent, some noting that ARAP led to this problem and others mentioning labour-based public works.

“Does Batswana culture still exist here”. Key informant in southern Botswana.

‘There is no culture these days. This community is light and weak - the wind just blows it to hear and there. This has made the community unable to adapt to changes and challenges. Young people move and come back with foreign cultures and practice them here and because the community is no longer firm to stand and rely on its own culture, it simply accepts anything coming its way’. Key informant in central Botswana.

A Mayeyi respondent noted that they were expected to use Setswana culture rather than their own, but both were being lost to western culture because the youth were fast changing: ‘They go to town to seek employment and come back as strangers’. A Motswana in Werda noted that the culture of ‘coloureds’ dominated in their community, so Setswana society was gone long ago.

Oral history respondents were asked to describe social and cultural relations within their community in 1973. Virtually all of the respondents felt that the ties binding community members together in 1973 were strong, ‘our culture and social life was better’. ‘Tradition was well followed, the chief worked hard at maintaining the community’. ‘The youth respected the elderly’. ‘People adhered to their culture’. A number of the respondents noted that, if someone found themselves in a difficult position, they would be helped by

‘In the past we used to produce our own food, this is an important part of our culture. Today people laze around and wait for Government to give them food’. Key informant in western Botswana.

community members. 'If there were poor people in the community who had no livestock or arable products like sorghum, they would get some from those who did have something. There was no jealousy, there was sharing'. Communities were said to co-operate, there was mutual respect and mutual dependency.

## **Dissemination Findings**

As noted in Chapter 1, following submission of the draft report the field team returned to the field to discuss findings with community members. The findings discussed with community members covered the full draft report, not just the field research. Findings with regard to livelihoods can be summarised as follows:

- The vast majority of respondents argued that support for arable agriculture should *not* be withdrawn. Existing programmes should be continued. Further, additional support should be focused on water supply in arable lands area and a focus on irrigated agriculture. This would help stem rural to urban migration.
- Support for on-farm production should be supplemented by improving market access, expanding markets, and improving producer prices.
- For those living near wildlife parks, or near areas where there were wildlife concentrations, there was considerable resentment towards compensation for wildlife damage to crops.
- There was widespread agreement with the setting of a minimum wage for commercial farmworkers, but little support for a minimum wage for communal farmworkers.
- There was a mixed response to the suggestion that the private sector should be more heavily involved in service delivery, utilising local entrepreneurs.
- There was considerable agreement with the suggestion that a law on communal land be established so that farmers have a deed to the land.
- There was strong agreement with the idea that farmers who had access to commercial farms should not be allowed to keep or graze any livestock in communal areas.
- There was universal support for orphan, destitute, old age, and remote area dweller programmes. Respondents felt that they should be continued and strengthened, and that the eligibility criteria for old age pensions should be reduced to the age of sixty.

## **Summary**



Over half of surveyed households indicated that they were regularly unable to meet their basic needs. For those who could meet their basic needs on a regular basis, almost half indicated that they generated a surplus. Much of this surplus was put into savings or used to purchase non-essentials.

Households considered agriculture (livestock and arable production) as central to household livelihood strategies, integrated with remittances, formal employment, Government support, and, to a lesser extent, small enterprises. Over half of all rural households had planted, highest in the north and for smaller villages in the east; one-third of sandveld households had planted. Some 45% of all rural households owned cattle, and half owned goats. One-in-ten households with livestock had at least one animal via *mafisa*. 60% of households had received at least one set of remittances over the year 2000, and most of these remittances were regular and substantive. Perhaps surprisingly, just over half of all remittances were received from members living outside of urban areas. There was significant variation across strata, with smaller hardveld villages most likely to rely on urban areas. Western and northern villages were unlikely to rely on urban areas, and more likely to rely on large villages and other rural areas.

59% of households indicated that their households had been affected by increased ill health and premature death in recent years, affecting all areas of the country. Of these, 80.3% argued that the effect was very severe.

Access to Government programmes was high in terms of ARAP, ALDEP, LBPW, and old age pensions, but significantly lower in terms of drought feeding programmes, SLOCA, TGLP, orphans support, SMME and FAP. For the latter two, however, the figure is significant in light of the number of households engaged in small enterprise activities, suggesting that many of those involved in SMMEs are reached via support programmes. Knowledge about Government programmes was quite high, although there was some confusion across various schemes. Respondents felt that the orphans programme was effectively reaching the target group, and that levels of support were sufficient. Old age pensions, while felt to reach a significant portion of its target group, was felt to be severely adequate.

Older community members were very concerned about how changes in Botswana had undermined Setswana culture. Rapid urbanisation and exposure of young people to 'new ways' was felt to be of particular concern, coupled with a belief that a movement away from arable agriculture as well as livestock were significant contributory factors.

# Chapter 3: Changes in Household Status and Coping Preferences

## Introduction

After giving their opinions about their households' current status, respondents were asked to outline how things had changed since they first established their households. These covered all key aspects of household livelihoods, including arable agriculture, livestock, natural resources, social services, production support, employment, social relations, and land tenure. Respondents were then asked to consider their coping preferences for the future.

## Opinions About Changes in Household Status

Oral history respondents were asked to compare their situation in 1973 to their situation in 2001. Most respondents gave a 'mixed

'... in 2001 our situation is heart-wrenching. The rains are always poor. People have now copied other people's culture, they are not co-operative anymore'. Letlhakeng respondent.

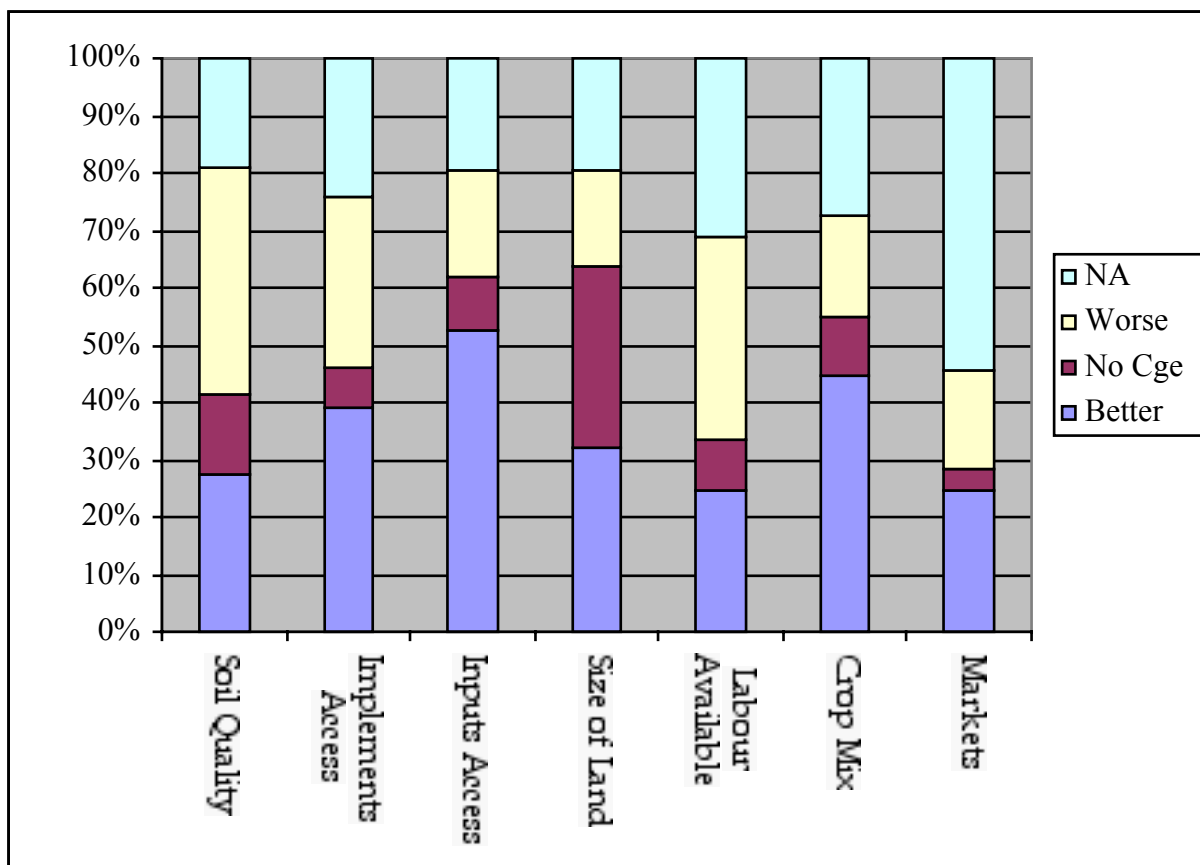
review' of how things had changed. In many respects, most respondents argued, life had gotten easier and there was more support, more employment, more businesses, etc., and 'now there are services everywhere'. At the same time, many respondents noted a decline in social relations, difficulties with 'holding culture together', growing problems of alcohol abuse, etc. There were, in this respect, more strains on society making communities less cohesive. There were also comments about emerging class divisions between the education and the employed, on the one hand, and those who were not so fortunate on the other.

## Arable Agriculture

Respondents to the quantitative questionnaire were asked to consider various aspects of arable agriculture and to consider whether their situation in this regard was better now

than before, there had been no change, they were worse off, or the issue did not apply to them. Key summary findings for the merged dataset are included in the following figure:

**Figure 3.1: Perceived Changes in Arable Agriculture**



\* See Table A6, Appendix A.

Half of those still involved in arable agriculture felt that there had been a decline in soil productivity, compared to a third who felt that the productivity had improved (whether due to access to new lands or the addition of inputs to the soil), and less than one-quarter felt that there was no change. Similar ambivalent findings also occurred with regard to the availability of implements, for the size of landholdings and, for just under half of the households who felt that it applied to them, for access to markets for arable produce. Perceptions that the situation had improved did occur with regard to access to inputs and crop mixing. However, labour shortages were felt to have worsened for many households.

There was significant regional variation, with those in the east reporting greater levels of decline on almost all variables.

Access to inputs, inadequate land holdings, and access to implements were major concerns affecting arable agriculture.

This was also the case for female-headed households, who were more negative about trends in productive arenas including arable agriculture, livestock and natural resources than male-headed households (with the exception of

availability of labour, consistent with findings noted above), although female-headed households tended to be more positive in terms of evaluating the extensiveness of Government support for productive activities.

SWAG respondents noted that arable agriculture had declined in importance over time. The Gathwane group argued that more erratic rainfall was the main reason, as did the Good Hope group. In Gathwane, women from poorer households noted that 'ideally arable agriculture would become a staple job just like it was in the past', and if it were not for poor rainfall they would like to see it playing a key role again. 'Like formal employment, we prioritise the importance of arable agriculture because it would improve our living standard'. They noted that focusing on formal employment would be fine, but that this was not going to help 'because we are not educated and it is very difficult for us to find jobs'.

The group in Serowe noted that, fifteen years ago, remittance and arable agriculture were the most important sources of household livelihoods, while the group in Tutume argued that on-

Respondents noted that arable agriculture has been in secular decline for many years. This was an issue of serious concern, because households felt that this had weakened their economic base, had undermined Setswana culture, and had severely weakened inter-household and community coping mechanisms where 'we all helped those who had none'.

farm employment on smallholder farms was of central importance at independence, followed by arable agriculture. The group in Nojane argued that 'arable product consumption used to be massive, and people shared with each other'. A SWAG in Tutume noted that one of the most important changes they had noted over the past few decades was the shrinking of on-farm employment opportunities. 'In the past, more income was generated from on-farm employment but in the current situation it does not exist. The reasons are that agriculture has virtually disappeared and new methods of job creation were being created, so many of our youth migrate to find work. Even livestock has become less important'. The SWAG with poorer households in Tsabong also noted the many changes taking place in arable agriculture: 'With harvest, it was different, in the old days we used to invite those who were not fortunate and give them a portion of their harvest. But now we can only produce for household consumption'.

In contrast, the SWAG in Kachikau in Chobe District noted that arable agriculture still played a very important role in their lives. The problem was not production nor a lack of interest in agriculture, indeed people produced much to meet their needs. The problem was their remoteness to markets and the low prices offered. In Nojane, the older respondents from poorer households comprising the group argued that the problem with arable production was not labour and interest, rather it was poor markets and low prices. The SWAG in Kolongwane with men noted that they would like to rely more on arable agriculture, but that rainfall was a continuous problem. 'Formal employment would be better, but there are no jobs'. The SWAG with non-poor households in Serowe argued that the situation now was worse than in the past 'because we used to practice arable agriculture, relatives would see if you were suffering and would come to help out'.

Most oral history respondents felt that arable agriculture had gone into decline, despite there being new support from Government and the existence of new technologies. While noting a secular decline in arable agriculture, a few respondents did note that soil fertility had improved. The Letlhakeng respondent noted that 'now soil fertility is good because the agricultural officers have taught us and given us much good advice'. Others echoed these sentiments, including Moroka where soil fertility was linked to the use of fertilisers, while others noted that the problem was not soil fertility or the lack thereof, rather it was the lack of rain that was the problem.

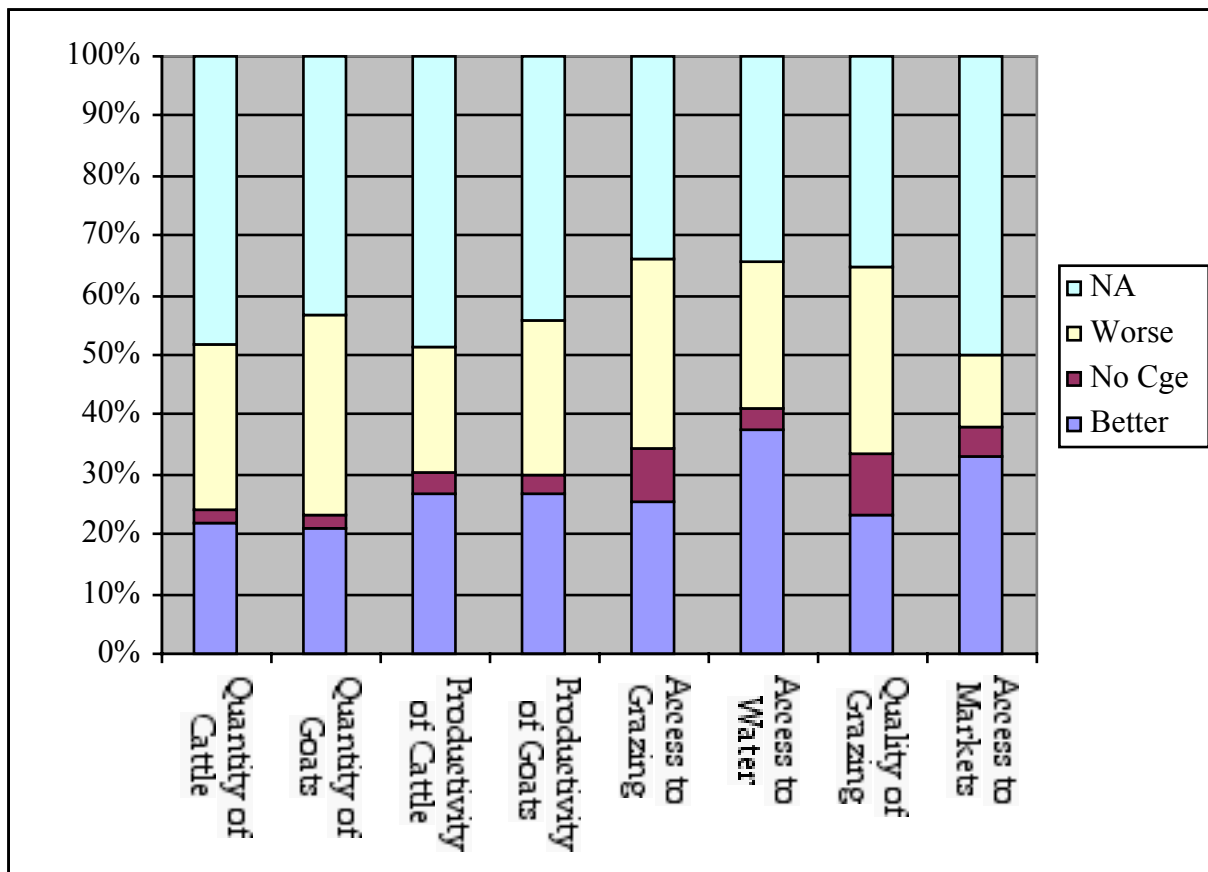
### Livestock

Respondents were asked about changes in the livestock sector. Findings are summarised in the figure on the following page. As with arable agriculture, findings were mixed. For those with livestock, most felt that access to water and particularly markets had improved, but that access to and quality of grazing was mixed. Both the quantity of goats and their productivity were felt to have declined by over half of the respondents, while cattle productivity was felt to have increased despite respondents feeling that numbers had declined. Perhaps surprisingly, quality of grazing was only felt to have declined by 31.2% of respondents, compared to 33.6% who felt that there was either no change or that the

situation may have improved. This may be due to new areas being opened up because water has been provided, but this was not measured during the study.



**Figure 3.2: Perceived Changes in Livestock**



\* See Table A7, Appendix A.

Those in the north were most likely to feel that their situation has improved, with the exception of access to markets and water, where there was small variation across location.

SWAG respondents noted that livestock used to be more important in household livelihoods than now, but that for non-poor households livestock still played an important role.

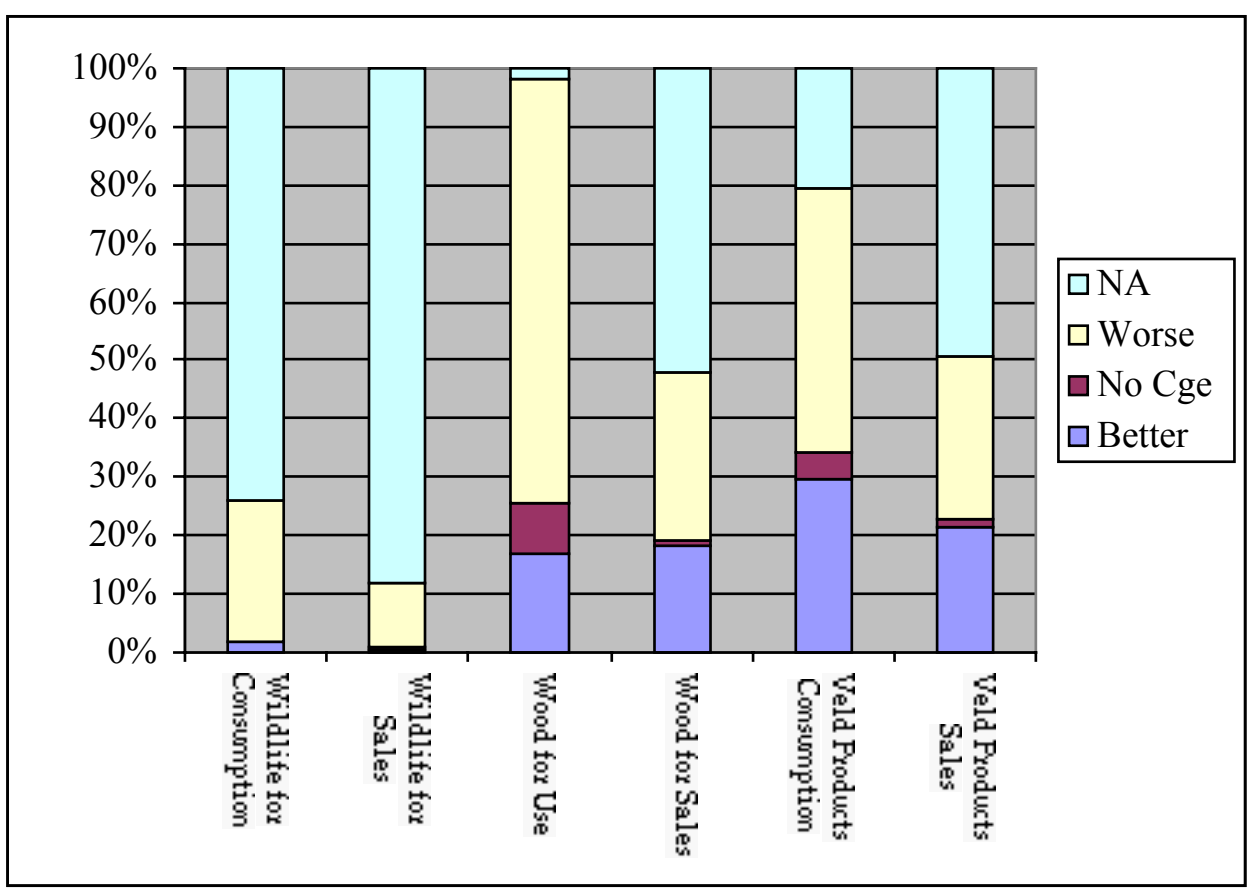
Local level key informants pointed out an interplay between local committees, local authorities, and land boards in making rules surrounding the allocation of land for arable purposes, as well as control over natural resources in and near arable fields. Most commonly mentioned in the latter case were trees which were not to be cut down or harmed. Some communities noted that rules surrounding livestock movement in and near arable fields were set down by traditional authorities, and lawbreakers handled via

the *kgotla*. Of interest, only a few communities noted that the *timing* of planting was governed by traditional authorities.

Natural Resources

Respondents were asked about changes in access to various natural resources. Findings are indicated in the following figure:

**Figure 3.3: Perceived Changes in Natural Resource Access**



\* See Table A8, Appendix A.

The vast majority of respondents felt that access to firewood was an increasingly serious problem, and that those who harvested firewood for sale also felt that the situation was becoming more problematic. For those who used wildlife for own consumption of sales, almost all felt that the situation has worsened. Findings were more mixed for veld products, where some two-thirds thought that the situation has worsened.

Oral history participants tended to note a similar decline, often linked to poor rainfall. There were noticeable differences in terms of wild animals, where respondents in the east tended to note a decline in numbers, and respondents in other areas noting an inability to access the animals: 'in the past we could kill an animal whenever we needed one, how we are arrested'. In Nojane, the respondent noted that fencing had resulted in fewer animals being found in the area. When asked about the overall 'health' of the environment, many of the oral history respondents felt that the environmental had indeed declined in the past decades, and tended to believe that the drought was the main factor contributing towards this decline. As the Molepolole respondent noted, "If there are no rains it affects all living things on earth like humans who feed on veld products, arable agriculture and animals, and all those depend again on good rains. A few disagreed, and argued that the environment was still healthy. One noted that litter and pollution was less now than before.

Respondents in the large village strata were most likely to believe that availability of firewood for use was a problem. Those in the rural east strata were significantly more likely than those in other strata to believe that access to plants and other veld products for consumption had become better, while those in both eastern strata were most likely to agree to veld product access for sales had improved as well.

SWAG respondents from more remote locations noted that veld products and wildlife used to be in greater abundance than now. Respondents in a number of groups noted that veld products no longer played an important role in their lives, unlike before. In Shorobe, a group of young people from poorer households noted that, in the past, many households used to sell items made from veld products, but that this was not nearly as likely today as in the past. Particular note was made of the a decline in access to water lilies and veld fruits.

*Environmental Management and Access to Resources*

Local level key informant interviewees were asked about environmental issues, "... specifically access to land and natural resources". With regard to land, responses included the following:

- 'For arable land, the farmer's committee sets the overall rules, and these are vetted at *kgotla*. The community will then make decisions on what is appropriate and what is not'.
- 'For land, the chief, headmen, and the land board are all important actors'.
- 'Beyond the chief, the *kgotla*, the VDC, and the community are all essential players, depending on the issue. For example, livestock must stay away from the roads, these are decisions made as a group.
- 'Many of the important decisions are made by the chief'.
- 'There really aren't any clear rules in our community, although the land boards made decisions about land. Cattle are left to roam the village. However, when someone's livestock destroyed the fields of another, the two got together and solved it'.
- 'The cattle are allowed to graze anywhere here. There is a plan to allocate grazing land in future, but there are no real rules now'.
- 'Here all cattle have the right to access pasture, but at night they cannot be left to roam. If these rules are violated, the VDC ensures that they are enforced.
- 'The cattle here are not looked after, they are allowed to go anywhere'.
- 'Government doesn't make any rules for our cattle, but our traditional leaders so, ensuring that livestock graze away from arable fields'.
- 'In our area someone from outside made a land use plan and this governs us. Groups were introduced (cattle syndicates)'.
- 'I'm not sure how rules about cattle are made, I think veterinary and agriculture people make rules and then the community is informed. If there is disagreement, people are free to make their case. Then the community decides and things are put into practice'.
- 'The VDC takes action about how to allocating grazing land, and they approach the land board. In our grazing areas, there are rules such as no pulling out grass by the roots, no cutting off the stem using spades or slashes, etc.'
- 'In our area the chief and the councilors come together and decide on some rules. After approval, the councilors consult the whole community at the *kgotla*. The land board is only involved when there are changes in land use, but they also try to avoid problems'.
- 'In our area, the people from agriculture, the traditional leaders and members of the conservation committee come together to make the rules'.
- 'We lack space here, there seem to be no rules governing cattle using any land they want'.
- 'We are careful to discuss important issues and rules every month, bringing the community and officials together. We made specific rules about using natural resources to avoid problems'.

Regarding veld products, respondents noted the following:

- 'In our community the key players in making rules about natural resources is the conservation committee members. After making the rules we are brought together in the *kgotla* and we discuss this'.
- 'Our conservation committee helps us take care of the environment. They have told us not to burn the veld'.
- 'The veld is so depleted here, so people are encouraged to reduce chopping down trees for fuel'.
- 'Use of much of the veld is decided by the land boards'.
- 'People are encouraged not to chop trees down. The forestry people are behind this. They also say not to burn the veld'.
- 'Here in Mabalane during the rainy season we are not supposed to cut down *mogonono*, *mopipi*, *motlopi* and *mokgalo*. The understanding was that if these trees were cut down arable production would decline'.
- 'We have wild animals here, and animals that kill, but we are not allowed to hunt them down or you get five years behind bars'.
- 'If you want to obtain grasses or trees from land that belongs to another community, permission must be sought'.
- 'During February and March, *mogonono* and *mosetlwa* should not be chopped down, because by doing so you will be causing a hailstorm'.
- 'Here we have non-official rules to not cut down certain types of trees, such as *mothware*, *monjelenyele*, *mogkalo* and *mothata*. We also do not cut down trees consistently from one area'.
- 'Young girls should not eat veld fruits such as *motemme* because it can make them sterile'.
- 'We never cut down trees immediately after it rains'.
- 'The conservation committee and the department of wildlife make the rules about veld products. They inform us, but we choose people to be our representatives on the committee'.
- 'Here we do not cut down green trees when its very hot, as this encourages lightening'.
- 'Here (Tutume) there are no rules about the veld. As a result, people from to our area and collect wood and sell it in Francistown. This kills our environment'.
- 'Here in Shakawe we know that water reeds are not to be harvested while green or raw. People have to wait until September when the reeds have dried'.
- 'Here is Shorobe we are told not to abuse the veld products. We have fruits, palm trees, trees for firewood and building, and fish in the river. There are limits on what can be harvested. For trees, we normally cut them down only after they are fully matured'.
- 'Here in Toteng poaching is prohibited because the wildlife will eventually draw tourists to the area. This will bring benefits to the community. This will give the animals time to reproduce and multiply'.
- 'For each tree cut down, people are encouraged to plant a new one'.
- 'In the area around Werda we have a committee which works with the department of wildlife. We are allowed to manage the wildlife ourselves. The wildlife can be used, but only to a limit. If someone takes too much, it is an offence and we set the punishment'.

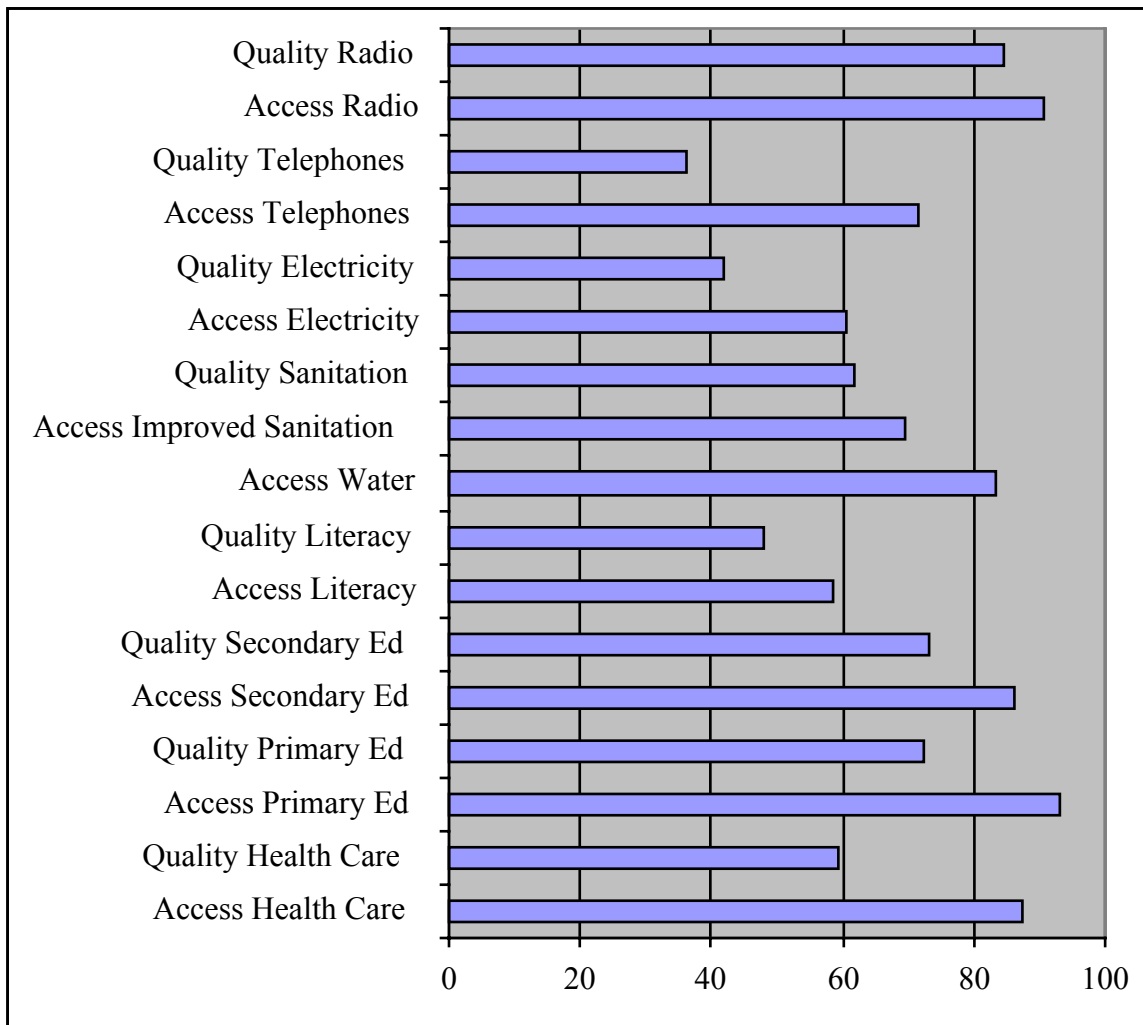
Most key informants noted that there were rules with regard to cutting down trees, while others noted problems arising from doing so (e.g., lightning, crop failure, etc.). The need to avoid veld fires was frequently mentioned, with respondents often noting that offenders would be punished via customary court or the *kgotla*. In areas (e.g., Shorobe) where veld products were felt to be in abundance, respondents tended to feel that this was so because of proper community management: ‘craftsmen harvest palm trees adequately thus allowing the trees to grow back ... wood is also abundant and no one has ever harvested more than they needed’.

Conflicts *between* villages over natural resources were generally dealt with via traditional authorities. If this did not resolve the issue, respondents noted that people then turned problems over to the land board. A few noted that conflicts over grazing were sometimes more difficult to resolve, because the boundaries were less certain. One interesting case was noted where Tsamaya was ‘taking over land belonging to the smaller village of Mabutsane’. This resulted in the matter being taken to the District Commissioner. Few respondents reported unsolved conflicts.

### Social Services

A number of questions were asked about changes in social services since households were first established in an area. The percentage of respondents who felt that the situation was better now than in the past for various social services is indicated in the following figure:

**Figure 3.4: Perceived Improvements in Social Services (% noting ‘better of’)**



\* See Table A9, Appendix A.

With regard to virtually every social service, respondents felt that their situation was better than it was in the past, although quality was perceived to lag behind access, but was still high. Quality of health care was a concern, as was quality of electricity services and most particularly telephone services.

For some of the social services, there was considerable variation across location, with variation and lack of variation summarised as follows:

- Access to health care - lowest in the north
- Quality of health care - lowest in the large village strata
- Access to primary education - slightly lower in the north
- Quality of primary education - lowest in the rural east and large village strata
- Access to secondary education - little difference
- Quality of secondary education - little difference
- Access to literacy classes - no difference

- Quality of literacy classes - no difference
- Access to water for domestic consumption - little difference
- Access to improved sanitation - lowest in the rural east and north strata
- Quality of sanitation - lowest in the large village and west strata
- Access to electricity - much lower in the west (30% indicated better off), compared to 90.4% in the large village strata, 52.2% for the rural east strata, and 51.5% for the north strata
- Quality of electricity - much higher in large village strata, lowest in the west
- Access to telephones - highest in large village strata
- Quality telephone services - highest in the west, lowest in the rural east strata
- Access to radio services - little difference
- Quality of radio services - little difference

Most respondents felt that social service provision and the provision of infrastructural services had improved dramatically since the first rural development policy was published in the early 1970s.

The SWAG participants in Zwenshambe also highlighted the importance of old age pensions in supporting livelihood needs. 'Now the most important thing for our households is the old age pension'. This was different because 'in the past Government had not paid much attention to the old'. The SWAG in Serowe argued that 'the current situation with regard to health services was so much better than in the past, before our health was very poor'. They also noted that orphan support and old age pensions made an enormous difference.

Oral history respondents were asked about the status of infrastructure in 1973. Findings are summarised in the following table:



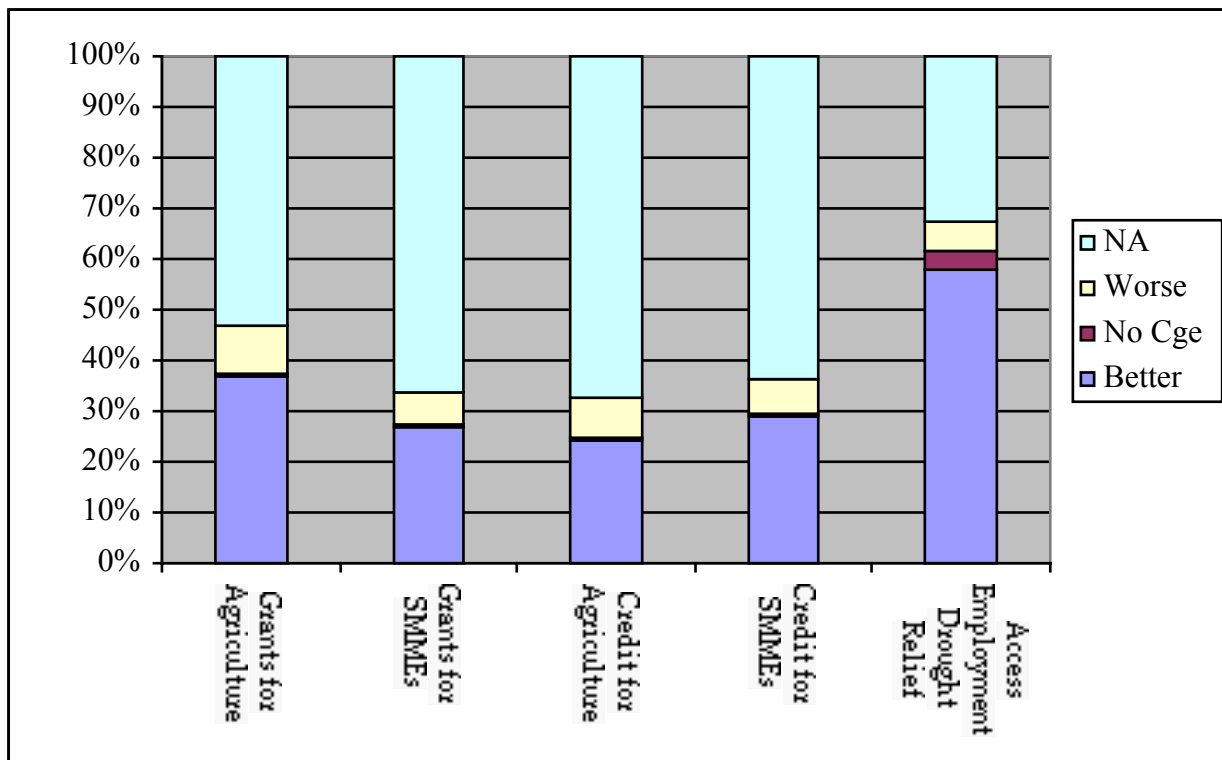
**Table 3.1: Infrastructure Situation in 1973**

<b>Location</b>	<b>Situation in 1973</b>
Letlhakeng	'There really wasn't any infrastructure in this area in 1973'.
Charles Hill	'We had access to telephones at the Roman Catholic hospital and the post office. We also had gravel roads in the area, and we had schools, but they were made of mud'.
Kanye	'There were no tarred roads, telephones, buses nor other forms of reliable transport, nor was there electricity. There were very few cars, and few Batswana drove. We used the trains for travel'.
Molepolole	'In the past infrastructure such as roads, telephones, electricity and such were not available to most people, only the rich had access'.
Moroka	'There were no telephone, electricity, nor roads services, and water was difficult to find and of poor quality'.
Omawehelo	'There were no proper roads, few buildings and no telephones'.
Ramotswa	'In 1973 there were no roads, just foot paths and trails for us to ride donkeys and horses. There were no telephones and no electricity'.
Tonota	'In 1973 the roads were poor, and there was not much other infrastructure'.
Kavimba	'The roads were very sandy, there were no phones, no electricity, no postal services. We had to pass messages through construction vehicles going to Kachikau camp, or via police that traveled by bicycle.
Tshane	'People communicated via radio, there were no phones. The police helped carry mail. There was no electricity'.

### Services Meant to Improve Production

Five services meant to improve production were also examined, with summary findings indicated in the figure on the following page. For all but drought relief, two-thirds indicated that they were not affected by production services, and therefore that the issues did not apply to them. For the one-third that remained, there was a widespread belief that access have improved. Regarding drought relief, for the two-thirds of the households that felt it applied to them, almost all felt that access was significantly improved.

**Figure 3.5: Perceived Changes in Access to Production Services**



\* See Table A10, Appendix A.

The SWAG group in Gathwane comprised of women from poorer households raised their concerns about Government loans ‘because we are unemployed and we cannot pay the high interest’. What was needed was ‘for people to get organise, form syndicates and contribute to activities that would lead to an income, then we could apply for loans’.

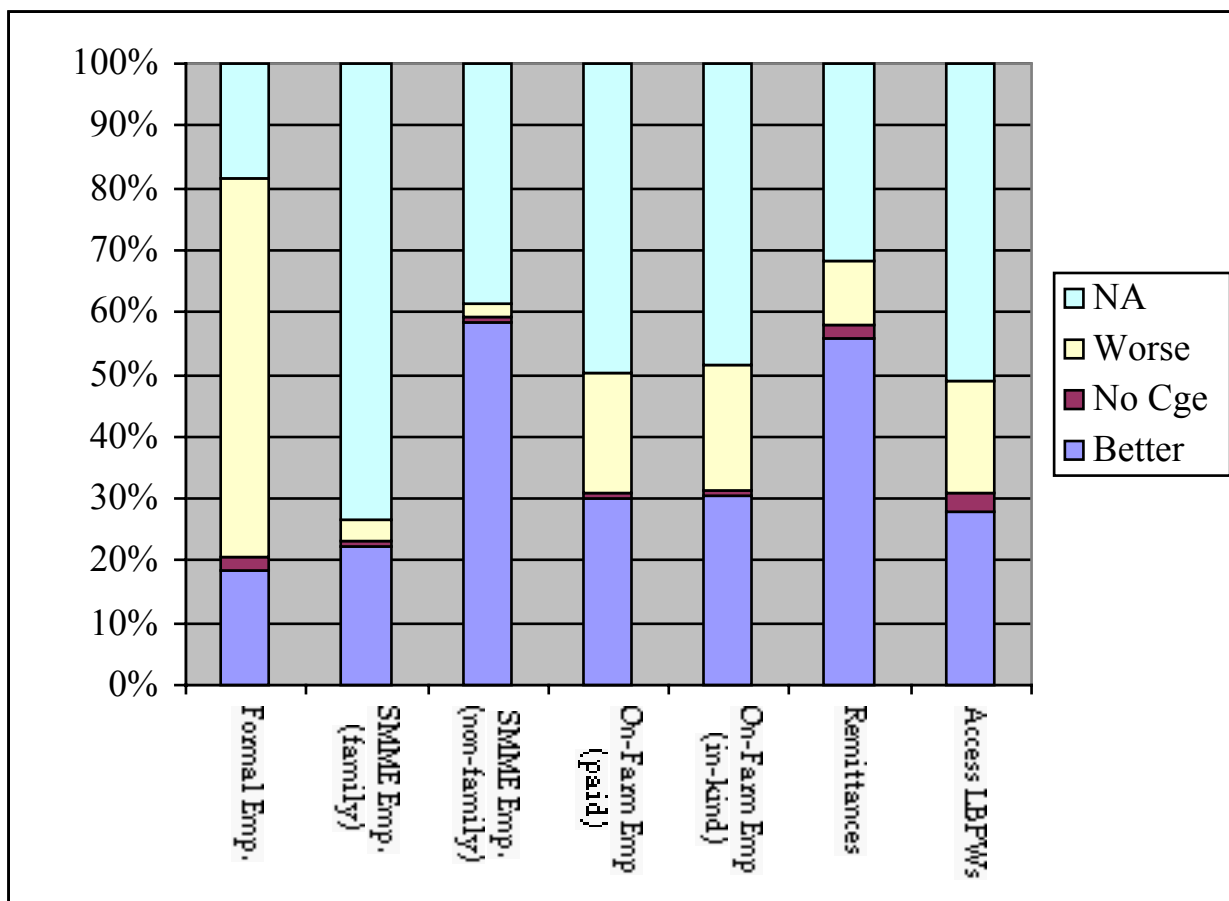
The SWAG in Nojane with older people from poorer households said that there were now markets for livestock, these were not there in the past.

Oral history respondents virtually all noted that Batswana owned very few small enterprises, and in most villages business services were extremely limited.

### Employment

Seven aspects of employment and income were also measured, with respondents being asked whether things had improved. Findings are indicated in the following figure:

**Figure 3.6: Perceived Changes in Access to Employment Options**



\* See Table A11, Appendix A.

Surprisingly, respondents felt that the formal employment situation has significantly worsened. This may be due to greater demand for employment rather than a restricted supply, reflecting the trend of increased need to depend on formal employment for household needs. For those involved in small enterprises, most argued that it was much better now than in the past. Of interest, half of the respondents felt that on-farm employment was important, and most of these felt that the situation had improved over time. These findings are consistent with the percentage of households that argued that formal employment was not an important income source for their households, reflecting it appears lack of access, rather than lack of interest, and elsewhere respondents strongly agreed that the inability of family members to find formal employment was a serious strain on household livelihoods. Male-headed households tended to be more optimistic regarding improvements in access to employment.

SWAG participants in Kisa village noted that formal employment was far more important now than it was in the past: '... in the past there were more valued things other than only formal employment. This basically included arable agriculture and veld products. To survive nowadays one had to get money and the only way to get enough money is through employment'. Another SWAG in Zwenshambe in North East District, held with women from poorer households, argued that small enterprises used to be a common means of earning money in their village, but that this had declined in importance over time. The reason, however, was not the absence of such enterprises, but rather their growth, and the growth in competition. People without capital and skills were therefore finding it more and more difficult to compete under these circumstances.

The SWAG in Kisa among young people from poorer households argued that people should focus more on formal employment now. 'Currently, for one to live, the only way is employment, but this is not always so easy'. The SWAG in Nojane with older people from poorer households said that Batswana now owned businesses, while 'in the past only whites ran the businesses in town'.

Oral history participants were asked to indicate what their communities were like in 1973 with regard to formal employment. Findings highlight the dramatic changes in this regard in Botswana:

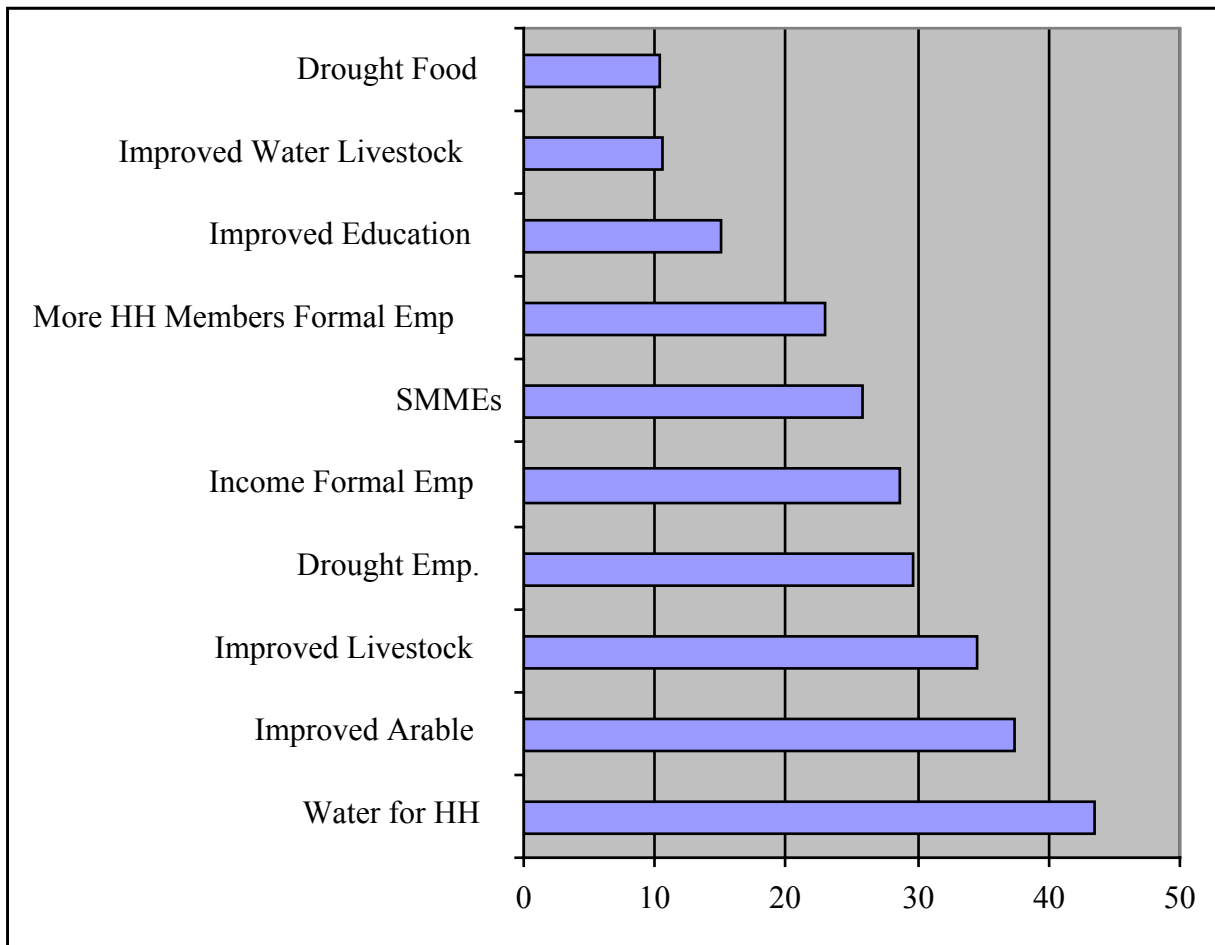
**Table 3.2: Employment Situation in 1973**

<b>Location</b>	<b>Situation in 1973</b>
Letlhakeng	'There were no jobs here, we only practiced subsistence farming'.
Charles Hill	'There was no formal employment back then. We only worked on farms and at the ranches'.
Kanye	'Men worked in the mines and on the farms in South Africa, and the women only worked as maids in South Africa. There were very few formal job opportunities in Kanye'.
Mochudi	'There were no jobs here'.
Moroka	'In 1973 I was a farmer and I did not have any problems with this. We had schools and a clinic, but there were no jobs. I moved to Johannesburg in 1947 when I joined a construction company'.
Moshaneng	'There were no jobs here, except I found a job in a tin mine'.
Nojane	'In the old days there were no jobs. We all just practiced agriculture'.
Omawehelo	'In those days there were few jobs, and they were held by the educated people. Most of the rest of us worked in the mines in South Africa'.
Ramotswa	'There was nothing in terms of formal employment here, people just worked on their farms and with their livestock'.
Sehitwa	'There were a few jobs locally, but salaries were very low. Better pay was offered in the mines. My husband went to work in the mines'.
Tonota	'There were no jobs at that time. The men went to South Africa to look for work, the women were left behind to look after the children and tend the fields'.
Kavimba	'In this area we exported wood to Zimbabwe, but most of the jobs were in Zimbabwe, few were created here. Some people went to Namibia and Zambia to find work on farms there'.
Tshane	'There was some Government infrastructure in our area, so people got jobs there'.

### Effects of Changes

Respondents were asked a summary question about what factors had been most important in improving their households' ability to meet livelihood needs, and what role Government programmatic support might have played. Merged findings are summarised below:

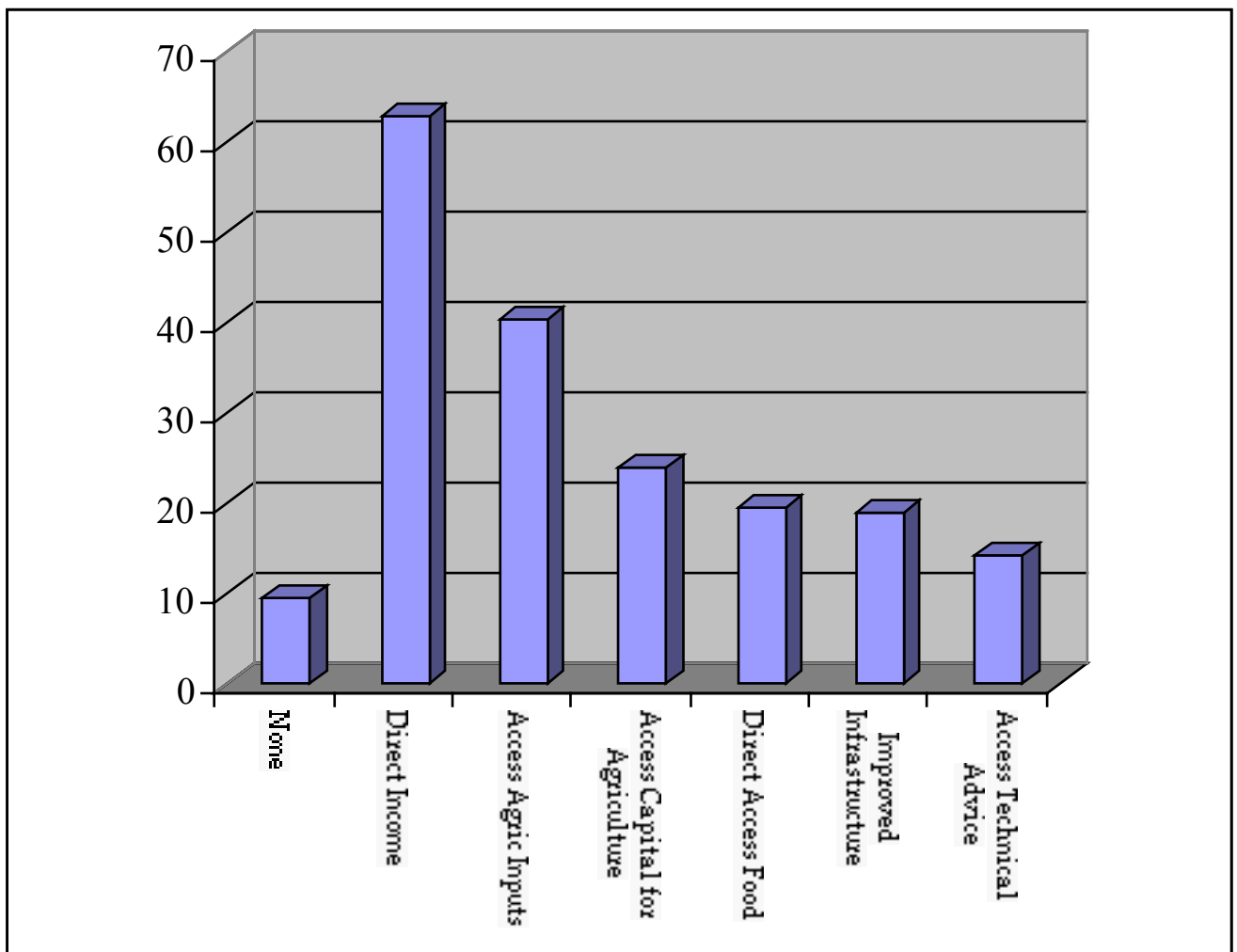
**Figure 3.7: Most Important Changes That Have Strengthened Household Ability to Meet Livelihood Needs**



\* See Table A16, Appendix A.

Access to water for human use and secondly livestock use were considered to be important factors improving rural livelihoods. Improvements or expansion in arable production was, surprisingly, also ranked quite highly, as was livestock production. Drought relief employment and income from formal employment followed, as well as health status and income from small enterprises.

**Figure 3.8: Perceived Effects of Government Support Programme on Household Ability to Meet Livelihood Needs**



\* See Table A17, Appendix A.

Over 90% of the respondents felt that Government support played an important role, most related to direct income derived from Government programmes.

### **Household Coping Preferences**

Most SWAG participants felt that an ideal future would be one where jobs were widely available, because ‘nowadays one cannot live without money’ (SWAG in Kisa). As the group in Kolongwane noted, ‘we would like to imagine a clear picture of having jobs in twenty years time’. Another SWAG among non-poor households in Salajwe noted that ‘the households that succeed in life were those that had a member in employment’. The group of women from non-poor households in Tsabong noted that jobs were central to the future, but that there was no easy transition from school to employment. ‘There are no

programmes or institutions for those who have dropped out of school or who had even finished form five like vocational schools and brigades so that our children can continue with their education rather than idling around and ending up being involved with alcohol’.

Older respondents from poorer households in Nojane argued that the most important thing for older people was Government pension support and orphan support, ‘as they need to be provided for’. They went on to discuss a broad range of support issues. ‘If organisations come together and donate shelters, they could accommodate the destitute. Churches are also in a position to help communities to come together, raise funds and build shelters for needy people. Government should make sure that productive programmes such as FAP and SMME reach people, and that they are used properly. Batswana are very reluctant to encourage their fellow countrymen to establish their own small businesses. They would rather purchase from shops than from independent tailors. We have many veld products, if the young people could be taught to harvest them they could help boost the economy. If we were able to get work on farms and get wages for six months and a beast on the seventh, we would be able to establish our own livestock’. The group in Nojane lamented that veld products were extremely scarce these days, not like in the past.

In a discussion with men from poorer households in Ramotswa, South East District, respondents argued that the emphasis now was on formal employment, and that the youth were uninterested in arable agriculture or even livestock. Older people still want to be involved in agriculture, but needed support from Government to be able to produce enough for home and for sales.

In the SWAG with older people from non-poor households in Good Hope, Ngwaketse District, participants concluded that ‘... in earlier days it was better, as we could eat veld products and hunt wild animals. Now, however, we can’t reach our ideal life because life is so expensive and demanding’. The SWAG group in Kisa with younger people from poorer households argued that ‘in the past, we could eat, no one could go to bed starving because there was plenty of rain and we had good crop yields and livestock production



was very good. There were lots of remittances from relatives as well as from non-relatives. That's why our neighbours would not go to bed hungry. Today there are no remittances, social obligations have disappeared'. Of interest, the group went on to note that 'in the past there were no diseases that ended up causing lots of things like people dying and leaving orphans behind and lots of poverty because those that are dying are the breadwinners'. The group in Letlhakeng noted that 'there are no longer remittances and informal transfers without our village, people lack a spirit of togetherness', while the group in Ramotswa argued that 'remittances are now useless since the spirit of working together died'. The SWAG group in Shakawe was even more negative, noting that 'informal transfers lending money to someone without a written agreement is very dangerous nowadays. People are not to be trusted, especially when money was involved'.

SWAG participants were asked to compare their current situation with their past situation. "In what ways is your past situation more consistent with the ideal situation, if at all?" In the SWAG discussion held with women from poorer households in Gathwane, the participants agreed that the current situation was better than in the past 'as there is a lot that Government is doing for the old people, destitutes and orphans. This helps poor people to cope with life today. In the past, there were no such programmes'. The group also lamented the lack of rain, and how the long droughts had made their past lifestyles impossible to live nowadays. Without Government support, life would be even harder. The group also argued that the shift to a stronger cash economy had a negative effect on community spirit. 'Nowadays it is one man for himself and nothing for the rest. Life is fast, money talks. Our children go to the cities and never send us anything'.

## **Summary**

Households noted that the situation with regard to Government support had improved dramatically since the early 1970s, and that this had had a dramatic impact on their households. This had coincided with an expansion of formal employment, from 'none' or 'in the mines' in the 1970s to domestic employment by the year 2001, and the secular decline in arable agriculture, and a mixed situation with regard to livestock (improved access to markets but less households involved in livestock production). Access to

wildlife was felt to have declined, but findings for veld products were mixed (except for firewood, which was felt to be in decline almost everywhere). These many changes had had extensive impacts on social relations in communities, undermining inter-household and community-wide coping mechanism. Of interest, perceptions that access to employment had declined appeared to relate more to the *need* for such employment, rather than its change in availability.

# Chapter 4: Opinions About Government's Strategy on Rural Development and Alternative Approaches

## Introduction

A final set of issues were discussed with respondents covering opinions about Government's current approach to rural development and how this might be improved. Specific issues were thereafter posed with regard to the existing and potential role of community members in their own development.

## Opinions About Rural Development Strategy

### Should Rural Development be Supported?

FGD participants were presented with the following statement, and asked to comment: "Two possible approaches to rural development exist. One view is that rural people should be assisted to remain in rural areas. This will require substantial public investment in physical infrastructure (roads, water supplies, schools, clinics, electricity) and in livelihood activities, specifically arable agriculture and small-scale rural industries. The opposing view is that 'traditional' rural livelihoods are unsustainable and that arable agriculture will virtually disappear within a generation, because Botswana has little comparative advantage in crop cultivation and because this is not a preferred occupation for young people. Industrialisation and an urban-centred development strategy would therefore be the focus of policy, taking care to meet the service needs (e.g., housing, roads, water, etc.) of urban areas. The rural areas would become secondary".

Perhaps not surprisingly, respondents reacted strongly against any nothing that present trends away from rural livelihoods should be accelerated by a change in policy and support away from rural life.

Respondents tended to disagree that the rural areas *necessarily* needed to continue to decline, because they felt that it was possible to revitalise the rural areas. A number of respondents mentioned the need to improve access to markets and get better prices for arable produce, support irrigation, develop mills, etc., and the need to have more community-focused agricultural activities such as 'farmers day celebrations'.

Some respondents linked the two approaches back to earlier comments about the drift of young people to urban areas, saying that a revitalised rural economy would encourage them back: 'our children will only realise the importance of arable agriculture if our living standards are improved, it has been our backbone for so many years. If the second approach is followed, Government will have surrendered to Western culture'. Others mentioned the need to give incentives for home industries and for rural industrial investment.

A few linked the importance of revitalising the rural areas with the problems young people were having finding work, and felt that the lack of jobs would mean that people would return to the rural areas if there was something productive and useful to do. 'Not everyone will get jobs in the western economy'.

Overall, respondents were well aware of the changes that were underway in the rural economy, lamented the decline of their areas, and felt that this needed to be reversed. Therefore, the first alternative was the only way to go.

### Current Actors

Focus group discussion participants were asked about important decision makers in their communities, those who affected their lives and those who did not. Responses are summarised as follows:

**Table 4.1: Important Actors Affecting the Lives of Community Members**

Strata	Actors and Importance
Northern strata - women from poor households	<p>Chief, councillor, VDC, social worker, nurses, VHC, Kalepa, MP, DC, extension officers and the church.</p> <p>Chief - active, good leadership</p> <p>Councillor - inactive, was supposed to be our link to the MP, no where to be found, plays no role in development</p> <p>VDC - very active, built and electrified classrooms, created employment for community.</p> <p>Social worker - works closely with the community.</p> <p>Nurses - all good except one who disrespects the community</p> <p>VHC - encourages development and gives lectures on health</p> <p>Kalepa - a joint venture between the community and a private firm in tourism is very beneficial because it creates employment for community members who act as guides</p> <p>MP - inactive, loses his temper with the people he is supposed to serve, only here to campaign if at all</p> <p>DC - know of the post but have never seen such a person</p>
Large Village strata - women from non-poor households	<p>Chief and headmen, police, DC, magistrates, VDC, PTA, farmers committee, council secretary, Veterinary Officer, CHBC</p> <p>Chief and headmen - involved in law and order, helped by the police</p> <p>DC - marries and divorces couples, helps with marital conflicts</p> <p>Magistrates - final sentence for the accused</p> <p>VDC - very important, brings development to the whole village, they also help the council with the burying of poor people and employment is created for members of the community because they initiate projects</p> <p>Farmers committee - help because they help people get extension services</p> <p>PTA - informs parents of their children's status in school</p> <p>Veterinary Officer - he looks after our animals, he helps all of us and he helps teach people to prevent veld fires</p> <p>CHBC - helps terminally ill patients, they see to it that males are served on time and medication was taken and they make house calls and inform the nurses of the patients conditions.</p>
Northern strata - community opinion leaders	<p>Chief, VDC, station commander, nurse, social worker, councillor, MD, headmaster, PTA, crime prevention unit, priest.</p> <p>Chief - plays an important role in the unity of the community, plays an important role in development, although he does not create jobs. He influences what veld products can and cannot be used, and he also does not allow people to burn the veld.</p> <p>VDC - The VDC is the village parliament, they come up with plans for projects like clean up campaigns. The VDC also registers destitutes and orphans and give this list to the social worker. They work very closely with the chief.</p> <p>Station commander - Helps in the prevention of crime, especially</p>

	<p>on the border with Namibia where border jumpers terrorise and steal.</p> <p>Crime prevention unit - They are easily accessible, and help catch people for the police, telling them what is going on.</p> <p>Social worker - Works with the VDC, gives them ideas on how what they should concentrate on. If a poor person dies they report this to the social worker and arrangements are made with the council for the person's funeral. The social worker is easily accessible.</p> <p>Councillor - Makes it possible for development to take place in this village, he is an intermediary between the community and the council. The community members can address their problems to him and he always helps. For example, if an elephant destroys our fields people report this to him and he tells us how to proceed.</p> <p>MP - Takes our views to Parliament, then informs us of the sessions.</p> <p>Headmaster - Attends committee meetings and offers advice on various issues. He encourages children to work together with parents. He also organised a clean up campaign for students to clean the village.</p> <p>PTA - Brings children together and teaches them the importance of co-operation and teamwork.</p> <p>Priest - Guides people in the right direction and helps to bury the dead. He also offers us advice when we go to him.</p>
<p>Small Village strata - young people from non-poor households</p>	<p>VDC, VHC, chief, traditional doctors, chief, social worker.</p> <p>VDC - It is important in terms of productivity and creates employment through government programmes and social services.</p> <p>VHC - Important in home-based care, advises people on environmental health issues. They also help link people to social services.</p> <p>Chief - Is accessible, involved in employment creation because involved in linking people to Government programmes, also involved in people getting social services.</p> <p>Traditional doctors - contribute towards conflict resolution.</p> <p>Social worker - advises the public on life issues, supports people getting social programmes, and links people to LBPW.</p>
<p>West strata - women from poorer households</p>	<p>VDC, councillor, MP, DC, political parties, burial, chief.</p> <p>VDC - nothing can be done without the VDC's consent, it is the overseer to the community.</p> <p>Chief - settlement disputes, if there is a crime is involved in helping the police. Also calls <i>kgotla</i> meetings. Headmen do the same at ward level.</p> <p>Councillor - Is the community's messenger to the MP.</p> <p>MP - Not important, only here once in a while, and does not help us with our needs.</p> <p>DC - solves cases beyond the ability of the chief, helps the magistrate.</p>

	<p>Political parties - not important, they only make noise in the community because they are in competition. Because they do not co-operate, this undermines our community's development.</p> <p>Burial society - Lends a hand with grief arrives, makes it possible to bury the dead even if one is poor.</p>
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Role of Community Members and Community Organisations

In the SWAG group discussions, participants were asked to “Consider how average community members, community opinion leaders, community organisations, and others in this community are involved in deciding upon development interventions. In short, what has been or is the role of the community in intervention design, implementation, evaluation and change”. Respondents were thereafter asked what their preferred situation would be.

In general participants felt that their specific role in development was very limited, but that some community institutions were involved. One group in Tutume was quite negative, and felt that ‘there is no community role in development intervention design, implementation and evaluation. The government has been undertaking this without consulting the affected people. Some developments are brought without them being needed, and this limits our ability to make important decisions about development’. Another group in Letlhakeng noted that ‘we are just like luggage in a moving car. We never meet as villagers and do not participate in decision-making about development. We just see things happening, we don’t know who is implementing them and under what circumstances decisions are made’. Others felt that leaders in their communities were

Respondents tended to feel that their particular role in development was minimal, but that VDCs were important actors. Many felt that their village developed, or did not, based on how good or bad their VDCs were.

involved in decision-making, but not the ‘common person’. The group in Tsabong, for example, noted that ‘community leaders are the

essential players in the development field. The community has no role in such decisions, we only hear about them. We have learned to live with this'. Other groups felt that systems were in place for these leaders to effectively oversee development, and to keep them informed in a way that was viewed as positive.

In terms of how things might be improved, virtually all groups felt that development-related decisions would be better for their communities if they had an early say in things, and were involved over the long-run. VDCs were mentioned, but more commonly mentioned were community meetings and other forms of direct involvement. Community spirit was central to the success of any community-based interventions. Some were concerned that people would not be committed to this because 'it is already too late', 'people only care about money now'. However, this did not dampen their belief that it was better than the current situation, and respondents tended to feel that it was definitely worth a try.

A few did raise concerns about marginalised groups in the community and how they might be further discriminated against under

"We are civilised and educated and we know we are all persons irrespective of race, disability, sex, illness or tribe, we are all one".  
Key informant, Molepolole.

community-based interventions, and argued that special attention should be given to such problems. Key informants were asked about marginalised groups, and made a number of interesting points. Some focused on so-called 'minority tribes', and mentioned the Bakgalagadi and the Basarwa, but many of these noted that things had changed over time 'as they used to work in our fields but now we have laws'. Other potentially marginalised groups, such as the disabled, women, etc. were not felt to be marginalised 'because government takes care of them and they have access to services'. In a few cases Otjiherero-speakers were mentioned as 'not always being understood by Batswana'.

Of interest, none of the oral history respondents felt that there was a relationship between ethnicity and poverty in their area, and indeed strongly disagreed with any such relationship. A few hinted at problems with the San,

"Poverty does not discriminate".

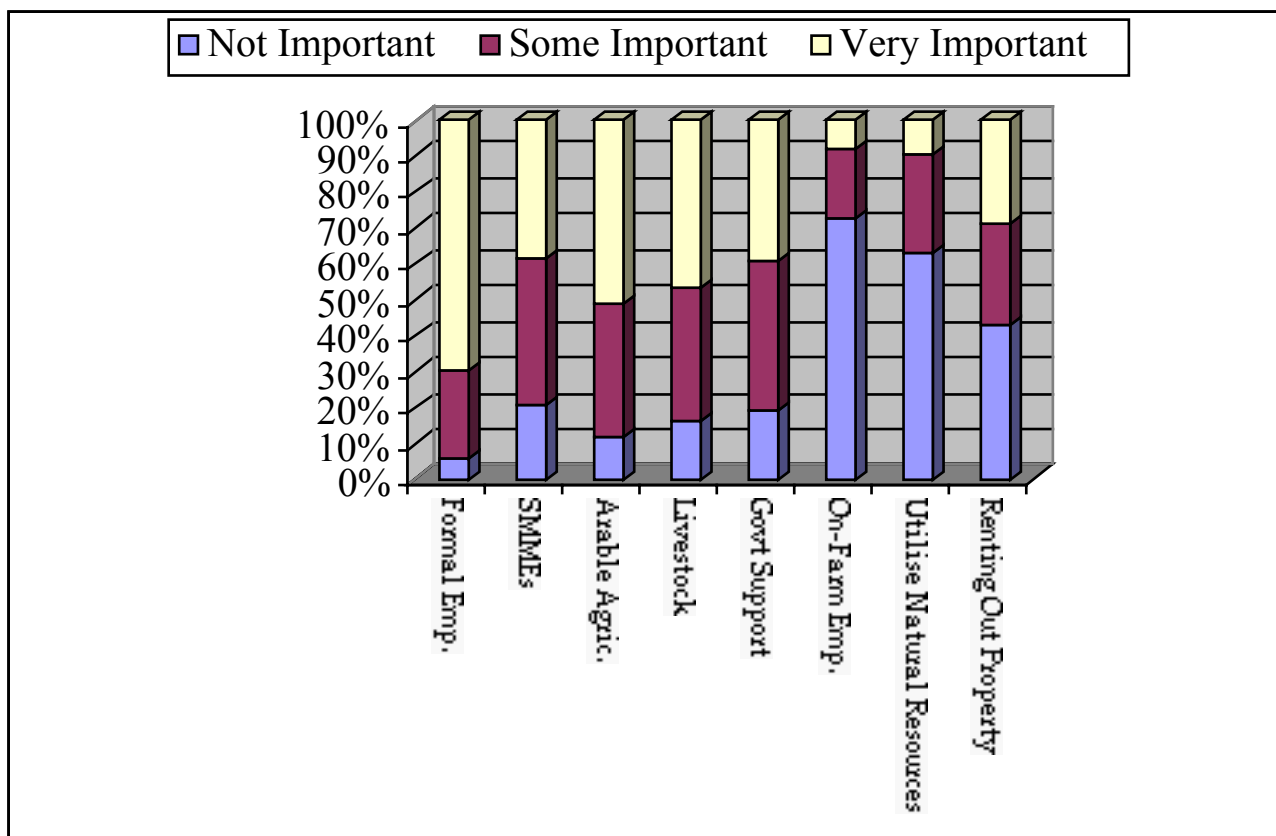
'who wanted to live their way of live being nomadic and hunters'.



Unprompted, a number of respondents mentioned people living with HIV/AIDS as being marginalised because of their health condition. They noted that those with HIV/AIDS were helped because of Government support, 'and there is home based care now for them'. 'The problem facing people with HIV/AIDS is a result of other people's ignorance/lack of knowledge. Home-based care will really help this'.

In terms of those factors that rural households felt to be most important for Government to focus on, because they were 'preferred strategies to best meet livelihoods', findings point to the importance of employment creation, support to arable agriculture and livestock, and continued technical and financial support from Government. Findings are indicated in the following figure:

Figure 4.1: Preferred Strategies to Best Meet Livelihoods



\* See Table A34, Appendix A.

The figure highlights the overwhelming importance households place on the ability to secure formal employment and, as Chapter 2 showed, how problematic it is if such employment is not available. 69.8% of respondents ranked formal employment as very important in the future ability of their households to meet livelihood needs, and only 5.9% ranked it as not important. Arable agriculture was second, with 50.8% ranking it as very important, compared to 46.5% for livestock and 38.1% for small enterprises.

On-farm employment was ranked as important by 27.7% of respondents, compared to 72.3% who indicated that

it was not important. It is, however, probably most important for poorer households with fewer

Consistent with the findings that respondents were quite concerned about the decline in local sources of livelihoods (specifically arable agriculture, but also livestock), they believed that their future livelihoods were to be found in formal employment. They also believed that they would necessarily continue to rely on arable agriculture and livestock, and importantly Government support (pensions, destitute support and orphans supports were felt to be important).

options. Natural resource utilisation was not commonly mentioned, with two-thirds feeling that it was not important, and those who ranked it as important tended to not feel that it was very important.

Male-headed households were more likely to mention formal employment and livestock use and sales as important income sources. Female-headed households were more likely to mention remittances and arable agriculture as important income resources. There was no variation across small enterprises, natural resource use and sales, Government programmatic support for productive activities, Government programmatic support for transfers, and on-farm employment.

### **Community Involvement**

Oral history respondents were presented with a statement about self-reliance: “Government policy on rural development, published in the early 1970s, put forward a rural development strategy focused on earning money from mineral sales and using this money to improve social services in rural areas and to help expand the productive base of rural communities (improved human and financial capital). One common complaint about this approach to rural development is that it has promoted dependency, and has undermined self-reliance. Drought relief programmes are felt to have had a particularly negative impact on rural development”. The statement evoked a great deal of discussion. Most respondents agreed with the statement. Some referred back to comments about laziness, and argued that some people took advantage of support from Government to not do their jobs. It was up to the people themselves to overcome any such tendencies. ‘In the past, I could ask something to help with herding for pay, but this is impossible nowadays as the youth are very lazy and depend on drought relief employment, even though they have the capability to work and earn a decent living’. Referring specifically to labour-based relief, she argued that ‘maybe if the scheme was to be withdrawn for some time, they would stand up and look for jobs’.

‘Self-reliance does not describe our community’. Respondent in Molepolole.

Key informants were presented with a statement

“In many instances the formulation and implementation of rural development policies and programmes have been undertaken by government with only limited community involvement. This has contributed to a

‘Honestly speaking, I do not know what Batswana want, all they say is that the government should do this and that. Why do they not start off by proving their creativity and skills, and then go to Government for help. We are getting lazy! We must take a step forward to improve our lives’. Key informant in southern Botswana.

dependency on government support rather than to a momentum of self-standing, sustainable improvements. Through a process of assisting communities to develop the capacity to operate and manage development activities at local level, there is potential to raise popular participation and commitment to rural development activities and to reduce dependency on government”. About three-quarters of the respondents agreed with the statement. Those who agreed felt that it was important for people to re-establish a degree of self-reliance. Many noted that people only wanted to work for payment, and others lamented the reduction in planting. Those who *disagreed* with the statement noted that they were making their own decisions about their lives and getting on with development, Government was just there to help. ‘These days it is better because there are so many government programmes like FAP and SMME that help motivate people to be self-reliant’. This same respondent, however, noted that the Basarwa did not use Government programmes for upliftment, ‘they just fold their arms and everything does itself automatically’. Of interest, those who felt that dependency was not a problem argued that the real problem was that Government was not supporting them *enough*. ‘If we as poor people had more support from Government, we could become self-reliant by making our own businesses’. Some argued that their children had done exactly this, so this was proof.

Despite a fear by many respondents that dependency was increasing, some gave examples of programmes they regarded as overcoming this dependency. They felt that these had the right ‘mix’ of outside support and local decision-making. A few mentioned forestry projects, others mentioned natural resource management in this regard.

Key informants were also read a second statement: “Mining, urban development and commercialisation of the livestock industry need not necessarily represent a threat to rural development, but they would necessitate a transformation of the traditional subsistence

economy into a more commercialised economy if the society as a whole is to benefit. In order to improve the living conditions in the rural areas it will not be enough to use the revenues earned from the modern sector to improve the public services and infrastructure in the rural areas; income earning opportunities must also be created". Most key informants agreed with the statement: 'at the moment, the money provided by the modern sector is not enough for development needed in this community'. Many mentioned that small enterprise development was the way to proceed to bring economic development to the community.

## Role of Village Development Committees

Focus group discussion participants were asked the following: “Government is currently considering an approach to rural development that would involve communities in making decisions about their own development. Government has put the Village Development Committees as the centre of this community-based strategy. Under such a policy, the VDCs would prepare development plans and help implement these. Think about your community’s experience with VDCs, think about the people who sit on the VDCs, and think about the involvement of community members in VDC decision-making. As a first question on this, what would be the key limitations of such an approach? What would be the key strengths of such an approach?”

Responses to the question tended to focus on the difficulties VDC members themselves faced in terms of their many responsibilities, their lack of education, the fact that the jobs were not fully paid for, etc. A number argued that ‘you get what you paid for’, and therefore that if VDC members were salaried people they would work harder, and there would be much competition for positions on the VDC. Quite a few noted the central role the VDC played in making development decisions. As one group in Molepolole noted, ‘the VDC usually calls a meeting with the chief, and tells him that there are resolutions for the *kgotla* to consider, after which the community can be involved to consider important issues. Really, our VDC has been doing this all along, it is a nice way to work because people are involved in helping the VDC decide. It was nice to feel part and parcel of things like decision-making, one feels important and needed in the community, if people give their valuable ideas they are taken to upgrade the village’. Some communities argued that their VDCs were inactive, some attributing this to a lack of ‘new blood’ on the councils. Only a few mentioned problems with community members not properly supporting the VDCs, with most groups noting that if the VDC did their jobs they were supported.

Respondents believed that VDCs should be the focus of development interventions in future. Various activities could occur, but the VDCs would still be central. What was needed was more support to VDCs to make them more effective.

Respondents were then asked whether a focus on the empowerment of the VDCs would improve the role of community members in decision making. A number of the groups found the question a bit problematic, because they felt that the VDCs were already empowered. Those with perceived weak VDCs felt that it would help, because productive members would join the VDC and those involved in conflicts would be ousted. Some assumed that empowerment meant actually receiving money, and felt that this would be a good idea, but many raised concerns about the misuse of money under such circumstances. A specific question was asked about whether VDCs should be empowered to raise their own money for development and have more control over money from Government. There was substantial variation across location because of the past reputation of the VDCs, with those from locations where the VDCs were felt to be a failure concerned about the effectiveness of development in these circumstances, and those where the VDCs were active supporting the idea. A few noted that the VDCs sometimes raised money from the public anyway for development in their village. A number raised concerns about how the money would be handled, but felt that it was still a good idea because controls would succeed in overcoming these problems. Some groups felt that this would make for a better VDC because members would be paid with this money.

Respondents tended not to see a contradiction between increased reliance on Government for assistance and the potential effectiveness of local development. Indeed, they felt that *more* support was what was required, because outside support was the only thing that was going to raise the kind of support required. They also felt that this dependence was not linked to the decline in community links and local initiatives, rather these came from changes in the economy and society that had broken down family ties (e.g., urbanisation, formal employment, western culture).

FGD participants were asked whether they would support a change in the role of extension officers to VDC technical advisors, 'helping VDCs and community members to make

good decisions'. Almost all of the respondents saw this as consistent with the relative roles of extension officers and VDCs anyway ('they have been doing this all along'), but noted that such a move should not reduce the role of technical extension advice in decisions made. Again, concerns were raised about the relative strength and quality of the VDCs themselves, not the role between extension officers and the VDCs.

FGD respondents were then asked if an alternative to VDCs might be possible where decision-making would be more 'issues-based', such as health, production, etc., with

VDCs not taking a lead role but rather a supportive role. Respondents were divided in how this might work. Some were concerned that community members were not interested enough in development to make such a system work, others noted a lack of education on many of the people who might be active in this regard. Some felt that this would speed up good ideas and development, and would give community members a greater voice. Most respondents nevertheless felt that this would be too radical, and that it would be better to have the VDC play a more central role. 'Other groups should be supported, but not at the expense of the VDC'.

FGD respondents were then presented with the option of removing the VDCs from development altogether, allowing communities to work directly with NGOs, private companies, community trusts, etc. Virtually all respondents reacted negatively to this suggesting, because 'without them there would be no development in our communities'. This did not exclude the involvement of NGOs, the private sector, trusts, etc., but these needed to be done within the context of the VDC leading development. As one group in Rappels Pan noted, "The VDC is the umbrella of the community! The VDC knew our needs better than any Jack and Jill coming here as a so-called private company".

## **Dissemination Findings**

Institutional issues were discussed during the dissemination stage. Findings can be summarised as follows:

- There was considerable support for an expansion and 'institutionalisation' of the roles of VDCs, strengthening their capacity to implement development interventions, and giving them considerably more authority over these interventions.
- There was clear support for a more decentralised development focus, not just with regard to VDCs but with regard to all representative institutions. Respondents strongly felt that this was the best way forward to achieve development. Many of the respondents felt that they were 'out of the loop' in terms of decisions about development, feeling neither informed nor involved.
- There were mixed findings regarding educational requirements for VDC members. A number of the respondents felt that this would exclude many needed members from involvement in the council. A phasing in of educational requirements, based



on first supporting the educational and technical skills development needs of VDC members, would be best.

- Virtually *all* respondents disagreed with the idea that the Councillor could be the chair of the committee. Many felt that this would politicise the VDC, and others argued that, given that the Councillor was often busy, her/his lack of availability would stifle development. A few suggested that the councillor could be an *ex officio* member, but there was some resistance to this as well.
- Most respondents felt that the Chief should be a member of the VDC. Some felt that he should serve as Chair, others felt that he should serve as an *ex officio* member.
- VDC members should be paid.
- VDC members should be full-time.

## Summary

Respondents felt that the many changes Botswana had gone through in the past three decades had indeed had an impact on rural communities. Communities were not felt to be as cohesive as in the past, and less likely to help each other in times of difficulty. Of interest, a decline in local initiative and an increased reliance on Government support was *not* felt to be linked to increased dependency, but rather to changes in the economy and society that fell outside their control (e.g., rapid urbanisation, shift to formal employment, westernisation).

When asked about preferred strategies for the future, it is not surprising that households continued to value a 'mix' of livelihood strategies. Formal employment was central to household well-being, but so were small enterprises, arable agriculture, and livestock. Of interest, 57% mentioned renting out property of various types as important, and 37.2% noted the utilisation of natural resources. 27.7% noted on-farm employment on smallholder farms (often mentioned as very important in the early 1970s), with one-third of these believing that it would be very important. Over 80% argued that continued Government assistance would be key to their futures.

VDCs were felt to be central to any future development, with respondents feeling that they should become more 'official' in terms of payment and position. Indeed, respondents tended to feel that VDCs could bring development to their communities, but

that for this 'community-based' development to be effective additional outside financial and technical support was required.

While other local development actors would be acceptable (although there was a suspicion of an over reliance on the private sector), the VDC was seen to be central to successful local development.