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The Remote Area Development Programme and the integration of Basarwa into the mainstream of Botswana society

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This paper investigates the model through which the government of Botswana seeks to integrate Basarwa into the mainstream of Botswana society. This model is inherent in the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) which aims at uplifting citizens who reside in those parts of the country that are defined by the state as "remote". Despite a non-ethnic definition of the RADP's intended beneficiaries, research has shown that a majority of RADs are Basarwa. The main argument presented in the paper is that meaningful integration of Basarwa into the mainstream of Botswana society requires definitional changes regarding the intended beneficiaries. The changes should require that the beneficiaries are disaggregated to a level where ethnicity is used as an explanatory variable in understanding the marginalisation of the Basarwa, and therefore a variable in the planning of their integration. Through a case study of two settlements, Manxotae and Mabesekwa, it is concluded that, as currently constituted, the RADP offers only limited opportunities towards any meaningful integration of the Basarwa. The limits of the RADP's integration model are presented as revolving around two related factors, non-discriminatory development programmes that fail to take on board local variations, and the limited nature of extension service available to marginalized communities. The contention is that development programmes and projects implemented in marginalized communities should be predicated on an appreciation of the factors behind the marginalisation of those communities.

This paper investigates the model through which the government of Botswana seeks to integrate Basarwa into the mainstream of Botswana society. This model is inherent in the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) which aims at uplifting citizens who reside in those parts of the country that are defined by the state as "remote". Of interest to the present paper is the definition of the programme's intended beneficiaries and the impact this has had on the realization of the programme's objectives. The definition of the RADP's intended beneficiaries has shifted from an ethnic definition singling out Basarwa as the intended beneficiaries, to a subsequent non-ethnic definition that focuses on socio-economic, political and locational variables.

Despite a non-ethnic definition of the RADP's intended beneficiaries, research has shown that a majority of the target group are Basarwa. The main argument advanced in this paper is that it is essential for the realisation of the objectives of the programme, that the RADP's beneficiaries are disaggregated to a level where ethnicity is used not only as an explanatory variable in understanding the marginalisation of the Basarwa, but also, as a variable in the planning of their integration. The non-ethnic definition tends to obscure the factors surrounding the marginalisation of Basarwa in contemporary Botswana. Given the historical relations between Basarwa and other Tswana ethnicities the non-ethnic definition tends to render factors surrounding the marginalisation of Basarwa in contemporary Botswana, unimportant. Consequently, the RADP has largely remained ineffective in its integration drive.

Since the establishment of the RADP, a series of studies have been conducted on various aspects of the programme. Most of these studies were commissioned by the Government of Botswana in collaboration with some donor agencies. (see for example Gulbrandsen et al.;

1986, Hitchcock 1988, Kann et al. 1990; Mazonde 1992, Sekhwela et al. 1992; Campbell, Main and Associates 1991; Campbell 1989). To the above can be added a series of socio-economic surveys on Remote Area Dwellers conducted by government researchers (see Ndozi and Toteng 1989, Toteng 1991, Ndozi 1991). While RADP related studies provide a wealth of data and information on the programme's recipients, these studies have not thoroughly interrogated the integration model espoused in the RADP. In particular the studies have not examined how the non-ethnic definition of the target group affects the integration objective of the programme. In an attempt to address the above it is essential to discuss first, conceptual issues relating to the term integration- and secondly, a justification for an ethnic definition of the RADP' s target group.

Conceptual issues: integration into 'mainstream society'

Integration is one of those terms that are widely used but whose definitions is never made explicit, probably because its meanings is treated as unproblematic. Despite the fact that the primary objective of the RADP is the integration of Basarwa into the mainstream of Botswana society, at no point does the policy document define integration. Given the centrality of integration to the present paper, the significance of an explicit definition cannot be over-emphasised. Moreover, an explicit definition of integration is considered significant in the wake of instances in which integration is used interchangeably with assimilation. As argued shortly, this definition of integration is implicit in the RADP and understandably, it has generated disquiet from various quarters (see for instance Saugestad 2001, Chapter 10).

The RADP aims are:

- the provision of social services including education and health
- the provision of physical infrastructure including water
- expansion of economic opportunities including access to land, subsistence and jobs
- assistance to RADs to form administrative structures such as headmanship, Village Development Committees, Parents Teachers Associations. (Kann et al. 1990).

From the preceding discussion it is apparent that as implied in the RADP, integration has assimilationist overtones. The model suggested encompasses attempts aimed at the replacement of socio-cultural and economic practices that distinguish RADP beneficiaries from other groups in Botswana. Thus in the economic sphere, RADP beneficiaries are supposed to adopt agriculture and other non-foraging activities. In the political/administrative sphere, the programme seeks to introduce headmanship, VDC and PTAs. The general thinking that informs the above model seems to be that central to the plight of the RADP target group are factors that relate to the institutional structures and economic activities indigenous to these communities. As a result, the institutional structures and economic activities offered under the RADP are those that are currently found among other groups within the country.

The definition of integration adopted in this paper differs from the one suggested above in that it sheds the assimilationist overtones implicit in the RADP model. Integration is understood within a democratic and pluralistic framework in which diversity is endorsed. Thus, Basarwa can become part of mainstream Society in Botswana without necessarily abandoning their political, economic and cultural practices that distinguish them from non-Basarwa groups. Within this framework integration mobilises the marginalized and voiceless towards active participation in their own development as well as the determination of how they interact with other interests groups including the state. Viewed as such integration becomes a democratic project in which the Basarwa become part of

mainstream society on their own terms.

One of the central arguments presented in this paper is the need for the adoption of an ethnic based definition of the RADP's intended beneficiaries. A major deficiency in the RADP model is the absence of an appreciation of the factors responsible for the marginalisation of Basarwa-and thus the *raison d'être* for the RADP. Thus, much as the RADP purports to be addressing the socio-economic and political marginalisation of the RADs, no serious attempt is made at explaining how marginalisation came about in the first place. Instead, remoteness- physical distance from settlements probably in the eastern part of the country and institutional structures indigenous to RADs are both given explanatory power in that they are viewed as the problem.

The cursory treatment of explanation or causality seems to be a major feature of public policy formulation in Botswana. Quite often public policy is formulated and presented as political neutral and therefore unproblematic. Theoretical rigour particularly founded on dissenting positions are at best viewed as academic and at worst, anti-establishment. The argument here is that any policy or programme that seeks to address the plight of the RADs should be predicated on an appreciation of the factors responsible for their marginalisation. It is in analysing the marginalisation of the RADs that the question of ethnicity becomes important.

That the definition of the RADP's target population is problematic is evident in the frequency with which the government of Botswana changed the name of the programme. Authorities differ over the motive behind the changes in the definition of the target population. Saugestad (1994) contends that the change which she dubbed "the change from "Bushman to RADs" reflected attempts to "accommodate potentially conflicting interest within the same official concept" (1994). Hitchcock on the other hand viewed the adoption of a socio-economic definition of the potential beneficiaries as an attempt by the government to pre-empt accusations of singling out one ethnic group for government assistance.

The official version differs from the versions presented above. It holds that the adoption of a socio-economic definition, followed the realisation by the government that part of Botswana's rural poor, currently marginalised by the present development processes, was not of Sarwa origin. The general consensus among researchers is that the majority of the RADs are Basarwa. According to Saugestad "not all the poor people in marginal areas in Botswana are Basarwa, but most of them are: conversely, not all Basarwa qualify for assistance according to the RAD concept, but most of them do" (Saugestad, 1994: 5). It is apparent from the above discussion that despite a shift from ethnic to a socio-economic definition of the RADP's beneficiaries, the majority of the beneficiaries are Basarwa. The question then remains, what are the factors behind the marginalisation of Basarwa?

The marginalisation of the Basarwa emanates from the nature of the relationship the Basarwa have had with other ethnic groups in Botswana. This relationship has been characterised by systematic dispossession and subjugation of the Basarwa. The Basarwa are generally portrayed as occupying the lowest rung in what has been described as one of the most rigidly stratified and inegalitarian societies in Southern Africa (Holm 1988).

Post-Independence developments in Botswana have entrenched the economic, social and political marginalisation of the Basarwa. Processes that contribute to the marginalisation of the Basarwa are at work for example in those cases where Basarwa live either within or in the peripheries of established Tswana villages. Gulbrandsen, et al. (1986:13) contend for example that these Basarwa were subjected to the "destructive processes of social and economic subjugation often heightened by ethnic discrimination." According to Hitchcock and Holm, (1985), such discrimination is not only in terms of employment but also in the everyday living situation. In the process, Basarwa have remained "outside the confines of

the traditional village networks of distribution of productive resources still in operation (Gulbrandsen et al. 1986: 14). Drawing on a case study by Motzafi-Haller, Saugestad, (1994) arrived at a similar observation. According to Saugestad, the label Mosarwa effectively excludes Basarwa "from access to a variety of social institutions and deprives them of the productive resources entailed in them" (Saugestad 1994: 14). Given the above observations, it is difficult not to agree with Kenneth Good that no people in Botswana today are poorer or weaker than the Basarwa (Good 1990).

The preceding discussion attempted two things - first, it suggested an alternative definition of integration and secondly, made a case for an ethnic definition of the RADP's intended beneficiaries. In its attempt to integrate Basarwa into the mainstream society, the RADP should necessarily take cognisance of the factors responsible for the marginalisation of Basarwa in contemporary Botswana. Thus, the integration project targets those factors, processes and practices that engender economic, social and political marginalisation of the Basarwa. Programmes formulated to assist integration have to be broad based and holistic in nature. The holistic nature of the programme could be reflected not only in infrastructure provision, introduction of new administrative structures or the broadening of the economic base but also, conscious attempts aimed at ensuring that all these relate to the lived experiences of the Basarwa. To this effect sustained community mobilisation, sensitisation and information sharing between change agents and the communities become essential components of the integration project. It is against this model of integration that through a case study of Manxotae and Mabesekwa, the present paper attempts a qualitative assessment of the integration model espoused in the RADP.

The assessment focuses on the following:

Infrastructure and Service Provision. i.e. the type of infrastructure and services provided, and the extent to which infrastructure and service like education and health are effectively used. For marginalised groups to confront the processes responsible for their exclusion and in the process negotiate and dictate the terms of their integration, they have to be generally informed.

Administrative set-up and community involvement in decision-making. The assessment focuses on institutions introduced through the RADP in the two settlements and the extent to which they fulfill the purpose for which they were established. The contention is that administrative structures are critical in the integration process in that they form the forums through which negotiations and advocacy are facilitated.

Economic base and access to government assistance packages. The assessment focuses on economic alternatives available to the residents of the two settlements.

Location and origins of Manxotae and Mabesekwa

The location and origins of Manxotae and Mabesekwa reflect to a large extent the history of the interaction between Basarwa and other ethnic groups in the eastern parts of Botswana. The two settlements are located in the Tutume sub-district. As shown in Figure 1, Manxotae is located about 25km north east of Nata village while Mabesekwa lies about 70 km north-west of Tonota village. The two settlements lie within areas predominantly used for livestock grazing- cattle posts areas. The presence of cattle posts in the vicinity of the two settlements has meant that both Manxotae and Mabesekwa serve as service centres for their immediate hinterlands. Proximity to cattle posts has also put a constraint on the physical expansion and general development of the settlements. Thus, Mabesekwa for example, cannot expand towards the south because the area is strictly for grazing. As shown in subsequent section, the designation of ploughing fields in Mabesekwa was a highly

controversial subject as cattle post owners were opposed to what they perceived as encroachment of arable lands into grazing areas.

The two settlements emerged mainly from initiatives by local Basarwa communities. In both cases the initiatives were supported by non-Basarwa individuals who acted as facilitators. In the case of Manxotae, this role was played by individuals from the University of New Mexico's Kalahari Project. The emergence of Mabesekwa was spearheaded by a Ngwato family that had settled permanently in the area. The point to note is that the two settlements are not RADP-initiated, rather, they were incorporated into the programme.

Infrastructure and service

A major component of the RADP is the provision of physical infrastructure in the form of education and health services. This includes a primary school in each settlement, a health post in Manxotae and a clinic in Mabesekwa. The settlements share these facilities with other communities within what is in both cases, an extensive catchment area. In the case of Manxotae, the catchment area extends over a 50 km radius, while for Mabesekwa it extends over a 32 km radius. What should be emphasised is the fact that the population of the catchment areas consists mainly of Basarwa living at cattle posts where they are employed as herders (*badisa*).

In terms of water supply, Manxotae depends on water drawn from Nata. A council water tanker (bowser) makes about two trips daily from Nata to deliver water to the settlement. Work to install a water pipeline from Nata started around August 1997. This will ensure a much more reliable and less expensive way of supplying Manxotae with water. Mabesekwa, on the other hand, enjoys a good water distribution system from a relatively reliable council borehole.

In both settlements there have been complaints concerning the lack of maternity facilities at the clinic and health post. In the case of Manxotae, the situation was made even worse by the lack of a vehicle for the health post. Instead the health post relies on vehicles from either Nata or Sepako- some 25-30 km away. As a result of the lack of maternity facilities, over 80% of the baby deliveries in Manxotae take place at home. This causes disquiet among the health staff and the community at large. The picture is not any different in Mabesekwa, where labour-related deaths have been reported. Expectant mothers are requested to go and await the delivery date in Francistown or Tonota, where such facilities are available.

Health and education workers expressed dissatisfaction with the extent to which local communities utilised available education and health facilities. The main complaint by health workers in the two villages is the high rate of default among patients, especially TB patients. With regard to education, the main complaint from teachers was the irregularity with which some pupils turned up for school. Cases in which children miss school for months were reported as common. In one case in Manxotae, one child missed school for almost six months only to reappear the following year. In Mabesekwa where there is an abundance of *thewa* (*Grewia Flava* and *Grewia Bicolor*), there are reports of pupils disappearing at playtime to go on berries gathering trips.

Of interest are the innovative and creative strategies employed by some health and education staff in dealing with the problems of defaulting among patients and truancy among school children. From time to time staff from the health post in Manxotae embark upon follow-ups and home visits. During such follow up trips defaulters are rounded up and encouraged to continue with their medication. Problems arise in those cases where defaulters cannot be traced because they have retreated to cattle post areas around Manxotae. With regard to infrequency in school attendance, instead of striking the pupils

off the register as required by the Ministry of Education, teachers in both settlements re-admit such pupils.

The role of education and health in any efforts towards integration is important. Of interest is that over 70% of the respondents indicated that their children never missed school in the past year and a similar number of parents seemed to acknowledge the value of education to their children. Education is viewed as a major lifeline out of the poverty cycle that engulfs families in the two settlements. Despite these views from respondents, the head teachers from the two settlements did confirm that truancy and desertion of school was common. Truancy and school desertion by pupils emanates from a number of factors that to an extent revolve around poverty. In the case of Mabesekwa, truancy and desertion of school were reportedly common among children staying with relatives. The absence of hostels means that children whose parents live outside Mabesekwa usually stay with relatives and at times they live on their own. Occasionally the children will visit their parents during weekends and school holidays. Splitting of families means that even the meager food resources have to be divided accordingly between families at the cattle post and school children. Quite often the supplies for the children get depleted before the end of the week forcing children to return to their parents for replenishment. Given the precarious condition in which the parents find themselves, the children may miss school, as there might just be no food to give to the children.

Administrative institutions and involvement in decision-making

Political and administrative institutions are an essential component of any meaningful integration efforts. The participation of the target population or the 'subjects of integration' will depend on the extent to which existing administrative structures are designed to facilitate such participation. Thus, the nature and mode of operation for such institutions can either serve to maintain the status quo or they can be a vehicle for change. Evidence from the two settlements does not reflect any inclinations towards the latter.

The conferment of the RADP settlements status on Manxotae and Mabesekwa was followed by the introduction of administrative institutions notably the *kgotla* and appointment of a headman, Village Development Committee (VDC), Parents Teachers Association (PTA) and Village Health Committees. Manxotae and Mabesekwa both have a *kgotla* classified in the tribal administration hierarchy as a Customary Court of Records. The *kgotla* is highly regarded in both settlements and the headmen appear to be well respected by the communities and continue to play important roles in information dissemination and administration of justice at village level.

In terms of ethnic origins, whereas the Manxotae headman is a Mosarwa, the Mabesekwa headman is a Mongwato who grew up among the Basarwa. The people within their respective settlements popularly elected both headmen. The election of a Mongwato headman for Mabesekwa was not without controversy. While the headman appeared popular among the Basarwa for the leading role he played in the establishment of Mabesekwa, his popularity was not shared by some influential individuals in Tonota. According to an informant, this group consisted mainly of non-Basarwa people who lived in Tonota and had close association with Mabesekwa. The group sponsored a Mosarwa candidate who lived in Tonota and was not familiar with the problems of Mabesekwa. A common problem reported regarding the *kgotla* is poor attendance of *kgotla* meeting. The only meetings that attract large gatherings are those convened for example for recruitment of workers for drought relief projects. Thus unless there are immediate and tangible results, public meetings in the two settlements are poorly attended.

Turning to the other administrative institutions—the VDCs and the PTAs, the committees are dominated by Basarwa. In fact, in both cases the chairpersons of the VDCs are Basarwa.

Data collected from the two settlements indicate that successive VDCs in the two settlements are afflicted by chronic problems of inactivity and the resultant ineffectiveness. In Manxotae, the inactivity of the VDC was ascribed to the youthfulness of the committee members, while in Mabesekwa the chairman was singled out as responsible for the demise of the VDC. It is argued that he fails to turn up for meetings and if he does his meetings end abruptly, without any conclusions. The story of the Village Health Committee (VHC) in Mabesekwa is not different from that of the VDC. The committee has never met since it was established in 1996. According to the Family Welfare Educator, the VHC members want to be paid just like the VDC. As a result of the failure of the members to meet, the Family Welfare Educator has been working with the village choir to address the public health issues, which the VHC ought to be addressing.

The inactivity and dormancy of development committees in the two settlements is a serious blow in that it deprives the communities of forums where the plight of the communities could be discussed. This further entrenches the political marginalisation of the Basarwa. While committees are dominated by Basarwa, quite often the advisors or the extension officers servicing these committees are non-Basarwa. The inactivity of the committees is a clear indication that having the committees dominated by Basarwa should not be an end in itself. Instead, it should be accompanied by strong support from the extension staff with the sole aim of making the communities realise the value of these committees in providing the basis for a dialogue with the state and any other interests.

Economic base and access to government assistance packages

The economic objectives of the RADP aspire towards the expansion of the economic base and opportunities available for communities in the remote area settlements. The role of economic empowerment in any integration project should not be underestimated. The definition of integration suggested in this paper is one in which the object of integration, in this case Basarwa, become part of mainstream society on their own terms. Bargaining is influenced among other factors by the economic power that each party wields. As long as poverty continues to characterise Basarwa communities, they will always bargain from a disadvantaged position.

The economic base of the two settlements can best be described as weak. This is reflected in high unemployment levels and abject poverty that have come to characterise the two settlements. From a survey that was conducted in the two settlements in 1997, only 20% of the respondents reported to be under some form of employment. Those who reported to be employed include herdmen (*badisa*). The largest employer in the two settlements was *Namolo leuba*—the drought relief programme.

Apart from drought relief occasionally, local residents are employed temporarily as labourers in small-scale development projects that might be taking place in the settlements. In Manxotae, for example, in July/August 1997, the Department of Water Affairs employed about 80 people to help with the digging of a trench for a water pipeline running from Nata to Sepako via Manxotae. In the same period, some construction work at Mabesekwa Primary School created temporary employment for about 10 local residents. Though not confirmed by the research, “placing” might be one of the livelihood strategies employed by Basarwa families in the two settlements. Over 80% of the respondents indicated that members of their families were either working or looking for jobs in the nearby major settlements of Nata and Francistown. In such cases, it was reported that remittances were received from employed members of the family.

The employment opportunities mentioned above—*namolo leuba* and occasional employment in infrastructural projects in the two settlements are all temporary and cannot be relied upon as sources of income. *Namolo leuba* as the name suggests is only available

during those periods declared drought years. In any event, the RADP never intended drought relief measures and occasional employment opportunities to be alternative sources of income in RADs settlements. Instead, it was agriculture that was to be promoted in these settlements. It is therefore important to see how efforts geared at enhancing agricultural production in these villages have fared.

Subsistence agriculture—both arable and livestock raising is practiced in the two study areas. At the time of data collection (1997-98), arable agriculture was more pronounced in Manxotae than Mabesekwa. This was partly due to the delay in the designation and allocation of land for arable farming in Mabesekwa. In the case of Manxotae, while some families have their arable lands within the vicinity of the village, most fields are located at Moleele, which is about 7 km from the village. Despite a large percentage of those involved in arable agriculture, the actual cultivated area is in the majority of cases less than 2 hectares, a phenomenon partly attributable to lack of draught power.

Agriculture is less common in Mabesekwa since it was not until recently that land was set aside for ploughing purposes. The problem surrounding the late designation of land for arable agriculture in Mabesekwa emanates mainly from the location of the settlement in what is predominantly viewed as a grazing area. While the majority of the villagers were in favour of an area that lies to the immediate north-east of Mabesekwa towards Sekolwane, the final decision was to locate the fields some 10-15 km east of Mabesekwa, at a place called Makhubu.

A recurring complaint among respondents was the allegation that the land set-aside for arable purposes was inadequate and that some of the people who had been allocated land in the area were not *bona fide* residents of Mabesekwa. These allegations were however challenged by the headman who indicated that arable land in Makhubu was indeed allocated to *bona fide* residents of Mabesekwa. According to the headman, these allegations were promoted by people who had wanted the land designated for cultivation to be located in the Sekolwane area. Apparently, preference for Sekolwane by some members of the community was based on the presence of a government borehole which people believed they could draw water from while at the lands. Sekolwane was considered unsuitable as it was currently used for livestock grazing. While the arable land problem has been resolved, the majority of the fields in Mabesekwa remain undeveloped and this has affected the extent to which residents of Mabesekwa can utilise the various agricultural assistance programmes sponsored by the government.

Turning to livestock farming, less than 20% of the respondents from the two settlements indicated that they owned cattle. The majority of those who owned cattle were non-Basarwa. Other animals kept include goats, donkeys, dogs and chicken. There were no major complaints about restricted access to resources in communal areas surrounding the settlements. With the exception of a TGLP ranch that lies to the north of Manxotae, there are no ranches within the catchment areas of the two villages.

What is emerging from the foregoing discussion is that despite the availability of land and relatively easy access to agricultural land, the agricultural sector in the two settlements is currently weak. Among the factors that contribute to poor agricultural base is poor access to information on state sponsored agricultural packages such as the Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP), Arable Rainfed Agricultural Programme (ARAP), Financial Assistance Policy (FAP), Agricultural Extension Project No 10 (AE 10) and Service for Livestock Owners in Communal Areas (SLOCA). Knowledge of these programmes differed between the two settlements. While ARAP was known to the majority (77%) of the respondents in Manxotae, in Mabesekwa only 3% knew about the programme. As indicated above, most of the fields in Mabesekwa are still undeveloped. The least known programmes in both villages include SLOCA and AE 10.

The non-agricultural sector in the two villages has not fared any better than the agricultural sector. The commercial sector for example is undeveloped and is currently dominated by retail outlets that sell convenience goods and a few clothes items. In Manxotae there are two retail outlets—a tuck shop that operates from a residential plot and a small general dealer and they are both owned by non-Basarwa. In the case of Mabesekwa, there are three retail outlets. These comprise of a tuck shop and two liquor restaurants. As in the case of Manxotae, all these outlets are owned by non-Basarwa. One of the liquor restaurants in Mabesekwa is used as an outlet for the distribution of food for destitutes. The majority of the employees in these outlets are non-Basarwa.

The exploitation of veld products also provides an opportunity for income generation by communities in the two villages. Manxotae and Mabesekwa are both endowed with an array of veld products. In Manxotae, these include *mokolwane* and *moseme*, the main raw materials for basketry. Mabesekwa is surrounded by a predominantly *mophane* (*Colophospermum mopane*) vegetation which makes the area a good habitat for *phane* worms (*Gonimbrasea belina*). The viability of veld products as a source of income in the two settlements has been reduced by, among other factors, an exploitative marketing system and, in the case of *phane* in Mabesekwa, lack of control of resources by the local community. Lack of control over local resources has meant that the community has to face fierce competition from other communities over resources in the vicinity of Mabesekwa.

The foregoing discussion presents a rather gloomy picture concerning the economic base for the two settlements. Unemployment and poverty are common features in the two villages. Moreover, government assistance packages have not had a significant impact in the economies of Manxotae and Mabesekwa.

Limits of RADP integration model

The preceding sections provided a qualitative description and assessment of the general performance of the RADP. The general assumption was that such an assessment provides significant pointers towards the general thrust of the integration objectives and intentions of the RADP. In this concluding section of the paper, an attempt is made to isolate the limits of the RADP integration model. It is argued that the limits of the RADP integration revolve around two related factors namely:

- the non-discriminatory nature of development programmes in Botswana,
- secondly and emanating from the first, the inadequacies of extension service available to the two communities.

Non-discriminatory development policy and programmes. Development policies and programmes adopted in Botswana are conceived to operate in a homogenous environment. This is the case for example with FAP, SLOCA, AE 1, ARAP and ALDEP--which as argued in the previous sections, are available for utilisation in the two settlements, but remain largely unknown to the communities in question. Such policies when applied within a society characterised by heterogeneity, as is Botswana society, tend to widen and entrench existing disparities.

The contention is that communities with better access to information and other resources required- for example, cash in the form of down payment stand a better chance in utilising such programme. Currently, development programmes and assistance packages apply uniform requirements irrespective of the recipient communities. In most cases, it is unrealistic to expect local communities to possess the skills and means to take advantage of these programmes. With regard to the down-payment for FAP projects for example, while residents of the two settlements can utilise the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF), additional

requirements like the applicant's skills and knowledge in the business venture applied for, tend to discourage, and in fact, disqualify them from utilising such schemes. It does appear that, unless concerted efforts are made to ensure that such schemes are easily accessible, they are likely to have a minimum impact on the lives of the local communities. The suggestion here is that conditions governing access to the schemes should be relaxed to take into account the economic marginality of Basarwa.

In other instances, delays by district institutions have also contributed to denying communities access to assistance packages. In the case of Mabesekwa for example, delays in the production of land certificates deprived a significant number of people from utilising the fencing component of ALDEP, which required proof of arable land ownership. As in the previous case, alternatives could have been established to ensure that the delay in the issuing of certificates did not disadvantage communities in accessing fencing material for their fields.

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that disaggregation of development policies and programmes to suit local conditions is an essential component which the RADP may want to incorporate.

Availability of extension service to the two communities is considered a contributory factor in the poor performance of the RADP. The assumption here is that the situation prevailing in Manxotae and Mabesekwa requires concerted efforts at community building and mobilisation. The extent to which the extension staff officers who find themselves working in these communities are prepared to work with Basarwa is in some cases questionable. While officers such as teachers, nurses and assistant project officers (RADP) find themselves working in what they correctly viewed as positions requiring special skills, none of these officers indicated ever receiving such training.

It is quite possible that a shift from pedantic to more participatory methods of information sharing could be more empowering for the villagers. Participatory methodologies allow information sharing, so that where properly used, villagers have the opportunity to present their own understanding of the issue under discussion.

The need for more participatory and information sharing methodologies could also help address some of the entrenched attitudes held by public sector officers towards Basarwa. Perhaps such attitudes were best illustrated in the findings of a fact-finding mission on schools in RAD settlements in the Tutume sub-district, which took place from 24-26 June 1997. Though generally sympathetic, the team unequivocally blamed the plight of the RAD children in the area, on their parents.

While acknowledging that the economic status of the RADs was low, the report concludes:

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

With attitudes such as expressed above, the need for specialized skills for officers who find themselves working among Basarwa cannot be overemphasized. One of the attributes of such specialized skills would be a holistic appreciation of the dynamics surrounding the condition of the Basarwa. Such an appreciation could possibly lead to less judgemental perspectives towards Basarwa by government officers.

The need for specialised and committed extension service in the RADP can further be illustrated by the administration of the Economic Promotion Fund-sponsored projects in

Mabesekwa. One of the first projects to run in Mabesekwa was a tannery. The tannery operated for a year and has since closed down. The cattle and goats schemes also under the EPF never went beyond the first recipients. The poor performance of the EPF has been explained in terms of poor extension service characterised by poor follow up of projects beneficiaries. Poor follow-ups by extension services are also evident in the case of individuals who receive training in various skills but end up not utilising those skills. In the case of Mabesekwa for example, it was reported that selected individuals have received training in the following areas: tannery, bone carving, carpentry and dressmaking. Despite training in these areas, the individuals in question have not put their skills to any use. In the case of one individual who received training in carpentry, it is reported that he 'carves when he likes' and the proceeds are spent on beer.

Conclusion

The current paper attempted a qualitative assessment of the RADP model that seeks to integrate Basarwa into the mainstream of Botswana society. The assessment was based on empirical study of two remote area settlements in the Tutume sub-district--Manxotae and Mabesekwa. The main conclusion arrived at is that the RADP sponsored model has not achieved its integration goals. This was attributed to several factors, one being the use of homogenous or aggregate development policies that fail to capture the heterogeneous nature of Botswana society. It is contended that development policies should take on board the historical contexts in which the plight of the Basarwa unfolds. Genuine integration effort needs to take ethnicity into account, for it is a variable in the subjugation and marginalisation of Basarwa in contemporary Botswana. The paper further argued that such an approach would require innovative community mobilisation strategies that would assist Basarwa communities to rediscover themselves. This would require that those officers who find themselves working amongst Basarwa communities should be versed in such approaches and in addition, they should be sympathetic to the course of the Basarwa. This is the direction in which the next phase of RADP may want to proceed.

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